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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this report is to describe a study concerning organizational processes in an alternative high school with walls (Metro High School), which is part of the Chicago public school system, and its effects on students during the first 18 months of operation. Student development comparisons are made between a group attending Metro and a control group, both randomly chosen from a pool of volunteers who wanted to attend Metro. The major organization changes implemented were: (1) the development of student-teacher relationships based on dialogue and noncompartmentalization; (2) freeing students from conventional school restrictions on personal functioning; (3) use of community-based learning experiences in the educational program; and (4) an increase in the variety of learning options available to students. The study revealed complex problems of social process in implementing such organizational innovations that have significant policy implications. Basic differences were found among six student subgroups in their perception of and participation in the program. Multiple methods converge which are considered to indicate that the aspects of the Metro experience valued most positively by students as compared with the conventional high school experience are humanistic interpersonal relationships with teachers and fellow students. (Author/JM)

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FINAL REPORT

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION PROJECT NO. 3-2664
GRANT NO. NEG-6-00-3-0094

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF MENTAL HEALTH GRANT NO. 1 R01 MH 22248-01

A MULTI-METHOD STUDY OF THE DEVELOPMENT AND EFFECTS OF AN ALTERNATIVE HIGH SCHOOL LEARNING ENVIRONMENT

Center for New Schools*
59 East Van Buren, Suite 1800
Chicago, Illinois 60605

August 5, 1975

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*Individual contributions described in Preface.

ABSTRACT

This report describes a study concerning organizational processes in an alternative high school without walls (Metro High School, which is part of the Chicago public school system) and its effects on students during the first eighteen months of operation. Student development comparisons are made between a group attending Metro and a control group, both randomly chosen from a pool of volunteers who wanted to attend Metro.

A key feature of the research is the use of multiple research methods, including group-administered attitude and achievement tests, in-depth structured interviews, participant observation, student case studies, document analysis, and mini-interviews.

Participant observation and other methods indicate several significant aspects of social process at Metro:

1. The major organization changes implemented were (a) the development of student-teacher relationships based on dialogue and non-compartmentalization; (b) freeing students from conventional school restrictions on personal functioning; (c) use of community-based learning experiences in the educational program; and (d) an increase in the variety of learning options available to students.
2. The study revealed complex problems of social process in implementing such organizational innovations that have significant policy implications.
3. The study revealed basic differences between six student subgroups in their perception of and participation in the program.

Multiple methods converge to indicate that those aspects of the Metro experience valued most positively by students as compared with the conventional high school experience: humanistic interpersonal relationships with teachers and fellow students. This result was found consistently despite the fact that Metro was carrying out significant curricular innovations.

After eighteen months, the following differences between Experimental I and Control I students were significant at less than the .05 level based on group-administered instruments: Experimental I students had made significantly greater advances in reading achievement; perceived

the Metro program as significantly different in its overall climate in terms of a variety of humanistic goals; and had had significantly more contact with a variety of urban individuals and institutions compared to Control I students.

Follow-up comparisons of rates of high school graduation and pursuit of higher education showed no statistically significant differences between Experimental I and Control I. Analysis of Experimental I credit records (for which no comparable Control I data was available) showed low rates of graduation from Metro (less than 15%) for those students who had entered Metro with extremely low basic skills and a record of conflict with their previous schools (White School-Alienated/Ethnic and Black School-Alienated Students).

FINAL REPORT
VOLUME I

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*Individual contributions described in Preface.

PREFACE

This research results from a unique opportunity in which it was possible to study both organizational process and effects on students within an urban high school to which students had been assigned randomly. The opportunity to complete the study in the first place and the quality of the final effort depend on the dedication of a large number of people.

The original funding for data collection came from the Urban Education Research Fund of the University of Illinois largely as a result of the advice and support of Dr. George Giles of the University of Illinois at Chicago Circle. During the period of data collection, the University of Illinois also supported Donald Moore and Thomas Wilson's work through half-time faculty appointments. John Naisbitt, President of Urban Research Corporation, also supported the research effort through the employment of Moore and Wilson as part of the consulting team that assisted Metro. Early phases of data analysis were supported by the Wieboldt Foundation of Chicago and Carnegie Foundation of New York. Finally, the National Institute of Education and the National Institute of Mental Health supported most of the data analysis and preparation of the final report.

Another major source of support and cooperation came from the participants in the Metro High School program, including Metro's students, teachers, and principal, Nathaniel Blackman. We owe all of them a deep debt of gratitude for putting up with our questionnaires, interviews, and constant observation of the Metro program. The openness of Metro participants and their willingness to analyze their own experience critically was a major resource for this research. We also deeply appreciate the cooperation we received from the control group students.

The support of James F. Redmond, General Superintendent of Schools, and Evelyn Carlson, Associate Superintendent for Planning, made both the Metro High School itself and the Metro research program possible.

Many people have contributed to the completion of the research program in a variety of roles. The policy of Center for New Schools is to produce all publications under the authorship of Center for New Schools and to describe the contributions of individuals in the preface to the publication.

Donald Moore and Thomas Wilson were responsible for the original design of the study and the first stages of its execution. Stephen Wilson joined the research team in the early planning phases and decisively developed and shaped the use of participant observation and mini- interviewing in the study. Richard Johnson also worked closely as part of the research team from the early phases of the study and provided helpful criticism and analysis at a number of crucial points in the study's development.

Donald Moore and Thomas Wilson designed the program of group-administered questionnaires, achievement tests, and in-depth interviews. They coordinated the administration of these instruments with the assistance of June Huitt, Manford Holmes, Kathy Ellis, Kathy Harkness, Sandra Nuckles, and Richard Johnson.

Stephen Wilson designed and carried out the program of participant observation and mini-interviewing, assisted by Marlin Gilbert and Larry Kadani. Donald Moore coordinated the analysis of questionnaires and achievement tests and prepared the final report chapter on this analysis (Chapter 2). Anne Petersen served as computer consultant to this effort. Assisting in this analysis were Emile Schepers, Stephen Wilson, Thomas Wilson, and Thomas Slocum. Manford Holmes, Monica Ingram, and Susan O'Connell assisted with data preparation.

Emile Schepers coordinated the analysis of the in-depth interviews and prepared the final report chapter for this analysis (Chapter 3). He was assisted in this analysis and report preparation by Anne Petersen and Donald Moore. Data coding was carried out by Charles Whitfield, Kay Reed, Dorothy Carr, and Tamara Lane.

Emile Schepers coordinated the preparation of case studies and prepared the introduction and conclusions concerning them in the final report (Chapter 2). Individual case studies were prepared by Richard Johnson, Phyllis Wilson, Ada Skyles, Thomas Wilson, Donald Moore, and Fay Clayton.

Stephen Wilson and Donald Moore collaborated in the analysis of mini-interviews and the preparation of the final report chapter concerning mini-interviews (Chapter 5).

Stephen Wilson carried out the data analysis and report preparation concerning participant observation studies (Chapter 6).

Thomas Wilson carried out the analysis of documents that resulted in both the chapter concerning document analysis (Chapter 7) and the appendix detailing the chronological history of Metro. He was assisted in this work by Anne Wilson and Manford Holmes.

Donald Moore prepared the Introduction (Chapter 1), Key Substantive Findings and Issues (Chapter 8), Implications for Research and Evaluation Methodology (Chapter 9), and Implications for Materials Development and Assistance to Schools (Chapter 10). In preparing these summary chapters, he was assisted by Stephen Wilson, Emile Schepers, and Thomas Wilson.

Overall coordination of data analysis and report preparation has been carried out at various stages in the analysis by Emile Schepers, Stephen Wilson, Ada Skyles, and Donald Moore.

Phyllis Wilson had major responsibility for report editing. Additional manuscript editing, proofreading, and manuscript preparation has been coordinated at various time by Monica Ingram, Kathy Blair, Dianne Dickson, and Ruth Woll. Tanya Daniels, Jakita Trotter, and Monica Ingram typed the manuscript.

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CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

Overview Of Research Objectives

The research described in this report is aimed at understanding the social dynamics of an alternative educational institution (an urban "high school without walls") and the effects of these dynamics on the students attending the school. In studying the Chicago Public High School for Metropolitan Studies (Metro) over a period of one and a half years, we sought to illuminate (1) the key social processes within the institution, (2) the school's effects on students (3) and the relationship of program processes to program effects. Each of these three concerns is introduced below.

Study Of Key Social Processes

The planners of Metro, a Chicago consulting/research organization, hoped to create a social institution different in several fundamental respects from conventional schools. These differences are reflected in the original proposal for establishing the school, listing five major changes in educational practice that the school was intended to carry out:

1. An expansion of the range of situations in which learning takes place, so that the diverse resources of the community become a major focus of the student's education.
2. A broadly conceived curriculum that transcends disiplinary studies and is built on the student's own urban experience, both in and out of school.
3. Increased student control over his or her individual educational goals and activities and over the rules that govern the school's functioning.

4. Use of the diverse backgrounds of students as a positive resource for learning.

5. A closer personal relationship between teacher and student.

These hoped for changes in social process within the school were communicated to the initial group of students and staff, who interpreted and transformed them in the light of their own beliefs, attitudes, skills, and experiences. In the process they added their own priorities for developing the social processes within the school. During the period of study, the school was pervaded by a desire among staff and students to depart from traditional educational practice in many basic aspects of social and educational functioning and to foster the five changes just described.

Thus, one major focus of the Metro research program was to document and analyze the development of social structure and process in an organization committed to developing a comprehensive alternative to traditional education in such key areas as student and teacher roles and relationships, decision making processes, and the relationship of learning to the broader urban community. This emphasis on the study of program process is consistent with numerous critiques of frequently used evaluation models that focus exclusively on measuring selected program outcomes. Such critiques (e. g., Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, 1967; Glennan, 1974) point out that unless one studies program process, evaluation does not indicate how the proposed treatment was actually administered and what aspects of the treatment might have caused or failed to cause differential effects. It is this knowledge that will be of most use to persons seeking to put educational innovations into practice.

As indicated in the original research proposal, "Development of an Alternative Learning Environment," areas of program process on which the research team focused were based on the stated changes in educational practice the Metro program intended to implement and on areas of program process that emerged as critical (based on our participant observation) as the school developed. These include the following key social processes:

1. Informal and wide-reaching teacher-student relationships.
2. Student involvement in institutional decision-making.
3. Student involvement in personal academic decisions.
4. Use of community resources for learning.
5. Classroom practices that are successful in implementing the program's goals.
6. Dynamics of intergroup relations.
7. Evolution of the school's goals.
8. Communications within the institution.
9. Administrative support and procedures.
10. Internal staff cooperation.
11. Approaches to counseling.
12. Changes in teacher role.
13. Relationship with the city school system.

The School's Effects On Students

A second major area of study was the effect of the Metro educational process on its students. Researchers wanted to ask two questions:

1. Did the Metro student body overall differ significantly in cognitive and affective growth in areas related to the goals of the Metro program when compared to a control group of students attending conventional Chicago schools? That is, did Metro achieve its goals better than a traditional school achieved Metro's goals?

2. Did the Metro program have differential effects on different types of students?

The first question is, of course, the major research question that has traditionally been asked in studying innovative educational programs: Is it differentially effective in fostering student development as opposed to conventional schooling?

The second question was prompted by the growing body of research that shows differential effectiveness of educational programs with different types of students. In particular, we were spurred by studies that document a close relationship between social background and program effects in conventional schools (e.g., Coleman, et al., 1966). We wished to determine whether the comprehensive alternative approach to education attempted by the Metro High School was effective in altering the relationship between social background and development in school which recent research has indicated is pervasive in American schools. We also have attempted to get beyond overall background variables of race and class to study differential effects in subgroups which are based on complex relationships of race, class, and value orientation.

In studying program effects, the research team carefully identified measures to tap areas of change related to program objectives, supplementing the narrow reliance on measures of reading and mathematics achievement used in many educational evaluations. As indicated in the original research proposal, the areas studied were as follows:

1. Image of self.
2. Sense of control of environment.
3. Experience in the city.
4. Vocational aspirations and knowledge.
5. Reading and mathematics achievement.
6. Perceived climate of previous and present schools.
7. Cross-racial contact and attitudes.
8. Peer and parent relationships.
9. Independent learning skills.
10. Perceptions of local neighborhood and the city.

Relationships Of Program Processes To Program Effects

Studying both program processes and effects raises, as noted earlier, the possibility of reaching conclusions (or at least framing explicit hypotheses) concerning the relationship between the various processes within an educational program (both planned and unplanned), and patterns of effects observed among students. It is a premise of the Metro research that developing evidence about this type of relationship is a critical and neglected approach to educational evaluation and research, an approach that has great potential for suggesting specific ways to develop and strengthen educational programs.

Overview Of Design And Method

In developing a detailed research strategy, the team approached their task in the spirit of two previous students of human organizations:

> People who write about methodology often forget that it is a matter of strategy, not of morals. There are neither good nor bad methods, but only methods that are more or less effective under particular circumstances in reaching objectives on the way to a distant goal (Homans, 1949).
>
> It is the nature of the phenomena under investigation and the objectives of the study which must determine what materials are gathered by what methods. (Scott, 1965).

In deciding what methods were appropriate for this research problem, two main traditions of research were considered. The first sees the ideal for behavioral research as a strict experimental design featuring precise operational specification of treatments, random assignment of subjects to treatment groups (including appropriate control groups), minimization of extraneous factors in the treatment administration, pre and post measurement of results, and precise a priori specification of hypotheses. Any departure from these characteristics is seen as a compromise of the research ideal. (For a statement of this approach see, for example, Campbell and Stanley, 1963). This experimental approach is perhaps the dominant orientation in educational research at the present time. It is the approach on which the training and major research activities of two of the key investigators had been previously based (See Wilson, 1970; Moore, 1971). As explained below, we have incorporated this approach as a fundamental part of the research design in areas where it was appropriate to our research objectives.

There is, however, a second tradition in the study of human behavior that proved extremely pertinent to the development of our research design. This research tradition emphasizes extensive direct observation of human behavior in its natural setting, rather than in experimental settings and in tasks defined by the researcher. It also emphasizes the "emergence" of hypotheses in this process of direct observation, rather than their a priori specification. This second tradition of research grows out of anthropology (for example, Spindler, 1963; Pelto, 1970); observational psychology (for example, Barker, 1968); and community studies in sociology (for example, Hollingshead, 1949; Vidich et.al., 1971). Two key investigators working with the Metro evaluation were trained in this second research tradition (see Wilson, 1972; Schepers, 1973).

The refinement of the Metro research strategy was based on the application of appropriate elements from each tradition to the study of the Metro program. Further, the research team was convinced that the study of particular topics of interest using multiple methods (both quantitative and qualitative) greatly increases both the confidence with which one can interpret positive results of a study and the richness of the understanding that can be attained (see Campbell and Fiske, 1964; Cook and Sellitz, 1964; Webb et.al., 1966; Pelto, 1970).

Five basic methods of data collection were employed in the Metro research program:

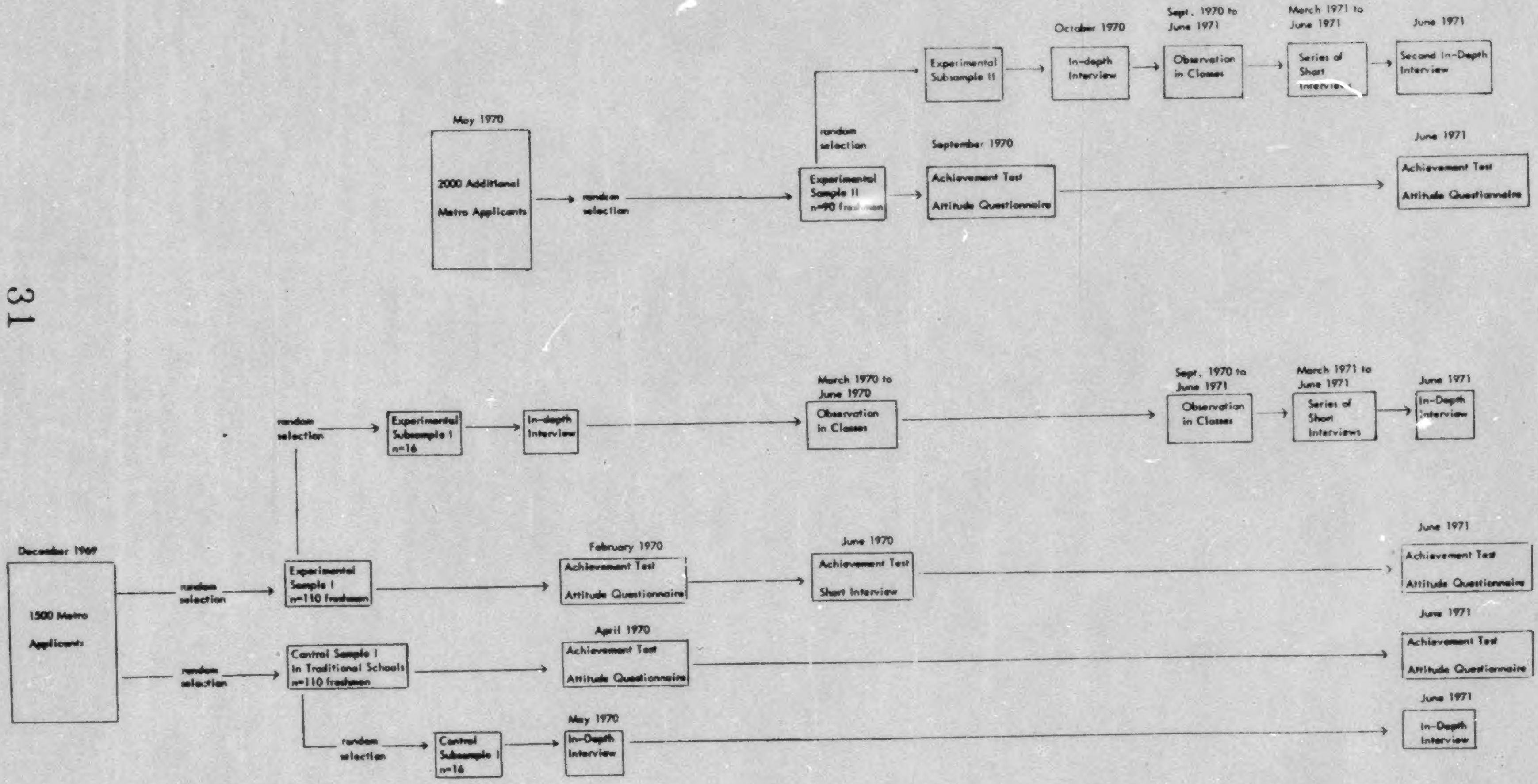
1. Paper and pencil questionnaires and achievement tests administered to two experimental groups of Metro students and one group of control students who applied to Metro but were not admitted in the random selection process.
2. In-depth interviews administered to a stratified random sample of 32 Metro and 16 control students at the beginning of the program and after 1 1/2 years of operation (referred to as the Subsamples).
3. Extensive participant observation and informal interviews focusing on issues and contexts within the program. Includes critical events in the school's development.
4. Short structured interviews (mini-interviews) with random samples of students stratified by race and sex. Conducted periodically, especially during periods of controversy within the school.
5. Compilation of a nearly complete file of documents that were produced in the school -- including meeting reports and agendas, position papers, notices, correspondence, etc.

A more specific introduction to the use of each method will further clarify our overall design and methodology.

Attitude And Achievement Questionnaires Administered To Metro Students and Their Controls

The diagram in Table 1-1 (attached) indicates the overall design of this aspect of the research. From the initial pool of 1500 applicants to Metro, 110 Freshmen and 110 controls were selected randomly, stratified by geographic area of residence in the city. These two groups were tested in spring 1970 when the program began and again in June 1971. They are re-

TABLE 1-1. Schematic Plan for Long Term Resecrch on Metro Program. Data Collection.


May 1970
2000 Additional Metro Applicants
random selection
Experimental Sample II n=90 freshmen
random selection
Experimental Subsample II
October 1970
In-depth Interview
Sept. 1970 to June 1971
Observation in Classes
March 1971 to June 1971
Series of Short Interviews
June 1971
Second In-Depth Interview
September 1970
Achievement Test
Attitude Questionnaire
June 1971
Achievement Test
Attitude Questionnaire
December 1969
1500 Metro Applicants
random selection
Experimental Sample I n=110 freshmen
random selection
Experimental Subsample I n=16
In-depth Interview
March 1970 to June 1970
Observation in Classes
Sept. 1970 to June 1971
Observation in Classes
March 1971 to June 1971
Series of Short Interviews
June 1971
In-Depth Interview
February 1970
Achievement Test
Attitude Questionnaire
June 1970
Achievement Test
Short Interview
June 1971
Achievement Test
Attitude Questionnaire
random selection
Control Sample I in Traditional Schools n=110 freshmen
April 1970
Achievement Test
Attitude Questionnaire
June 1971
Achievement Test
Attitude Questionnaire
random selection
Control Subsample I n=16
May 1970
In-Depth Interview
June 1971
In-Depth Interview

ferred to respectively as Experimental Sample I and Control Sample I. A second group of Metro students (Experimental Sample II) were admitted to Metro by lottery in September 1970. They received the same achievement and attitude questionnaire at the time of their admission in September 1970 and again in June 1971. No control group was studied for comparison with Experimental II because research funds did not permit it.

The two major instruments employed in this part of the research were as follows:

1. STEP Achievement Tests: This achievement testing reflects the concern of the Metro program that students develop fundamental competence in reading and mathematics. The tests employed are modifications of the Sequential Tests of Educational Progress developed by Educational Testing Service for the Equality of Educational Opportunity Survey (Coleman, et. al., 1966).

2. Student Information and Opinion Questionnaire: The purpose of this questionnaire was to gain information about students' backgrounds and about their attitudes, beliefs, and knowledge in a number of areas related to projected program processes and outcomes of the Metro High School. The questionnaire probes these areas:

a. Background information concerning the student and his/her family (based on Coleman, 1966; Kandel and Lesser, 1968).

b. Image of self (based on Gordon, 1968).

c. Perceived climate of previous and present school (our own scale, based on the general approach of Stern, 1960).

d. Parental relationships (based on Kandel and Lesser, 1969).

e. Characteristics of ideal job (based on Gordon, 1968).

f. Nature of hoped-for life accomplishments (Based on American Council on Education, 1969).

g. Sense of control (Based on Coleman et.al., 1966, and Battle and Rotter, 1963).

h. Cross-racial contact and attitudes (based on Wilson, 1970).

i. Educational and vocational aspirations (Kandel and Lesser, 1968).

j. Independent learning skills (our own scale).

k. Vocational knowledge (our own scale).

l. Preference for first-hand learning (our own scale).

m. Breadth of experience in the city (our own scale).

In-depth Interviews Administered To Subsamples Of Metro. And Control Students

As Figure I indicates, subsamples of students were drawn from Experimental Sample I, Experimental Sample II, and Control Sample I for more intensive study. Experimental Subsample I and Control Subsample I were interviewed in September 1970 and June 1971. Subsample students were selected through a stratified random sampling procedure, with race and sex as the two stratifying factors. Thus, each subsample contained four white males, four white females, four black males, and four black females.

The major source of questions in the interview schedule is a longitudinal study of black adolescent males by Rosenthal (1969). We used those questions that were relevant to the topics of our research program and modified them when appropriate. We also based particular sections on our own work and on the work of the other investigators who had developed instruments in specific pertinent areas (for example, a projective technique using pictures of school situations by Yanofsky, (1968) to measure attitudes toward school).

The interview seeks to tap the following areas:

1. Sense of control of environment.
2. Image of self.
3. Cross-group contact and attitudes.
4. Aspirations and future life.
5. Previous school experience and attitudes toward school.
6. Peer and parent relationships.
7. Perceptions of local neighborhood and city.

Participant Observation And Informal Interviews

The particular strengths of participant observation and informal interviewing as research methods have been documented by researchers in a number of disciplines (for example, Spindler, 1963; Bruyn , 1966; Glaser and Strauss, 1967). The Metro program employed these techniques extensively to complement quantitative approaches, particularly in the study of the thirteen key areas of program process listed earlier. One participant observer focused on Experimental Sample I during the entire study period and a second observer joined the staff to focus on Experimental Sample II during the school year in which they were under study. All significant and relevant program contexts were studied extensively, including classes, student lounges, study areas, staff office areas, leisure time activities in the city, committee meetings, counseling groups, all-school meetings, and staff meetings. In the early stages of the program, it was decided to focus on the thirteen areas of program process in data collection, but observers were free to record information on other topics they felt were important to understanding the school's development. The basic unit that was recorded was a behavior-episode, i. e, an event dealing with a particular topic of study. Observers took copious field notes.

A portion of our participant observation and informal interviewing was focused on the Experimental I and Experimental II Subsamples (totaling 32 students). Subjects were observed in formal and informal contexts in the program to supplement the understanding of them gained through questionnaires and formal interviews. -

A more detailed discussion of the methods of participant observation data collection and analysis and their grounding in previous research is presented in Chapter 6.

Mini-interviewing

In the early stage of the research program, the research team felt a need for a structured technique for data collection that could be carried out and analyzed quickly. One of the observers developed a mini-interview process:

1. Program participants are consulted to find out what issues are of concern to them at that particular time. These issues are formulated in four or five specific questions, influenced somewhat by the priorities of the research program.

2. Short interviews are carried out with a stratified random sample of students. Race of interviewer and interviewee are matched. Notes are taken on responses and transcribed more fully immediately after the interview. Tape-recordings are not used because of the time required for tape transcription.

3. An analysis of the responses is prepared based on an informal content analysis of student responses.

4. The analysis, along with the interview protocols, are presented in sessions with students and staff.

As these procedures indicate, the mini-interview is useful as a formative evaluation* technique. In addition, it complements other methods used to investigate the topics of the research program by combining a structured research design with the immediacy generally obtained only through qualitative methods.

Document File

A file of approximately 4000 documents was compiled, including notices, memoranda, agreements, catalogues, meeting notices, minutes of meetings, posters, materials used in courses, etc. The document file has formed the basis for the development of a chronology of Metro's development and has been used in conjunction with participant observation and mini-interviews to provide still another perspective on the issues in the developing school.

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*Formative evaluation refers to the use of on-going feedback to shape a program.

Structure Of The Final Report

Chapters 2-6 discuss in detail the work carried out using each of the five methods employed in the research: (1) attitude and achievement questionnaires (2) quantitative analysis of interviews (3) participant observation (4) document file and (5) mini-interviews. These chapters include a detailed discussion of the rationale for the work carried out using each method, methods of data collection and analysis, and presentation of results. Chapter 4 presents case studies of eight of the subsample students, narratives combining information across several of the research methods employed.

In the course of carrying out the data analysis, it becomes apparent that not all of the issues of program process from the participant observation data could be analyzed fully. However, we did not wish to ignore the insights we gained concerning these issues even though a full data analysis was not feasible. Thus, several issues of program process are analyzed briefly in Appendix C with an indication of specific tentative conclusions we hope to follow up in subsequent analysis of the data.

Using the basic results from each of the methods, Chapter 8 describes the substantive conclusions that can be drawn from the research by the comparison of the results derived from each of the research plans and presents conclusions concerning research and evaluation methodology that can be derived from the Metro research program.

Chapter 10 analyzes recommendations derived from the research for educational practitioners for researchers and evaluators, and for technical assistance specialists seeking to improve schools.

Nature Of The Metro High School Program

A final introductory note concerning the nature of Metro will assist the reader in understanding this report. The Chicago Public High School for Metropolitan Studies was established through the initiative of Urban Research Corporation, a consulting firm who approached the Superintendent of Schools, Dr. James F. Redmond, early in 1969 to discuss the possibility of working with the Chicago Public Schools to establish a "high school without walls" in Chicago. Dr. A. Donn Kesselheim of Urban Research Corporation began discussions with members of Dr. Redmond's staff and various business and cultural organizations that resulted in a pilot project in the summer of 1969 and an agreement for the Chicago Public Schools to establish Metro as a four-year accredited high school. Urban Research Corporation received a contract to plan the school and to work as consultants to it during its early phases of operation. Thus, planning for the program and initial contacts with businesses, cultural organizations, community groups, universities, and individuals who cooperated with Metro was carried out during the fall of 1969 by Urban Research Corporation for a school scheduled to open in February 1970.

During this period, five professional staff members from Urban Research worked full-time on the school's development. Two of these consultants, Drs. Donald R. Moore and Thomas A. Wilson, held appointments at the

University of Illinois at Chicago Circle. As part of their work in developing Metro, they designed and implemented the Metro research program, which was supported in the data collection phase by a research grant from the Urban Education Research Fund of the University of Illinois.

In December 1969, a principal, Mr. Nathaniel Blackman, was selected for Metro, and 150 initial students were chosen by lottery from 1500 applicants (this group included the 110 freshmen who constitute the Experimental I group). In January 1970, a core staff of six teachers was selected by the principal with the advice of the consultants.

The school's curriculum was organized around learning units that covered 10 to 40 weeks. The school year was divided into four ten-week cycles or quarters, after which the student's work was evaluated and he/she planned a schedule for the next cycle. 100 to 150 learning units were offered each cycle, covering a variety of areas derived from staff skills and interests, student needs and interests, and the areas specified for graduation credit by the Board of Education (English, Sciences, etc.). Some were taught by the core staff, alone or with the assistance of cooperating resource person(s) from the city. Some were taught entirely by cooperating teachers from various city businesses, cultural organizations, community groups, etc. Most learning units were classes of between 5 and 20 students, although individual placements of various types and independent study were also employed. Each learning unit carried credit in a conventional subject matter area, and students thus had to plan their course of study to work toward standard Chicago high school graduation requirements. Students' work was evaluated at the end of each 10-week cycle on a credit/no credit basis.

In addition to learning units, students were required to participate in a counseling group of 15-20 students headed by a Metro teacher. This group was intended to serve multiple purposes, including planning the student's program, discussing academic or personal problems, developing cooperation among the students, and carrying out routine administrative activities.

The school was initially operated from a headquarters in downtown Chicago that included a staff work area, student lounge, and several classroom areas. In fall 1970, the school moved into another headquarters that included these same areas plus resource rooms for reading, math, photography, and music. About half the learning units met at the headquarters and half of them met at various locations throughout the city. Some meeting places were conference rooms at cooperating organizations that had no direct relevance to the learning unit (e. g., an English class meeting at a bank building). Others were directly related to the purpose of the unit (e. g., laboratories at the Shedd Aquarium for a course in Marine Biology).

In late spring of 1970, the Board of Education agreed to expand the school to 350 students. The two hundred new students who were admitted for September 1970 included the freshmen who constituted Experimental II. At this time, 12 new staff members were added and Urban Research Corporation's contract for three-full time consultants to the school was extended through June 1971. A detailed understanding of the process by which the original plan for the school developed from November, 1968 to June 1971 can be gained by reading Appendix E, which presents a chronology of key events based on the document file and Chapter 6, which analyzes key process issues in the school's development during this period.

At the present time, Metro High School is still operating as a fully accredited four-year public high school with a student body of 350 students.

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CHAPTER 2. ATTITUDE AND ACHIEVEMENT TESTS

One major thrust of the Metro research program was the use of group-administered attitude and achievement tests, given to all students in the Metro program and all control students, first in Spring 1970 (pretest) and again in June 1971 (post test). As explained in the introduction, these instruments were selected because they were designed to tap skills and attitudes either (1) entailed in Metro's originally-stated goals for student learning or (2) entailed in or implied by the basic changes in educational proactice that Metro planned to implement.

This chapter is divided into three sections. The section on Method describes instrument selection, development, and administration. Sections on Results and Interpretation follow.

Method

Instrument selection. The research team first identified a series of skills and attitudes that might be affected by the Metro program as it was originally conceived. They then began a process of instrument identification. The first priority was to find existing instruments that tapped the skill or attitude to be studied. This search led through Buros' Mental Measurements Yearbook (1965) and the reviews and major publications in specific areas. Possible instruments were then obtained and reviewed, both for their technical characteristics and their face validity. That is, did the items really focus on what we wanted to study? In general, this process was disappointing, as will be detailed below. There were few existing instruments that we judged to be valid measures of the specific skills and abilities we thought Metro might alter. Further, although we wished to include a few widely-used items and scales, we strove to avoid administering a grab-bag of inappropriate instruments. Thus, when we could not find a suitable instrument to measure an important area of potential change we developed our own. At the time, we judged that using some untried instruments with face validity was better than neglecting the study of a skill or attitude or employing an already-developed but inappropriate instrument.

Below, we describe the individual instruments that were either selected or developed in this process:

1. *Background measures*. Because of the growing body of research documenting the influence of social background on school performance, (*e.g.*, Coleman, *et.al*., 1966), we wished to employ a thorough set of background items. Coleman, *et.al.* (1966), Kandel and Lesser (1968), and National Opinion Research Center (1965) provided the basis for the items we ultimately employed, covering the following topics: family composition, race, ethnic group, sex, previous areas of residence, educational attainment of parents and siblings, occupations of parents and siblings, previous schools attended, track in conventional school parents' educational aspirations for their child. The exact wording of background items is shown in Appendix A, pages 9 - 18.

2. *Self image*. One area in which Metro students might be expected to change compared to controls is their image of themselves. A review of literature in this area indicated that Dr. Chad Gordon was in the process of carrying out a study that employed multiple measures of self image. (This work has since been published, Gordon

and Gergen, 1968.) Thus, we employed Gordon's open-ended "I am....." technique Appendix A) and the multiple choice self-image scale he has also developed (Appendix A, pages 2 - 5).

3. Educational aspirations. It was noted that high school students the same age as our subjects tended to give unrealistic estimates of their educational and vocational aspirations. (See, for example, Coleman, et.al., 1966.) Nevertheless, we felt that some relative differences in aspirations might emerge between Metro and control, and that student statements concerning aspirations could later be compared with actual behavior. Thus, we employed items from Kandel and Lesser (1968) asking students to indicate both ideal and realistic levels of educational aspiration (Appendix A, page 19-22).

4. Vocational knowledge. The attempt to put students in touch with the city in the Metro program was intended to give them increased opportunities for meaningful career exploration and training. Thus, we hypothesized that one area of program effect would be the development of specific knowledge of careers in which the student was interested. Since we found that most instruments in the vocational area tapped either aptitudes for specific vocations or broad vocational preferences (See Buros, 1965), we developed our own set of questions. We asked the student to indicate his first and second choices for a specific future occupation. For each, the student was then asked to list (1) things he/she would have to do to prepare for successful entry into that occupation and (2) the types of activities a person in that occupation carried out. We believed that students in an effective career development experience would be able to

answer these questions explicitly, while students in an ineffective experience would espouse vague vocational ambitions about which they had little specific knowledge. See items employed in Appendix A, pages 19 - 22.

5. Independent learning skills. The research team was interested in finding appropriate measures of students' problem-solving skills for two reasons. First, we didn't want to limit the Metro study to the assessment of basic skill development, the most typical focus for conventional evaluation. Second, we felt that Metro's emphasis on learning in the city might make students better able to engage in effective problem-solving focused on the varied problems of urban living.

A review of available measures failed to turn up an appropriate instrument. Those surveyed were either very specific or did not seem (based on considerations of face validity and lack of other validity information) to measure what they claimed to measure. Thus, we constructed our own set of open-ended questions to assess the student's ability to gather information and weigh alternatives in a number of problem-solving tasks related to living in the city. The problems ranged from getting your landlord to supply enough heat, to finding a place that taught a skill you wanted to learn, to finding a job. For each of eight hypothetical problems, students were asked to indicate in a brief paragraph what they might do to solve it (Appendix A, pages 6-8).

6. Identification with parents. We wished to study the student's relationship with his/her family, both as it existed at the beginning of the Metro experience and as it changed during the period of study. We felt it possible that Metro, by confronting students with a much more diverse set of people and experiences than they would normally encounter

in their own neighborhoods, might affect the degree to which students identified with the values of their parents. Thus, we employed a set of questions from Kandel and Lesser (1968) designed to indicate the degree to which the student identified with the values of his/her mother and father. (Appendix A, pages 17 - 18.)

7. School climate. We invested considerable effort in searching for, and ultimately developing, a relevant school climate scale. We sought a scale that was sensitive to the particular changes in educational practice that Metro wished to implement. After examining a variety of measures of classroom and school climate, we found the approach of Stern (1960) to be generally consistent with our requirements. However, closer examination showed that many of the subscales and individual items of the Stern scale were not related to the specific dimensions of school structure and process on which Metro was intended to differ from conventional schools. Thus, we decided to use the general format of the Stern scale, but to develop more appropriate items and subscales. In addition, we felt that a four-choice response would be a more sensitive indicator of change than Stern's two-choice response. Thus, the student was presented a statement and asked to indicate whether it was exactly, a little, not much, or not at all like his school.

The resulting scale had fourteen subscales, each with six items. The subscales were as follows: (1) students tolerate individuality, (2) teachers encourage original thought, (3) students respect racial and religious differences, (4) students help each other, (5) teachers are concerned with the total student, (6) students influence decision-making, (7) school interested in social problems, (8) students intrinsically motivated,

(9) teachers concerned with vocational development, (10) creativity encouraged, (11) student-teacher relations lack tension, (12) school open to changes, (13) energy and enthusiasm in school, (14) individualized learning encouraged.

For each item, we made a specific prediction as to how Metro would be rated if it were achieving its goals. For example, if Metro students agreed with the statement that "The principal is willing to hear students' complaints" significantly more often than their controls, then the school was achieving success in one aspect of its goal of involving students in decision-making. If Metro students disagreed with the statement that "If you don't dress and act pretty much like everyone else, you are in a lot of trouble " significantly more often than their controls, then the school was achieving an aspect of its goal of encouraging student independence. On each subscale (in light of the desire to avoid response sets), there were an equal number of "positively" and "negatively" worded items. Items from various subscales were distributed randomly through the scale.

In the pretest data collection, Experimental I students were asked to judge the school they had left to come to Metro, while Control I were asked to judge the school they were presently attending. In the posttest data collection, Experimental I students were asked to judge Metro, while Control I students were again asked to judge the school they were presently attending or had most recently attended.

Appendix A, (pages 28 - 36)contains the specific items in the instrument.

8. Characteristics of ideal job. We were interested in the types of basic values that students held which might be affected by Metro. We examined a number of instruments measuring values and found this scale and the one described next to be most rele-

vant to possible changes in Metro versus control students. The Ideal Job scale asks students to rate the importance of various characteristics of the job they would consider ideal, such as "leave me relatively free of the supervision of others," "give me a chance to exercise leadership," etc. It was taken from the work of Chad Gordon, later published as Gordon and Gergen, 1968. (Appendix A, pages 37 - 38.) These items do not form a scale in which responses can be combined, but each reflects a particular value emphasis. We did not make specific predictions about the direction of change on these items although we believed that they embodied values that might be affected by the Metro experience.

9. Nature of hoped-for life accomplishments. This was the second set of value questions that we believed might be affected by Metro, taken from the questionnaires given to entering college freshmen each year by the American Council on Education (1969). Again, the set of items is composed of individual questions that can't be combined, and we made no specific predictions concerning Metro versus control results. The instrument, on which students are asked the importance of such goals as developing "a strong religious faith" and "influencing the political structure," is contained in Appendix A, pages 39 - 40.

10. Preference for first-hand learning. One attitude that Metro was seeking to foster was a desire to learn through active participation and first-hand experience rather than rote, passive, or second-hand learning. This scale, which we constructed ourselves, offered students pairs of choices, one judged to be a more active, first-hand learning experience than the other. (e.g., "To see an interesting film about Chicago 20 years ago" versus "To interview the man who was mayor of Chicago 20

years ago.") Students were asked to select a response from each pair in a scale composed of fifteen such pairs. (See Appendix A, pages 41 - 42.)

11. Sense of control. As a result of the findings in Coleman, *et al*., 1966, concerning the correlation of "sense of control" and academic achievement, we decided to include two "sense of control" scales in our questionnaire (Coleman, *et al*., 1966 and Rotter, *et al*., 1962). While we had serious doubts about the validity and interpretation of such scales (Klinefeld, 1970), we included them because they had been so widely used and because we hoped that other information gathered in the study might shed light on their validity. We did not predict differential Metro versus control results. (Appendix A, pages 44 - 45.)

12. Breadth of experience in the city. The research team felt that one obvious effect of Metro should be to expose students to a variety of city institutions and people whom they would not ordinarily meet. This scale, which we developed ourselves, listed 25 city experiences and asked students if they had experienced each of them often, some, or never. (Appendix A, page 46.)

13. Cross-racial and cross-ethnic contact. Because Metro brought together one of the most diverse student bodies in the country in terms of race and ethnic group, and because the attempt to improve inter-group relations and to help students draw on each other's experiences was a stated priority of Metro's program, we sought items to measure both extent of cross-group contact and attitudes toward the desirability of such contact. To tap such information and attitudes, we adapted items developed by Thomas Wilson and later described in Wilson, 1970. See Appendix A, pages 23-27.

14. Reading and mathematics achievement tests. Because basic skill development was an important original goal of Metro, we examined various reading and mathematics achievement tests. For several reasons, we finally decided to employ a modification of the Sequential Tests of Educational Progress developed by Educational Testing Service. First, this modified version of the test had been employed in the Equal Educational Opportunity Survey by Coleman, *et al.*, 1966. This raised the potential for comparing our students with students in a wide range of urban school districts across the country. Second, the tests at a given grade level have alternate forms useful for retesting. We obtained the advice of Dr. James McPartland, a co-author of the "Coleman Report", concerning the selection, administration, and scaling of these tests.

Pilot testing of instruments. The time press between the award of the research grant and the beginning of the Metro program made it impossible to try out instruments on a pilot basis, analyzing results, and refining instruments based on the analysis. Working within these time constraints, we carried out a limited pilot-testing. A preliminary version of the "Student Information and Opinion Questionnaire" was produced, and 12 students were identified who reflected the racial, social class, and sex diversity of the projected Metro population. These students went over the questionnaire in a one-to-one relationship with an interviewer. As the student completed each item, he/she was asked to indicate any set of directions, scale, or item that was unclear and to make any other comments about the questionnaire. These comments were recorded by the interviewer and used as a basis for critiquing and revising the questionnaire.

Sampling and testing procedures.

As explained in the Introduction, the basic comparison in the study was between a group of 110 freshmen students (Experimental I) who volunteered for Metro and were admitted through a random lottery in February of 1970 and 110 freshmen students who volunteered for Metro but were not selected and continued to attend their conventional schools (Control I). This structure is reflected in Table 2-1. The random selection of Experimental I and Control I was stratified to insure that students who came to Metro represented all high schools in the city. Thus, one male and one female volunteer student was drawn from each of the 55 city high schools for both Experimental and Control samples. Altogether, the original pool of volunteers was 1500 students.

Experimental I was tested in February 1970 and Control I in April 1970. Experimental I students had agreed to participate in research as a condition for entering the Metro program. Control I students were asked by letter to participate in a study of what they were getting out of their high school education, but not told this was part of research on Metro. They were paid $5.00 for coming downtown to take the tests on a Saturday morning. Assembling this group and then following up to test those who did not attend the initial session was a formidable task, complicated by the fact that we were dealing with urban students from 55 high schools, whose rate of mobility was high.

The second testing of Experimental I and Control I was carried out in June 1971. Again, it was necessary to carry out persistent follow-up contacts with those

TABLE 2-1. Attrition during the Study for Experimental I and Control I

Category	Exp. I Number	Con. I Number
Original Target Sample	110	110
Completed Pretest	104	88
Completed Posttest	81	72
Completed Pretest and Posttest	78	68

who did not attend scheduled testing sessions. In addition to the 110 freshmen who comprised Experimental I, 40 upperclassmen were admitted to Metro in February 1970. The same test data collected on Experimental I was collected on these students, although they were not part of the basic Experimental I/Control I comparison.

A second group of 140 freshmen students was admitted to Metro in September of 1970, designated in Table 1-1 as Experimental II. They were admitted in a geographically-stratified random drawing, similar to the previous drawing from a pool of 1000 applicants. This group was retested in June 1971. Based on the considerable effort expended in tracking down and testing Control I, the research team decided it did not have sufficient resources to identify and test a control group comparable to Experimental II. Thus, data on Experimental II was intended as a possible resource for the further testing of hypotheses that were derived from the completion of the Experimental I analysis. In addition to the Experimental II freshmen, 60 upperclassmen were admitted in September 1970 and the same data collected from them that was collected from Experimental II.

This full explanation of the nature of the two experimental and one control and two experimental groups tested is intended to give the reader an understanding of the total research process and the groups on which data is available. The balance of this chapter describes the results and analysis of the Experimental I and Control I data.

Attrition

Table 2-1 indicates the number of students who were initially included in the Experimental I and Control I samples, the number who were tested in Spring 1970 and the number who were retested in June 1971.

Of the 110 original target students in the Experimental I sample, the 6 who were not tested in February 1970 included 3 students who had signed a commitment to attend Metro but did not actually enroll and 3 who continually evaded attempts to test them. The 23 Experimental I students who took the February 1970 test but not the June 1971 test included 5 students who attended Metro for a few days but never actually began the program, 11 students who left Metro after attending the school, and 7 students who were attending Metro in June 1971 but avoided taking the tests. Of the original 110 students in Control I, 88 took the pretest and 72 the posttest. Dropouts from the original sample were students who did not respond to numerous follow-up attempts to test them or who could not be located because of changes in residence. The possible affect on this attrition on the study results is examined later in this chapter.

Data Analysis And Results

This section describes the methods that were employed in the analysis of the data generated through the research program described in the previous section. It also describes the results of this analysis under three major headings: profile of the Experimental I and Control I Samples at the time of Metro's opening: effects of the Metro program on Experimental I as compared to the effects of conventional school on Control I; differential effects of each program on different subgroups within the samples.

Preliminary analysis of data

A preliminary inspection of the data caused us to eliminate further analysis of two measures: Vocational Knowledge and Independent Learning Skills. Both required students to provide open-ended lists or brief essay answers in response to questions. Inspection of these responses revealed that there was enormous variability in the extent to which students had carried out these tasks in an understandable manner, probably related to writing ability and stamina in a long testing procedure. Since we felt that these influences would undercut any valid comparisions we might make based on the data, we discontinued the analysis of this information.

The other open-ended instrument that we included had been completed consistently ("Who am I") and the results of its analysis are presented in Chapter 3. All other data was suitable for immediate quantification and was coded on mark-sense sheets (like those used to take a machine-scored test) and stored on a master computer tape.

Profile of Experimental I and Control I Groups at time of Metro's opening

The first major data collection concerning Experimental I and Control I allows us to explore in considerable detail the characteristics of these two groups at the time of pretesting and to note any differences in these characteristics. Because students were randomly assigned to Experimental I and Control I, students in both groups usually exhibit similar characteristics. Thus, our focus in interpreting results will be on the data on Experimental I, and we will refer to the Control I results only if they differ markedly from Experimental I. Further, on some characteristics there are marked Black-Anglo* differences within the Experimental I group. When such differences exist, appropriate tables have been broken down by race or race differences described in the text. The numbered paragraphs below treat selected characteristics of the groups at the time of the pretest:

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*Since very few Latino students were included in the research, they have been excluded from the analysis.

1. Sex distribution

Table 2-2 indicates that the sex distribution for Experimental I is very close to the ideal projected for the school--i.e., half female and half male.

2. Racial distribution

The goal of the selection process was to identify a student population for Experimental I that closely mirrored the overall racial population of Chicago public high schools. As Table 2-3 indicates, the Experimental I Black percentage is 53.9% compared with 52.7% for all Chicago high schools, the Experimental I Anglo percentage is 42.3% compared with 37.5% for all Chicago high schools, and the Experimental I Latino* population is 3.9% compared with 6.8% for all Chicago high schools. Thus, Anglos were slightly overrepresented and Latinos underrepresented in the Experimental I population. This discrepancy was adjusted in later Metro admissions procedures.

3. Socioeconomic status distribution

Using the Occupational Prestige Scale of the National Opinion Research Center (NORC, 1969), the occupation of the head of each

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*Since very few Latino students were included in the research, they have been excluded from the analysis.

TABLE 2-2. Sex Distribution for Experimental I and Control I. Pretest.

Category	Exp. I % n	Con. I % n
Male	52.9% n = 55	47.7% n = 42
Female	47.1% n = 49	52.3% n = 46
Total	100.0% n = 104	100.0% n = 88

TABLE 2-3. Racial Distribution. Experimental I and Control I. Pretest.

	Exp. I		Con. I		All Chicago High Schools	
Category	%	Cum.%	%	Cum.%	%	Cum.%
Black	53.9% n = 56	53.9% n = 56	51.1% n = 45	51.1% n = 45	52.7%	52.7%
Anglo	42.3% n = 44	96.2% n = 100	42.1% n = 37	93.2% n = 82	37.5%	90.2%
Other	3.9% n = 4	100.0% n = 104	6.8% n = 6	100.0% n = 88	9.8%	100.0%

family was rated. The resulting social status distribution for Anglo and black students in Experimental I is shown in Table 2 - 4. The table shows the socioeconomic diversity of the Experimental I group, which has substantial representation in each of the five social status categories we employed, ranging from unskilled workers and public aid recipients to professionals. In comparing the social status of Anglo and black families studied, Table 2-4 indicates that there are more black students' families in the lowest status group (28.9%, compared with 15.4% for Anglos) and fewer black students' families in the highest status group (8.9%, compared with 23.1% for Anglo students). In the three middle status groups (ranging from semi-skilled to highly skilled manual, clerical, and sales workers), there were roughly equal percentages of Anglo and black students' families. Thus, the distribution of social status among black students is somewhat lower overall than the social status of Anglo students, but there is a large degree of overlap between the two groups.

4. Father's and mother's education

The diversity of parents' educational levels mirrors the diversity of social status, as is indicated in Tables 2 - 5 and 2 - 6. Approximately 60% of both fathers and mothers have not attended college. 20% have attended some college but not graduated. The final 20% have finished college and a few have attended professional school. The racial distribution of parents' educational backgrounds (which are not presented in tables) reveal a slightly higher average education level for Anglo parents compared with black parents.

TABLE 2-4. Socioeconomic Status as Rated on the Occupational Prestige Scale of the National Opinion Research Center. Experimental I and Control I In Anglo and Black Students.

	Experimental I					
	Anglo		Black		Overall	
Category	%	Cum.%	%	Cum.%	%	Cum.%
1. Unskilled workers, unemployed, public aid recipients (score 10-28)	15.4% n = 6	15.4% n = 6	28.9% n = 13	28.9% n = 13	22.6% n = 19	22.6% n = 19
2. Semi-skilled manual, clerical and sales (score 29-35)	20.5% n = 8	35.9% n = 14	26.7% n = 12	55.6% n = 25	23.3% n = 20	45.9% n = 39
3. Level 1 skilled manual, clerical, and sales (score 36-43)	25.6% n = 10	61.5% n = 24	20.0% n = 9	75.6% n = 34	22.6% n = 19	68.5% n = 58
4. Level 2 skilled manual, clerical, and sales. Small proprieters (score 44-54)	15.4% n = 6	76.9% n = 30	15.6% n = 7	91.2% n = 41	15.1% n = 13	83.6% n = 71
5. Professional, technical, and managerial	23.1% n = 9	100.0% n = 39	8.9% n = 4	100.0% n = 45	15.1% n = 13	100.0% n = 84

TABLE 2-4. Socioeconomic Status (continued)

	Control I					
	Anglo		Black		Total	
Category	%	Cum.%	%	Cum.%	%	Cum.%
1. Unskilled workers, unemployed, public aid recipients (score 10-28)	16.7% n = 6	16.7% n = 6	34.1% n = 14	34.1% n = 14	25.9% n = 20	25.9% n = 20
2. Semi-skilled manual, clerical, and sales (score 29-35)	16.7% n = 6	33.4% n = 12	19.5% n = 8	53.6% n = 22	18.1% n = 14	44.0% n = 34
3. Level 1 skilled manual clerical, and sales (score 36-43)	19.4% n = 7	52.8% n = 19	14.6% n = 6	68.2% n = 28	16.9% n = 13	60.9% n = 47
4. Level 2 skilled manual, clerical, and sales (score 44-54)	33.3% n = 12	86.1% n = 31	19.5% n = 8	87.7% n = 36	25.9% n = 20	86.8% n = 67
5. Professional, technical, and managerial (score 55-86)	13.9% n = 5	100.0% n = 36	12.2% n = 5	100.0% n = 41	13.0% n = 10	100.0% n = 77

TABLE 2-5. Father's Education. Experimental I and Control I. Pretest.

	Exp. I		Con. I	
Category	%	Cum.%	%	Cum.%
1. Some Grade School	8.2% n = 6	8.2% n = 6	19.7% n = 14	19.7% n = 14
2. Finished Grade School	8.2% n = 6	16.4% n = 12	0.0% n = 0	19.7% n = 14
3. Some High School	19.2% n = 14	35.6% n = 26	33.8% n = 24	53.5% n = 38
4. Finished High School	27.4% n = 20	63.0% n = 46	22.5% n = 16	76.1% n = 54
5. Some College	20.5% n = 15	83.6% n = 61	7.0% n = 5	83.1% n = 59
6. Finished College	12.3% n = 9	95.9% n = 70	11.3% n = 8	94.4% n = 67
7. Attend Grad. or Prof. school after College	4.1% n = 3	100.0% n = 73	5.6% n = 4	100.0% n = 71
Mean	$\bar{x} = 3.97$		$\bar{x} = 3.53$	

TABLE 2-6. Mother's Education. Experimental I and Control I. Pretest.

	Exp. I		Con. I	
Category	%	Cum.%	%	Cum.%
1. Some Grade School	4.6% n = 4	4.6% n = 4	9.9% n = 8	9.9% n = 8
2. Finish Grade School	3.4% n = 3	8.0% n = 7	1.2% n = 1	11.1% n = 9
3. Some High School	20.7% n = 18	28.7% n = 25	32.1% n = 26	43.2% n = 35
4. Finished High School	31.0% n = 27	59.8% n = 52	30.9% n = 25	74.1% n = 60
5. Some College	19.5% n = 17	79.3% n = 69	18.5% n = 15	92.6% n = 75
6. Finished College	16.1% n = 14	95.4% n = 83	2.5% n = 2	95.1% n = 77
7. Attended Grad. or Prof. School after College	4.6% n = 4	100.0% n = 87	5.0% n = 4	100.0% n = 81
Mean	$\bar{x} = 4.24$		$\bar{x} = 3.74$	

5. Living with father and mother

Students were asked what persons were currently acting as their father and their mother, allowing us to identify in Table 2-7 students who at the time of the pretest were living with their biological father. As Table 2-7 indicates, 73.8% of Anglo students were living with their biological father as compared with 40.0% of Black students. Table 2-8 indicates that 93.2% of all Experimental I students were living with their biological mother and the percentages differed only slightly for Anglo and Black students.

6. Identification with parents

Three individual items concerning identification with parents are reproduced in Tables 2-9, 2-10, and 2-11. These responses reflect, for a majority of the students, an expressed attitude of moving away from the values of parents. As Table 2-9 shows, 71.1% of students in Experimental I indicated that their opinions were "somewhat different" or "very different" from those of their parents. Table 2-10 indicates that for these same students, 58.5% wanted to be like their father "not at all" or "in just a few ways." Table 2-11 indicates that 50.5% wanted to be like their mother "not at all" or "in just a few ways."

TABLE 2-7. Living with Biological Father. Experimental I and Control I for Anglo and Black Students

	Experimental I		
	Anglo	Black	Total
Category	%	%	%
Lives with father	73.8% n = 31	40.0% n = 22	54.6% n = 53
Does not live with father	26.2% n = 11	60.0% n = 33	45.4% n = 44
Total	100.0% n = 42	100.0% n = 55	100.0% n = 97

	Control I		
	Anglo	Black	Total
Category	%	%	%
Lives with father	80.0% n = 28	44.4% n = 20	60.0% n = 48
Does not live with father	20.0% n = 7	55.6% n = 25	40.0% n = 32
Total	100.0% n = 35	100.0% n = 45	100.0% n = 80

TABLE 2-8. Living with Biological Mother. Experimental I and Control I. Pretest.

Category	Exp. I %	Con. I %
Lives with Mother	93.2% n = 96	98.8% n = 85
Does not live with Mother	6.8% n = 7	1.2% n = 1
Total	100.0% n = 103	100.0% n = 86
Blank	n = 1	n = 2

TABLE 2-9. Are Your Opinions Like Parents. Experimental I and Control I.

	Exp. I		Con. I	
Category	%	Cum.%	%	Cum.%
Very Different	27.5% n = 26	27.5% n = 26	9.3% n = 8	9.3% n = 8
Somewhat Different	43.6% n = 44	71.1% n = 70	41.9% n = 36	51.2% n = 44
Somewhat Similar	20.8% n = 21	91.9% n = 91	43.0% n = 37	94.2% n = 81
Very Similar	9.9% n = 10	100.0% n = 101	5.8% n = 5	100.0% n = 86

TABLE 2-10. Want to be like Father. Experimental I and Control I.

	Exp. I		Con. I		Kandel and Lesser (1968) Sample	
Category	%	Cum.%	%	Cum.%	%	Cum.%
Not at all	33.0% n = 31	33.0% n = 31	23.1% n = 18	23.1% n = 18	36.0%	
In just a few ways	25.5% n = 24	58.5% n = 55	25.6% n = 20	48.7% n = 38		
In many ways	21.3% n = 20	79.8% n = 75	23.1% n = 18	71.8% n = 56	21.0%	58.0%
In most ways	12.8% n = 12	92.6% n = 87	16.7% n = 13	88.5% n = 69	43.0%	99.0%
Yes completely	7.4% n = 7	100.0% n = 94	11.5% n = 9	100.0% n = 78		

TABLE 2-11. Want to be like Mother. Experimental I and Control I.

	Exp. I		Con. I		Kandel and Lesser (1968) Sample	
Category	%	Cum.%	%	Cum.%	%	Cum.%
Not at all	14.6% n = 15	14.6% n = 15	15.1% n = 13	15.1% n = 13	42.0%	42.0%
In just a few ways	35.9% n = 37	50.5% n = 52	26.7% n = 23	41.8% n = 36		
In many ways	19.4% n = 20	69.9% n = 72	19.8% n = 17	61.6% n = 53	21.0%	63.0%
In most ways	18.4% n = 19	88.3% n = 91	22.1% n = 19	83.7% n = 72	37.0%	100.0%
Yes completely	11.7% n = 12	100.0% n = 103	16.3% n = 14	100.0% n = 86		

One might wonder how typical these expressed attitudes are for adolescents at this age. Kandle and Lesser (1968) asked these same questions to students from rural, small town, and inner city urban high schools. They report results for the questions "Do you want to be like your mother?" and "Do you want to be like your father?" for the total sample that they studied, and these results are indicated in Table 2-10 and 2-11. As Table 2-10 indicates, 36% of the Kandel and Lesser sample wanted to be like their father "not at all" or " in just a few ways" as compared to 58.5% of the Experimental I sample. 43% of the Kandel and Lesser sample wanted to be like their father "in most ways" or "completely" as compared with 20.2% of the Experimental I sample. However, inspection of Table 2-11 shows much more similar distributions of response for the Kandel and Lesser sample and the Experimental I sample concerning whether the students wanted to be like their mother. One possible explanation for these patterns is that Kandel and Lesser's sample was composed only of families where biological father and mother were present, while substantial rates of father absence in the Experimental I sample have already been noted. Thus, the somewhat lower observed rates of identification with father could reflect this father absence rather than a generalized alienation from family values. Overall, it may be that the data reflect a slightly lower level of identification with parents than would be present in a representative national sample, but not a radical departure from the results we might expect.

As noted later, the scale of five items we called "Identification with Parents" was dropped from the analysis of pretest-posttest differences when it failed to register statistically significant changes on any of the numerous multivariate analyses reported later in this chapter.

7. Track in previous school

Although Metro High School had no tracking system, other Chicago Public high schools employ a tracking system with four levels. In addition to the Regular track, two of these leveles are remedial (Basic and Essential) and one is accelerated (Honors). An inspection of data published by the Chicago Public Schools (1971) indicates that there are large differences between the percentages of students in various tracks in predominantly Anglo versus predominantly Black or Latino schools. In Anglo schools, approximately 20% of students are in the Basic and Essential Tracks, 65% in the Regular Track, and 15% in the Honors Track. In predominantly Black and Latino schools 55% (and sometimes up to 70%) of the students are in the Basic and Essential Tracks, 40% in the Regular Track, and 5% in the Honors Track. As shown in Table 2-12, the Experimental I students, when asked to indicate their track in their previous school generated a distribution similar to the overall Chicago high school population, with one exception. As in

TABLE 2-12. Track in School. Previous School for Experimental I. Anglo and Black Students. Pretest.

	Experimental I					
	Anglo		Black		Total	
Category	%	Cum.%	%	Cum.%	%	Cum.%
Basic Track	13.6% n = 6	13.6% n = 6	23.6% n = 13	23.6% n = 13	19.1% n = 19	19.1% n = 19
Essential Track	6.8% n = 3	20.4% n = 9	27.3% n = 15	50.9% n = 28	18.2% n = 18	37.3% n = 37
Regular Track	45.5% n = 20	65.9% n = 29	38.2% n = 21	89.1% n = 49	41.4% n = 41	78.7% n = 78
Honors Track	34.1% n = 15	100.0% n = 44	10.9% n = 6	100.0% n = 55	21.2% n = 21	100.0% n = 99

the high school population at large, 20% of Anglos and 50% of blacks came from the Remedial Tracks at their previous schools. However, there were 34.1% of Anglos coming from Honors Tracks and 10.9% of blacks coming from Honor Tracks, higher than the percentages for all public schools. Thus, especially for the Anglos, there were fewer Regular Track students and more Honors Track students coming to Metro than were in attendance at the typical predominantly white high school, although Regular Track Anglos were still the largest percentage of the Anglo population at Metro (45.5%).

Note that because the Experimental I population generally reflected the distribution of Anglo and Black students among tracks in the Chicago Public Schools, there were 2 1/2 times as many Black students at Metro came from Remedial Tracks (50.9%) as Anglos (20.4%), slightly fewer Blacks (38.2%) than Anglos (45.5%) in the Regular Track, and three times as many Anglos (34.1%) as Blacks (10.9%) from the Honors Tracks. (See Table 2-13)

8. Racial composition of previous school

Table 2-14 indicates the racial composition of previous high school as reported by Experimental I and of present high school as reported by Control I. For Experimental I, the fact that the student was being requested to report about his/her previous high school and not Metro was

TABLE 2-13. Track in School. Present School for Control I. Anglo and Black Students. Pretest.

	Control I					
	Anglo		Black		Total	
Category	%	Cum.%	%	Cum.%	%	Cum.%
Basic Track	2.8% n = 1	2.8% n = 1	26.7% n = 12	26.7% n = 12	16.0% n = 13	16.0% n = 13
Essential Track	22.2% n = 8	25.0% n = 9	35.6% n = 16	62.3% n = 28	29.6% n = 24	45.6% n = 37
Regular Track	27.8% n = 10	52.8% n = 19	26.7% n = 12	89.0% n = 40	27.1% n = 22	72.7% n = 59
Honors Track	47.2% n = 17	100.0% n = 36	11.1% n = 5	100.0% n = 45	27.1% n = 22	100.0% n = 81

	All Chicago High School Students*					
	Anglo		Black		Total	
Category	%	Cum.%	%	Cum.%	%	Cum.%
Basic Track					--	
Essential Track					--	42.4%
Regular Track					47.9%	90.3%
Honors Track					9.7%	100.0%

*Source: Chicago Public Schools. Selected School Characteristics: 1970-71. Chicago: Author, 1971.

TABLE 2-14. Integration of High School. Previous High School for Experimental I and Present High School for Control I. Anglo and Black Students. Pretest.

	Experimental I					
	Anglo		Black		Total	
Category	%	Cum.%	%	Cum.%	%	Cum.%
All my race	9.1% n = 4	9.1% n = 4	14.8% n = 8	14.8% n = 8	12.2% n = 12	12.2% n = 12
Most my race	29.5% n = 13	38.6% n = 17	14.8% n = 8	29.6% n = 16	21.4% n = 21	33.6% n = 33
More than half my race	6.8% n = 3	45.4% n = 20	7.4% n = 4	37.0% n = 20	7.1% n = 7	40.7% n = 40
Half my race	40.9% n = 18	86.3% n = 38	37.0% n = 20	74.0% n = 40	38.8% n = 38	79.5% n = 78
Less than half my race	9.1% n = 4	95.4% n = 42	7.4% n = 4	81.4% n = 44	8.2% n = 8	87.7% n = 86
Few my race	4.5% n = 2	100.0% n = 44	14.8% n = 8	96.2% n = 52	10.2% n = 10	98.0% n = 96
None other my race	0.0% n = 0	100.0% n = 44	3.7% n = 2	100.0% n = 54	2.0% n = 2	100.0% n = 98

TABLE 2-14. Integration of High School (continued)

	Control I					
	Anglo		Black		Total	
Category	%	Cum.%	%	Cum.%	%	Cum.%
All my race	5.7% n = 2	5.7% n = 2	31.1% n = 14	31.1% n = 14	20.0% n = 16	20.0% n = 16
Most my race	34.3% n = 12	40.0% n = 14	28.9% n = 13	60.0% n = 27	31.2% n = 25	51.2% n = 41
More than half my race	11.4% n = 4	51.4% n = 18	20.0% n = 9	80.0% n = 36	16.2% n = 13	67.4% n = 54
Half my race	25.7% n = 9	77.1% n = 27	8.9% n = 4	88.9% n = 40	16.2% n = 13	83.6% n = 67
Less than half my race	14.3% n = 5	91.4% n = 32	0.0% n = 0	88.9% n = 40	6.3% n = 5	89.9% n = 72
Few my race	5.7% n = 2	97.1% n = 34	6.7% n = 3	95.6% n = 43	6.3% n = 5	96.2% n = 77
None other my race	2.9% n = 1	100.0% n = 35	4.4% n = 2	100.0% n = 45	3.8% n = 3	100.0% n = 80

not strongly enough emphasized in the questionnaire, so that data is inaccurate. Since Control I students did not experience this confusion, their responses should accurately reflect the racial composition of their present high schools and thus be very similar to the racial compositions of the previous high schools of Experimental I. Referring to the data on Control I then, 40.0% of Anglos and 60.0% of Blacks reported that their previous high school was "all my race" or "most my race." If we define an integrated situation as one described by the middle three categories on the seven category scale of racial composition presented to the student ("more than half my race", "half my race," and "less than half my race"), then 44% of Anglos and 29% of Blacks had come from a substantially integrated situation, and even in these situations the tracking system described earlier probably worked to limit cross-racial contact.

9. Desire for future cross-racial contact

As shown in Table 2-15 students reported a range of opinion concerning the desirability of more, the same, or less cross-racial contact, with 50% stating that they desired a little or much more, 40% stating that they wanted about the same, and 10% stating that they wanted a little or much less. These percentages were almost the same for both Anglo and Black students (tables not presented).

TABLE 2-15. Desire for Future Cross - racial Contact. Experimental I and Control I. Pretest.

	Exp. I		Con. I	
Category	%	Cum.%	%	Cum.%
Desire much more	25.7% n = 26	25.7% n = 26	23.8% n = 20	23.8% n = 20
Desire a little more	23.8% n = 24	49.5% n = 50	19.0% n = 16	42.8% n = 36
Desire about the same	39.6% n = 40	89.1% n = 90	47.6% n = 40	90.4% n = 76
Desire a little less	6.9% n = 7	96.0% n = 97	4.8% n = 4	95.2% n = 80
Desire much less	4.0% n = 4	100.0% n = 101	4.8% n = 4	100.0% n = 84

10. Perception of school climate in previous school

As explained earlier, Experimental I students were asked to rate the nature of their previous school environment on a set of items intended to tap those characteristics of schooling that Metro's planners hoped would distinguish it from conventional schools (e.g., closer student-teacher relationships, tolerance for individual opinion, individualization of learning programs). Control I students were asked to rate their present school on this same School Climate scale. As indicated in Table 2-22, the mean score for Experimental I was 198.4 and for Control I, 213.7. The mean scores of both groups were close to the middle of the scale (i.e., a score of 210 or half way between "a little like my school" and " not much like my school" on the four-choice scale). The results obtained using this scale will be discussed in much greater depth later in this chapter.

11. Student's educational aspirations

Students were asked to report their ideal and realistic educational aspirations, and the nature of their responses are presented in Table 2-16 and 2-17. As Table 2-17 indicates, 18% indicated that realistically they would probably finish high school only, 6% that they would attend business or technical school, 21% that they would attend some college, 40% that they would finish college, and 12% that they would attend professional or graduate school. No significant differences were observed between Anglo and black students.

TABLE 2-16. Student's Educational Aspirations (Ideal). Experimental I and Control I. Pretest.

	Exp. I		Con. I	
Category	%	Cum.%	%	Cum.%
Don't care if finish high school	0.0% n = 0	0.0% n = 0	1.2% n = 1	1.2% n = 1
High school only	15.5% n = 16	15.5% n = 16	10.5% n = 9	11.7% n = 10
Technical, nursing, business school	3.9% n = 4	19.4% n = 20	8.1% n = 7	19.8% n = 17
Some college	7.8% n = 8	27.2% n = 28	15.1% n = 13	34.9% n = 30
Finish college	48.5% n = 50	75.7% n = 78	43.0% n = 37	77.9% n = 67
Prof. or grad. school	24.3% n = 25	100.0% n = 103	22.1% n = 19	100.0% n = 86

TABLE 2-17. Student's Educational Aspirations (Realistic). Experimental I and Control I. Pretest.

	Exp. I		Con. I	
Category	%	Cum.%	%	Cum.%
Doesn't care if finish high school	1.9% n = 2	1.9% n = 2	10.5% n = 9	10.5% n = 9
High school only	18.4% n = 19	20.4% n = 21	22.1% n = 19	32.6% n = 28
Technical, nursing, or business school	5.8% n = 6	26.2% n = 27	11.6% n = 10	49.2% n = 38
Some college	21.4% n = 22	47.6% n = 49	17.4% n = 15	61.6% n = 53
Finish college	39.8% n = 41	87.4% n = 90	30.2% n = 26	91.9% n = 79
Professional or Graduate School	12.6% n = 13	100.0% n = 103	8.1% n = 7	100.0% n = 86

The interpretation of such student self-reports is problematic. One indication of their significance comes from the responses of Kandel and Lesser's sample to similar questions. In the Kandel and Lesser sample, a somewhat higher percentage of students were only planning to finish high school and a somewhat lower percentage were planning to finish college, as compared to the Experimental I sample. This difference probably results from the fact that Kandel and Lesser's sample included high school students at all grade levels (as compared to the ninth graders in Experimental 1) and that older students become more realistic in their educational aspirations.

12. Characteristics of ideal job and nature of hoped-for life accomplishments

The mean response for each item on these two scales was first calculated (*e.g.*, Table 2-18 indicates that Experimental I gave the item "provide an opportunity to use my special abilities or aptitudes" a mean rating of 3.37 on a four-point scale). These mean ratings were then rank-ordered (*e.g.*, Table 2-19 indicates that the mean ranking of 3.37 that Experimental I gave the item "provide an opportunity to use my special abilities or aptitudes," was the highest mean ranking given by Experimental I to any of the eleven items). While the method of presentation in Tables 2-18 and 2-19 allows the reader to get a first-hand feeling for the data, there is a danger of over-estimating the differences reflected in the rank order presentation in the

TABLE 2-18. Rank Order of Perceived Importance of 11 Items on Characteristics of Ideal Job Scale. Pretest Ratings for Experimental I and Control I. Pretest.

Item	Exp. I		Con. I	
	Mean	Rank	Mean	Rank
1. Provide an opportunity to use my special abilities or aptitudes.	3.37	1	3.21	6
2. Give me an opportunity to be helpful to others.	3.29	2	3.40	1
3. Provide me a chance to earn a good deal of money.	3.24	3	3.22	5
4. Enable me to look forward to a stable secure future.	3.17	4	3.28	4
5. Permit me to be creative and original.	3.12	5	3.37	2
6. Give me an opportunity to work with people rather than things.	3.11	6	3.33	3
7. Leave me relatively free of the supervision of others.	3.07	7	2.80	8
8. Provide me with adventure.	2.91	8	2.77	9
9. Give me a chance to exercise leadership.	2.74	9	2.88	7
10. Leave me a large amount of leisure time.	2.51	10	2.58	10
11. Give me social status and prestige.	2.43	11	2.58	11

TABLE 2-19. Rank Order of Perceived Importance of 20 Items on Nature of Hoped-for Life Accomplishments Scale. Pretest Ratings by Experimental I, Control I, and a National Sample of Entering College Freshmen. Pretest.

	Exp. I		Con. I		Col. Fr.*
Item	Mean	Rank	Mean	Rank	Rank
1. To help others in difficulty.	4.64	1	4.55	1	4
2. To succeed in my own business.	4.57	2	4.40	4	9
3. To have friends with different backgrounds.	4.41	3	4.43	3	3
4. To be an authority in my field.	4.34	4	4.07	9	5
5. To develop a philosophy of life.	4.33	5	4.22	7	1
6. To be well-off financially.	4.32	6	3.99	11	8
7. To have an active social life.	4.08	7	4.53	2	6
8. To not be obligated to people.	4.07	8	4.05	10	14
9. To have administrative responsibility.	4.04	9	3.82	14	12
10. To keep up with political affairs.	3.93	10	3.60	18	7
11. To influence social values.	3.92	11	4.28	6	11
12. To raise a family.	3.90	12	4.32	5	2
13. To achieve in a performing art.	3.82	13	3.91	12	18
14. To be looked up to by my friends.	3.81	14	4.15	8	10
15. To write original works.	3.69	15	3.65	16	17
16. To become a community leader.	3.65	16	3.79	15	13
17. To develop a strong religious faith.	3.57	17	3.64	17	Not rated
18. To create works of art.	3.44	18	3.35	19	16

TABLE 2-19. Life Accomplishments Scale (continued)

Item	Exp. I		Con. I		Col. Fr.*
	Mean	Rank	Mean	Rank	Rank
19. To contribute to scientific theory.	3.43	19	3.21	20	19
20. To influence the political structure.	3.24	20	3.88	13	15

*Source: American Council on Education. National Norms for Entering College Freshmen - Fall 1969 Washington: Author, 1969.

tables. For example, the first six items presented in Table 2-18 are very close in their mean rankings for both Experimental I and Control I and the differences between them are probably not significant. Reading these tables cautiously, several things stand out. First, on both scales, items related to helping other people rank near the top (_i.e._, "Give me an opportunity to be helpful to others" in Table 2-18 and "To help others in difficulty" in Table 2-19). Second, items related to financial security are also rated high (_i.e._, "provide me with a chance to earn a good deal of money" and "enable me to look forward to a stable secure future" in Table 2-18 and "to succeed in my own business" and "to be well-off financially" in Table 2-19). Third, items related to political participation and leadership were consistently rated low in importance (_i.e._, "give me a chance to exercise leadership" in Table 2-18, "to keep up with political affairs", " to influence social values," "to become a community leader," and "to influence the political structure" in Table 2-19).

13. Reading and mathematics achievement

The Sequential Tests of Education Progress (Educational Testing Service, 1957) are based on a system that allows the researcher to convert raw scores from several different versions of the tests to a common standard scale. The resulting standard scores were used in all computations in the research. For ease of presentation, final results were sometimes converted into grade equivalents.

Table 2-20 shows the distribution of reading achievement scores for Experimental I. If the average Experimental I student had been reading on grade level at the time the pretest was administered, he/she should have been reading at the ninth year-sixth month level. As noted on the table, the average Experimental I student was reading on the eighth grade-third month level, or about fifteen months below grade level. The reading level of entering students was highly related to the student's race. As Table 2-45 indicates, entering black students had an average reading score of 260.9 or sixth year-sixth month, thirty-six months below grade level. Entering Anglo students had an average reading score of 283.2 or ninth year-eleventh month, five months above grade level.

Overall, there was an extremely wide distribution of reading achievement. As Table 2-20 indicates, approximately 38% of the students were more than two years below grade level and 27% were barely at the sixth grade level. On the other hand, 40% were above grade level, including about 10% who were more than two years above grade level.

Table 2-21 shows the distribution of math achievement scores for Experimental I. As noted on the tables, the average Metro student was achiving in math at the ninth year-third month level, only three months below grade level. As was the case with reading achievement, mathematics achievement at the time of the pretest was closely linked to race. As Table 2-45 indicates, entering black students had an average math score of 258.2

or seventh year-eleventh month, nineteen months below grade level. Entering Anglo students had an average math score of 273.3 or eleventh year-fourth month, twenty-two months above grade level.

Similar to reading achievement, there was overall, a tremendous range of math achievement, as indicated by Table 2-21. Approximately 35% of Experimental I students were more than two years below grade level, while about 10% of the Experimental I students were more than four years above grade level.

TABLE 2-20. Reading Achievement Test Grade Equivalent. Experimental I and Control I. Pretest.

	Exp. I		Con. I	
Category	%	Cum.%	%	Cum.%
1. Less than 4 yr. - 0 mo. to 4 yr. - 7 mo. (score 230 - 249)	16.5% n = 17	16.5% n = 17	11.5% n = 10	11.5% n = 10
2. 4 yr. - 8 mo. to 6 yr. - 3 mo. (score 250 - 259)	10.7% n = 11	27.2% n = 28	13.8% n = 12	25.3% n = 22
3. 6 yr. - 4 mo. to 7 yr. - 10 mo. (score 260 - 269)	11.7% n = 12	38.9% n = 40	17.2% n = 15	42.5% n = 37
4. 7 yr. - 11 mo. to 9 yr. - 4 mo. (score 270 - 279)	20.4% n = 21	59.3% n = 61	18.4% n = 16	60.9% n = 53
5. 9 yr. - 5 mo. to 10 yr. - 11 mo. (score 280 - 289)	25.2% n = 26	84.5% n = 87	20.7% n = 18	81.6% n = 71
6. 11 yr. - 0 mo. to 12 yr. - 5 mo. (score 290 - 299)	11.7% n = 12	96.1% n = 99	13.8% n = 12	95.4% n = 83
7. 12 yr. - 6 mo. to 13 yr. - 9 mo. (score 300 - 309)	3.9% n = 4	100.0% n = 103	4.0% n = 4	100.0% n = 87
8. 13 yr. - 10 mo. to more than 14 yr. - 0 mo. (score 310 - 319)	0.0% n = 0	100.0% n = 103	0.0% n = 0	100.0% n = 87

Average Experimental I student's score is 272.4, equivalent to the 8th year - 3rd month. Average Control I student's score is 274.3, equivalent to the 8th year - 6th month.

TABLE 2-21. Math Achievement Test Grade Equivalent. Experimental I and Control I. Pretest.

	Exp. I		Con. I	
Category	%	Cum.%	%	Cum.%
1. Less than 4 yr. - 0 mo. to 5 yr. - 11 mo. (score 230 - 249)	17.5% n = 18	17.5% n = 18	11.5% n = 10	11.5% n = 10
2. 6 yr. - 0 mo. to 8 yr. - 1 mo. (score 250 - 259)	14.6% n = 15	32.1% n = 33	25.3% n = 22	36.8% n = 32
3. 8 yr. - 2 mo. to 10 yr. - 3 mo. (score 260 - 269)	28.2% n = 29	60.3% n = 62	31.0% n = 27	67.8% n = 59
4. 10 yr. - 4 mo. to 12 yr. - 11 mo. (score 270 - 279)	27.2% n = 28	87.5% n = 90	17.2% n = 15	85.1% n = 74
5. 13 yr. - 0 mo. to more than 14 yr. - 0 mo.	12.5% n = 13	100.0% n = 103	14.9% n = 13	100.0% n = 87

Average Experimenral I student's score is 264.7, equivalent to the ninth year - third month. Average Control I student's score is 263.6, equivalent to the ninth year - zero month.

TABLE 2-22. Selected Pretest and Posttest Means, Standard Deviations, and Gain Scores for Experimental I, Control I, and Indicated Comparison Groups

Category	Exp. I		Con. I	
	$\bar{x}$	S.D.	$\bar{x}$	S.D.
Self Image				
Pretest	100.2	12.1	101.1	11.5
Posttest	105.5	12.1	108.0	11.8
Gain Score	+5.3		+6.9	
Perception of School Climate				
Pretest	198.4	33.6	213.7	35.5
Posttest	275.1	29.8	211.2	43.9
Gain Score	+76.7		-2.53	
Prefers First-Hand Learning				
Pretest	24.0	2.50	24.2	2.67
Posttest	24.3	4.01	24.7	2.99
Gain Score	+.3		+.5	

TABLE 2-22. Selected Means (continued)

	Exp. I		Con. I	
Category	$\bar{x}$	S.D.	$\bar{x}$	S.D.
Sense of Control Overall				
Pretest	18.1	2.90	18.3	2.53
Posttest	18.7	2.82	19.0	2.54
Gain Scores	+.6		+.7	
Experience in the City				
Pretest	47.1	7.96	47.8	7.28
Posttest	53.5	9.38	48.8	6.53
Gain Scores	+6.4		+1.0	
Identification with Parents				
Pretest	24.5	3.81	25.1	3.62
Posttest	24.7	4.81	24.9	3.60
Gain Scores	+.2		-.2	

TABLE 2-22. Selected Means (continued)

Category	Exp. I		Con. I	
	$\bar{x}$	S.D.	$\bar{x}$	S.D.
Reading Achievement				
Pretest	272.4	17.1	274.3	16.7
Posttest	282.6	22.2	275.8	17.7
Gain Score	+10.2		+1.5	
Math Achievement				
Pretest	264.7	14.7	263.6	14.3
Posttest	262.6	20.1	266.7	17.5
Gain Score	-2.1		+3.1	
Educational Aspirations - Ideal				
Pretest	4.74	1.24	4.60	1.30
Posttest	4.76	1.35	4.45	1.43
Gain Score	+.02		-.15	

TABLE 2-22. Selected Means (continued)

	Exp. I		Con. I	
Category	$\bar{x}$	S.D.	$\bar{x}$	S.D.
Educational Aspirations - Realistic				
Pretest	4.26	1.34	3.62	1.58
Posttest	4.30	1.57	3.89	1.60
Gain Score	+.04		+.27	

TABLE 2-45. Selected Pretest and Posttest Means, Standard Deviations, and Gain Scores for Anglo and Black Students in Experimental I and Control I.

	Pretest		Posttest		Gain Score
Category	$\bar{x}$	S.D.	$\bar{x}$	S.D.	$\bar{x}$
Educational Aspirations - Ideal					
Experimental I Anglo n = 35	4.71	1.36	4.69	1.51	
Experimental I Black n = 46	4.67	1.17	4.80	1.16	
Control I Anglo n = 29	4.79	1.08	4.17	1.79	
Control I Black n = 34	4.68	1.09	4.76	1.01	
Educational Aspirations - Realistic					
Experimental I Anglo	4.28	1.41	4.06	1.75	
Experimental I Black	4.15	1.30	4.43	1.88	
Control I Anglo	3.93	1.51	3.79	1.38	
Control I Black	3.56	1.50	4.18	1.38	

TABLE 2-45. Selected Means (continued)

Category	Pretest $\bar{x}$	Pretest S.D.	Posttest $\bar{x}$	Posttest S.D.	Gain Score $\bar{x}$
Reading Achievement					
Experimental I Anglo	283.0	15.05	294.8	21.53	+11.8
Experimental I Black	264.7	14.25	273.6	18.26	+ 8.9
Control I Anglo	282.9	14.94	284.1	14.94	+ 1.2
Control I Black	266.4	15.09	269.1	16.46	+ 2.7
Math Achievement					
Experimental I Anglo	272.8	11.48	274.9	15.85	+ 2.1
Experimental I Black	258.7	13.91	252.7	18.37	- 6.0
Control I Anglo	272.0	14.46	274.9	17.15	+ 2.9
Control I Black	256.3	9.79	260.0	15.37	+ 3.7

TABLE 2-45. Selected Means (continued)

Category	Pretest		Posttest		Gain Score
	$\bar{x}$	S.D.	$\bar{x}$	S.D.	$\bar{x}$
Self Image					
Experimental I Anglo	99.7	13.9	103.7	14.2	+4.0
Experimental I Black	98.8	12.6	105.3	12.3	+6.5
Control I Anglo	104.7	1[illegible].6	109.3	14.4	+4.6
Control I Black	97.3	9.9	105.1	9.5	+7.8
Perception of School Climate					
Experimental I Anglo	183.8	31.0	277.4	28.3	+93.6
Experimental I Black	199.2	30.0	255.2	39.3	+56.0
Control I Anglo	204.7	30.0	202.2	34.4	-2.5
Control I Black	210.4	24.2	212.1	46.4	+1.7

TABLE 2-45. Selected Means (continued)

	Pretest		Posttest		Gain Score
Category	$\bar{x}$	S.D.	$\bar{x}$	S.D.	$\bar{x}$
Prefers First-Hand Learning					
Experimental I Anglo	22.4	4.3	24.8	3.1	+.4
Experimental I Black	23.1	2.8	23.1	4.7	+.0
Control I Anglo	23.9	4.2	23.8	3.3	+1.9
Control I Black	22.4	3.7	23.0	3.7	+.6
Sense of Control Overall					
Experimental I Anglo	17.5	2.1	18.2	2.0	
Experimental I Black	16.5	2.6	17.7	2.4	
Control I Anglo	17.2	2.7	18.1	1.6	
Control I Black	16.6	2.7	17.7	1.6	

TABLE 2-45. Selected Means (continued)

Category	Pretest $\bar{x}$	Pretest S.D.	Posttest $\bar{x}$	Posttest S.D.	Gain Score $\bar{x}$
Experience in the City					
Experimental I Anglo	44.3	6.3	53.7	7.1	+9.4
Experimental I Black	45.2	10.5	52.3	11.0	+7.2
Control I Anglo	46.6	5.8	50.6	6.4	+4.0
Control I Black	42.7	7.7	46.9	6.2	+4.2

Comparison of effects of Experimental I and Control I experiences

All variables considered by the research team as potential outcome variables at the time that we developed the questionnaire and testing program are listed in Table 2-23. Two major multivariate analysis of covariance were carried out on two groups of outcome variables. The division of the variables into two groups was necessary because statistically there were not enough degrees of freedom (given the number of subjects) to analyze them in a single group. Since the research team felt that scales with a number of items were more likely to be reliable measures and to pick up differences in Experimental I versus Control I outcomes, seven such scales were designated Variable Group I and analyzed in one multivariate run. As Table 2-23 indicates, these include Self-Image, Perception of School Climate, Preference for First-Hand Learning, Sense of Control Overall, Experience in the City, Reading Achievement, and Math Achievement.

A group of individual items was designated Variable Group 2 and analyzed in a second multivariate run. As Table 2-23 indicates, these include the eleven items in Characteristics of Ideal Job, the 20 items in Nature of Hoped-For Life Accomplishments, and Ideal and Realistic Educational Aspiration.

Four other items or scales were dropped from the analysis for reasons indicated in Table 2-23.

TABLE 2-23. Decisions Made Concerning the Analysis of Data Collected through Questionnaires and Achievement Tests

Measure	Status
Self - Image Scale	Analyzed as part of Variable Group 1
Perception of School Climate Scale	Analyzed as part of Variable Group 1
Preference for First-Hand Learning Scale	Analyzed as part of Variable Group 1
Sense of Control Scale (Overall)	Analyzed as part of Variable Group 1
Experience in the City Scale	Analyzed as part of Variable Group 1
Reading Achievement Test	Analyzed as part of Variable Group 1
Math Achievement Test	Analyzed as part of Variable Group 1
Characteristics of Ideal Job--Individual Items	Analyzed as part of Variable Group 2
Nature of Hoped-for Life Accomplishments--Individual Items	Analyzed as part of Variable Group 2
Educational Aspirations, Ideal--Individual Item	Analyzed as part of Variable Group 2
Educational Aspirations, Realistic--Individual Item	Analyzed as part of Variable Group 2
Identification with Parents Scale	Initially analyzed as part of Variable Group 1. When no differences that approached significance were observed in any univariate analysis, it was dropped from the multivariate and univariate analyses.

TABLE 2-23. (continued)

Measure	Status
Desire for Future Cross-Racial Contact--Individual Item	Omitted by programming error from Variable Group 2. Inspection of means and distributions indicates no Experimental I versus Control I differences.
Vocational Knowledge Questions	Dropped from analysis because students varied greatly in completing short-paragraph responses.
Independent Learning Skills Questions	Dropped from analysis because students varied greatly in completing short-paragraph responses.

The results of the multivariate analysis for Variable Group I are presented in Tables 2-24 and 2-25. Table 2-24 indicates the results of multivariate and univariate analysis of variance for Experimental I and Control I on the pretests. This analysis was carried out to see whether the randomization procedure had been effective. The multivariate F is not significant. Of the seven scales in Variable Group I, one Experimental-Co[illegible]ce is significant at the .01 level, while the others don't approach significance. Significant pretest differences exist for Perception of School Climate. Pretest means in Table 2-22 indicate that Experimental I had an average score of 198.4 in rating their former school, while Control I had an average score of 213.7 in rating their present school. One plausible explanation for this difference is that Experimental I students in their first few days of attending Metro were more critical in looking back on their former schools, as compared to Control I students who were rating schools they still attended.

Table 2-25 presents the results of multivariate and univariate analysis of covariance for posttest scores in Variable Group 1. Corresponding pretests were used as covariates. (e.g., pretest self-image, pretest reading achievement). The overall multivariate F-Ratio is significant at the .0001 level, indicating we can take the univariate F-Ratios seriously. Three individual Experimental I-Control I differences are significant with p-values less than .05: Perception of School Climate (P less than .0001), Experience in the

TABLE 2-24. Experimental I versus Control I Multivariate and Univariate Analyses of Variance on Selected Pretest Variables (Variable Group 1).

F - Ratio for Multivariate Test = 1.68[illegible]7
D.F. = 7 and 135 P less than .1186

Variable	Hyp. Mean Square	Univariate F	P less than
Self Image	25.23	0.1813	.6710
Perception of School Climate	8301.71	8.1323	.0051**
Preference for First-Hand Learning	1.29	0.1943	.6601
Sense of Central Overall	0.98	0.1288	.7203
Experience in the City	21.29	0.3632	.5478
Reading Achievement	137.88	0.4819	.4888
Math Achievement	35.85	0.1702	.6806

D.F. for hypothesis = 1 D.F. for error = 141

**less than .01

TABLE 2-25. Experimental I versus Control I Multivariate and Univariate Analyses of Covariance on Selected Posttest Variables with Corresponding Pretests as Covariates (Variable Group 1).

F - Ratio for Multivariate Test = 20.2936
D.F. = 7 and 128 P less than .0001***

Variable	Hyp. Mean Square	Univariate F	P less than
Self Image	26.29	0.2696	0.6046
Perception of School Climate	158557.44	101.1395	0.0001***
Preference for First-Hand Learning	4.24	0.4049	0.5258
Sense of Control Overall	0.19	0.0364	0.8490
Experience in the City	1042.17	19.4109	0.0001***
Reading Achievement	1493.17	9.9702	0.0020**
Math Achievement	723.48	3.1223	0.0795

D.F. for hypothesis = 1 D.F. for error = 134

**less than .01
***less than .001

City (P less than .0001), and Reading Achievement (P less than .002). Math Achievement approaches the .05 level of significance (P less than .0795).

As indicated by Table 2-22 the Experimental-Control difference (P less than .0001) in Perception of School Climate can be traced to a much higher rating of the Metro climate by Experimental I as compared to the rating given the conventional schools by Control I. Experimental I shifted from an average rating of 198.4 for their previous schools to a rating of 275.1 for Metro--a gain of 76.5. Control I rated their schools virtually the same on both pretest and posttest (213.7 and 211.2). Inspection of gain scores for the 14 original subscales of the Perception of School Climate Scale indicates a fairly consistent pattern of change on each subscale. A factor analysis of the results for the Perception of School Climate Scale to investigate the validity of these original subscales is presented later in this chapter.

The Experience in the City Scale was developed to help determine whether Experimental I students were in fact, coming into contact with the types of people, organizations, and situations in the city that were supposed to be a central part of the Metro program. Table 2-22 indicates that the significant univariate analysis (P less than .0001) resulted from a gain on this scale of 6.4 for Experimental I as compared with the Control group's gain of 1.0. This result then reflects a higher reported level of contact with varied people, organizations, and situations in the city for the Experimental I compared to Control I groups.

The significant difference in tested reading achievement between the Experimental I and Control I groups (P less than .002) is indicated by Table 2-22. In the Experimental I group, the average reading score for the sixteen month period from pretest to posttest rose from 272.4 (eighth year-third month) to 282.6, (ninth year-tenth month). Thus, Experimental I gained 19 months in reading achievement in sixteen months, a rate greater than the national average. In comparison, average reading score for Control I rose from 274.3 (eighth grade-sixth month) to 275.8 (eighth grade-tenth month). Thus, Control I gained four months in reading achievement in the fourteen month period between their pretesting and posttesting.

As noted earlier, the P-Value for math achievement approached the .05 level (P less than .0795). In this case, as shown by Table 22, the Experimental I mean scores fell from 264.7 (ninth year-third month) to 262.6 (eighth year-ninth month), while the Control I mean score rose from 263.6 (ninth year-zero month) to 266.7 (ninth year-ninth month). Thus, Experimental I lost six months in tested achievement while Control I gained nine months in tested achievement.

Table 2-26 presents a multivariate analysis of variance for pretest items in Variable Group 2, comparing Experimental I and Control I. The multivariate F is significant at the .05 level although only two of the

TABLE 2-26. Experimental I versus Control I Multivariate and Univariate Analyses of Variance on Selected Pretest Variables (Variable Group 2).

F - Ratio for Multivariate Test = 1.6872
D.F. = 34 and 110 P less than 0.0224*

Variable	Hyp. Mean Square	Univariate F	P less than
Characteristics of Ideal Job - No p's less than .05 on 11 variables (results not presented)			
Nature of Hoped for Life Accomplishments			
To influence the political structure	14.62	6.1981	0.0140*
No p's less than .05 on 19 remaining variables (results not presented)			
Educational Aspirations - Ideal	.77	0.4794	0.4899
Educational Aspirations - Realistic	14.28	6.7072	0.0106*

D.F. for hypothesis = 1 D.F. for error = 143

*p less than .05

33 variables in Variable Group 2 register P values less than .05. On the twenty-item scale of Nature of Hoped for Life Accomplishments, one item, "To influence the political structure," shows a significant Experimental I versus Control I difference. As Table 2-19 indicates, Experimental I rated this item twentieth on the scale (last) while Control I rated it 13th. Since it is the only one of twenty items on the scale that reaches the .05 level, the result can probably be attributed to chance.

The other univariate F that is significant for the Variable Group 2 pretest analysis is Realistic Educational Aspiration. As indicated by Table 2-22, the mean Experimental I score for Realistic Educational Aspiration is 4.26 as compared with 3.62 for Control I. As Table 2-17 indicates, this mean difference reflects a higher percentage of Control I students who only expect to finish high school and a higher percentage of Experimental I students who expect to finish college or attend graduate school. It seems plausible that Experimental I may have reported higher educational aspirations because they had just begun to attend a new experimental school.

Table 2-27 presents results of the multivariate analysis of covariance for Variable Group 2, in which corresponding pretests are employed as covariates. The multivariate F does not approach significance. Thus, we may disregard the two significant univariate results among the 33 variables in Group 2 as being the result of chance.

TABLE 2-27. Experimental I versus Control I Multivariate and Univariate Analyses of Variance on Selected Posttest Variables with Corresponding Pretests as Covariates (Variable Group 2).

F - Ratio for Multivariate Test = 1.1768
D. F. = 34 and 76 P less than .2769

Variable	Hyp. Mean Square	Univariate F	P less than
Characteristics of Ideal Job			
Provide me with adventure	4.43	5.0679	0.0264*
No p's less than .05 on remaining nine variables (results not presented)			
Nature of Hoped for Life Accomplishments			
To contribute to a scientific theory	11.92	5.6137	0.0196*
No p's less than .05 on 19 remaining variables (results not presented)			
Educational Aspirations - Ideal	0.25	0.1474	0.7018
Educational Aspirations - Realistic	2.02	1,0321	0.3119

D. F. for hypothesis = 1 D.F. for error = 109

*p less than .05

We experimented with an alternative approach to the analysis of pretest to posttest differences between Experimental I and Control I. It was suggested that the procedure of controlling for each corresponding pretest in the multivariate analysis might be removing too much overall variance as opposed to variance specific to each measure. Thus, for both Variable Group I and Variable Group 2, we carried out a multivariate analysis of variance using the gain scores for each variable. Since this alternative approach to analysis produced almost exactly the same results as the multivariate analysis of covariance described above, these results are not reported further.

Differential outcomes of Experimental I and Control I experience by subgroup and by race

Having reviewed the results of the overall Experimental I versus Control I comparison, we can now ask whether certain subcategories of students in either the Experimental or Control groups benefited differentially from their experiences as compared with other groups. There are many possible ways in which students might be subcategorized to investigate possibilities of differential outcome--such as race, social class, race and social class, previous track in school, pretest reading level, and observed behavior during the program. Within the limits of our study, we have carried out detailed analysis of two such subcategorizations, (1) student subgroup based on observed behavior in the Experimental I program and (2) race.

As explained in detail in Chapter 6, participant observation of the Experimental I group revealed striking differences in perception of the Metro program (and participation in the program) among six student subgroups, whose characteristics were related to the students' attitudes toward the schools they had attended prior to coming to Metro. These six subgroups can be described briefly as follows:

Black School-Oriented: The Black School-Oriented students conformed to the expectations of their previous schools, in terms of both academic performance and personal behavior. They viewed school in terms of getting a good job and going to college. They tended to complete school work faithfully and had a wide range of skill levels and records of past achievement. They came from lower to middle income background.

Black Youth Culture/School-Oriented (Black Youth Culture): These students had many characteristics in common with the Black School-Oriented group. However, they were more aware of the political dimensions of the black consciousness movement and talked about success in school as a means for gaining skills that would further black political development.

Black School-Alienated: The previous experiences of these students had been characterized by academic failure and conflict with the school. They identified strongly with black students from similar backgrounds. These students also identified with the esthetic elements of black consciousness in terms of dress and music. They tended to come from low-income families and often lived in large housing projects or physically decaying inner city neighborhoods.

White School-Oriented: These students had the same general characteristics as Black School-Oriented students.

White School-Alienated/(White Youth Culture): These students, mostly from middle income backgrounds, identified with the "counter culture." They tended to be articulate and expressed radical political views. They may have recently failed in school because they were "fed up with it," but their past school records included periods of high achievement, and they generally above grade level in basic skills.

White School-Alienated/Ethnic (White Ethnic): These students had a history of past school experience similar to the Black School-Alienated students. Their family income levels fell in the low to middle range. Members of the group generally saw themselves as "greasers," and thus acted out their alienation from the school in a manner that is consistent with the values of urban ethnic white youth. They were particularly hostile to the White School-Alienated/Youth Culture students.

Note that Latino students were not included in this subgroup classification because of their small numbers in Experimental I. It should be emphasized that some students can't be easily classified in any of these groups. It should also be emphasized that labels for the groups reflect their orientation when they came to Metro. However, as analyzed in detail in Chapter 6, there were strikingly similar patterns of behavior at Metro associated with membership in these subgroups. Further, three members of the research team, when asked to categorize students based on these subgroup descriptions, independent of each other placed 90% of the students in the same subgroup classifications. Thus, we decided to explore possible differences between Experimental I students who belonged to the various subgroups on pretest variables, posttest variables, and gains during the program.

The three research team members who had classified students in subgroups reached agreement through discussion concerning the classifications of the 10% of students on which they initially disagreed. Thus, each Anglo and Black Experimental I student was given a subgroup classification. Since the design of the research program did not enable us to observe the students in Control I, we could not carry out a corresponding classification for Control I. Therefore, this analysis is limited to differential effects by subgroups within the Experminetal I program.

There are a large number of ways to compare six groups in a multivariate analysis of variance. In deciding which comparisons to make, we were influenced both by the small sample size for several subgroups (Black Youth Culture n=4, White Ethnic n=4, and White Youth Culture n=6) and by the perceptions of abilities and attitudes of each subgroup that we had established through observation. Taking both into account, we first predicted that the Black School-Alienated students would rank significantly lower than the other groups on pretests of Self-Image, Sense of Control, Experience in the City, Reading Achievement, and Math Achievement. In addition to these specific predictions, we were interested in exploring other subgroup differences that might emerge.

Tables 2-30 to 2-34 present multivariate results comparing the Black School-Alienated subgroup with each of the other five subgroups on pretest scores. Tables 2-29 and 2-30 provide pretest means that are helpful in interpreting the multivariate results. The following results are observed in Tables 2-30 to 2-34:

1. Black School-Oriented students ranked significantly higher than Black School-Alienated students in their Perception of School Cli-

TABLE 2-28. Selected Pretest and Posttest Means, Standard Deviations, and Gain Scores for Six Student Subgroups in Experimental I.

	Pretest		Posttest		Gain Score
Category	$\bar{x}$	S.D.	$\bar{x}$	S.D.	$\bar{x}$
Self Image					
Black School-Oriented	101.7 n = 28	12.5	107.9	10.7	+6.2
Black Youth Culture	104.8 n = 4	10.8	103.2	7.6	-1.6
Black School-Alienated	94.7 n = 12	11.5	104.2	8.8	+9.5
White School-Oriented	97.7 n = 23	12.3	101.6	14.2	+3.9
White Youth Culture	110.3 n = 6	5.6	114.4	11.0	+4.1
White Ethnic	102.6 n = 4	8.9	104.3	17.7	+1.7
Average	100.2 n = 77	12.1	105.5	12.1	+5.3

Table 2-29. **Selected Pretest and Posttest Means, Standard Deviations, and Gain Scores for Six Student Subgroups in Experimental I.**

	Pretest		Posttest		Gain Score
Category	$\bar{x}$	S.D.	$\bar{x}$	S.D.	$\bar{x}$
Perception of School Climate					
Black School-Oriented	208.5 n = 28	36.0	270.2	39.5	+61.7
Black Youth Culture	197.0 n = 4	39.4	284.8	23.8	+87.8
Black School-Alienated	200.9 n = 12	28.4	245.4	40.5	+44.5
White School-Oriented	190.8 n = 23	28.5	287.4	34.5	+96.6
White Youth Culture	174.1 n = 6	37.1	305.7	10.4	+131.6
White Ethnic	202.0 n = 4	41.3	272.8	34.5	+70.8
Average	198.4 n = 77	33.6	275.1	29.8	+76.7

TABLE 2-29. Selected Means (continued)

Category	Pretest		Posttest		Gain Score
	$\bar{x}$	S.D.	$\bar{x}$	S.D.	$\bar{x}$
Prefers First - Hand Learning					
Black School-Oriented	24.0 n = 28	2.3	23.3	5.2	-.7
Black Youth Culture	23.1 n = 4	3.6	26.4	1.8	+3.3
Black School-Alienated	24.6 n = 12	2.1	22.7	3.0	-1.9
White School-Oriented	24.1 n = 23	2.8	25.5	2.8	+1.4
White Youth Culture	24.9 n = 6	2.4	26.6	1.9	+1.7
White Ethnic	21.5 n = 4	1.8	24.2	4.0	+3.1
Average	24.0 n = 77	2.5	24.3	4.0	+.3

TABLE 2-29. Selected Means (continued)

Category	Pretest		Posttest		Gain Score
	$\bar{x}$	S.D.	$\bar{x}$	S.D.	$\bar{x}$
Sense of Control Overall					
Black School-Oriented	18.3 n = 28	2.8	19.3	2.4	+1.0
Black Youth Culture	15.4 n = 4	3.1	19.0	2.2	+3.6
Black School-Alienated	16.3 n = 12	2.6	15.7	2.4	-.6
White School-Oriented	19.1 n = 23	2.8	19.3	3.0	+.2
White Youth Culture	18.5 n = 6	1.9	20.1	2.3	+1.6
White Ethnic	18.8 n = 4	3.6	18.8	2.2	0.0
Average	18.1 n = 77	2.9	18.7	2.8	+.6

TABLE 2-29. Selected Means (continued)

	Pretest		Posttest		Gain Score
Category	$\bar{x}$	S.D.	$\bar{x}$	S.D.	$\bar{x}$
Experience in the City					
Black School Oriented	47.1 n = 28	9.7	55.0	12.5	+7.9
Black Youth Culture	46.3 n = 4	7.9	54.5	5.0	+8.2
Black School Alienated	48.8 n = 12	9.0	48.8	8.4	0.0
White School Oriented	45.1 n = 23	4.9	53.1	6.7	+8.0
White Youth Culture	52.3 n = 6	7.8	57.4	5.2	+5.1
White Ethnic	46.7 n = 4	3.7	52.2	3.2	+5.5
Average	47.1 n = 77	8.0	53.5	9.4	+6.4

TABLE 2-29. Selected Means (continued)

	Pretest		Posttest		Gain Score
Category	$\bar{x}$	S.D.	$\bar{x}$	S.D.	$\bar{x}$
Reading Achievement					
Black School Oriented	261.7 n = 28	14.6	275.1	17.9	+13.4
Black Youth Culture	271.0 n = 4	8.8	288.0	14.6	+17.0
Black School Alienated	255.3 n = 12	11.8	262.7	15.6	+7.4
White School Oriented	283.9 n = 23	13.5	297.2	21.6	+13.3
White Youth Culture	291.5 n = 6	7.6	301.2	12.2	+9.7
White Ethnic	266.7 n = 4	14.5	278.0	19.3	+11.3
Average	272.4 n = 77		282.6	22.2	+10.2

TABLE 2-29. Selected Means (continued)

	Pretest		Posttest		Gain Score
Category	$\bar{x}$	S.D.	$\bar{x}$	S.D.	$\bar{x}$
Math Achievement					
Black School Oriented	260.2 n = 28	14.4	253.2	19.2	-7.0
Black Youth Culture	267.0 n = 4	6.8	258.5	19.5	-8.5
Black School Alienated	250.5 n = 12	11.5	249.4	15.7	-1.1
White School Oriented	273.1 n = 23	10.6	276.4	13.8	+3.3
White Youth Culture	279.6 n = 6	10.5	279.8	15.7	+.2
White Ethnic	265.7 n = 4	8.5	266.2	12.5	+.5
Average	264.7 n = 77		262.6		-2.1

TABLE 2-30. Multivariate and Univariate Analyses of Variance on Selected Pretest Variables (Variable Group 1) for Black School-Oriented and Black-School Alienated Student Subgroups in Experimental 1.

F - Ratio for Multivariate Test = 1.6679
D.F. = 7 and 65   P less than .1327

Variable	Hyp. Mean Square	Univariate F	P less than
Self Image	85.83	0.6249	.4319
Perception of School Climate	4446.93	4.0317	.0485*
Preference for First - Hand Learning	0.09	0.0153	.9018
Sense of Control Overall	.96	0.1249	.7248
Experience in the City	0.03	0.0005	.9816
Reading Achievement	1232.32	7.0234	.0100**
Math Achievement	900.02	6.1227	.0158*

D.F. for hypothesis = 1   D.F. for error = 71

*less than .05
**less than .01

TABLE 2-31. Multivariate and Univariate Analyses of Variance on Selected Pretest Variables (Variable Group 1) for Black Youth Culture and Black School Alienated Student Sugbroups in Experimental I.

F- Ratio for Multivariate Test = 1.0190
D.F. = 7 and 65 P less than .4265

Variable	Hyp. Mean Square	Univariate F	P less than
Self Image	123.18	0.8969	.3469
Perception of School Climate	79.80	0.0723	.7888
Preference for First - Hand Learning	3.59	0.5830	.4477
Sense of Control Overall	29.32	3.8289	.0544
Experience in the City	3.45	0.0542	.8167
Reading Achievement	83.85	0.4779	.4917
Math Achievement	.36	0.0024	.9610

D.F. for hypothesis = 1 D.F. for error = 71

TABLE 2-32. Multivariate and Univariate Analyses of Variance on Selected Pretest Variables (Variable Group 1) for Black School Alienated and White School Oriented Student Subgroups in Experimental I.

F- Ratio for Multivariate Test = 4.4716
D. F. = 7 and 65   P less than .0005***

Variable	Hyp. Mean Square	Univariate F	P less than
Self Image	83.63	0.6089	.4378
Perception of School Climate	98.69	0.0895	.7658
Preference for First - Hand Learning	0.00	0.0005	.9816
Sense of Control Overall	35.74	4.6663	.0342*
Experience in the City	204.67	3.2138	.0773
Reading Achievement	3113.59	17.7452	.0001***
Math Achievement	1593.17	10.8381	.0016**

D.F. for hypothesis = 1   D.F. for error = 71

*less than .05
**less than .01
***less than .001

TABLE 2-33. Multivariate and Univariate Analyses of Variance on Selected Pretest Variables (Variable Group 1) for Black School Alienated and White Youth Culture Student Subgroups in Experimental I.

F - Ratio for Multivariate Test = 4.9270
D.F. = 7 and 65 P less than .0002

Variable	Hyp. Mean Square	Univariate F	P less than
Self Image	817.35	5.9510	.0173*
Perception of School Climate	3198.42	2.8998	.0930
Preference for First - Hand Learning	5.05	0.8208	.3681
Sense of Control Overall	10.75	1.4035	.2401
Experience in the City	73.94	1.1611	.2849
Reading Achievement	4842.42	27.5984	.0001***
Math Achievement	2805.09	19.0826	.0001***

D.F. for hypothesis = 1 D.F. for error = 71

*less than .05
***less than .001

TABLE 2-34. Multivariate and Univariate Analyses of Variance on Selected Pretest Variables (Variable Group 1) for Black School Alienated and White Ethnic Student Subgroups in Experimental I.

F - Ratio for Multivariate Test = 2.1068
D.F. = 7 and 65 P less than .0551

Variable	Hyp. Mean Square	Univariate	P less than
Self Image	186.61	1.3587	.2477
Perception of School Climate	3.22	0.0029	.9571
Preference for First - Hand Learning	28.25	4.5910	.0356*
Sense of Control Overall	17.66	2.3054	.1334
Experience in the City	12.95	0.2033	.6535
Reading Achievement	391.02	2.2285	.1399
Math Achievement	697.69	4.7462	.0327*

D.F. for hypothesis = 1 D.F. for error = 71

*less than .05

mate, Reading Achievement, and Math Achievement. Results in this comparison should be interpreted with caution since the overall Multivariate F was not significant. Table 2-30.

2. White School-Oriented Students ranked significantly higher than Black School-Alienated students in their Sinse of Control Overall, Reading Achievement, and Math Achievement. The multivariate F is highly significant. Table 2-32.

3. White Youth Culture students ranked significantly higher than Black School-Alienated students in their Self Image, Reading Achievement, and Math Achievement. The multivariate F is highly significant. Table 2-33.

4. White Ethnic Students ranked significantly higher than Black School-Alienated students in Math Achievement and significantly lower in Preference for First-Hand Learning. The multivariate F is marginal. Table 2-34.

To supplement the interpretation of these results, it is helpful to review some patterns in the mean pretest scores for the six subgroups presented in Table 2-29:

1. Black School Alienated students have the lowest pretest means for Self Image, Reading Achievement, and Math Achievement.

2. White Youth Culture students had the highest pretest means for Self Image, Preference for First-Hand Learning, Experiene in in the City, Reading Achievement, and Math Achievement. They gave the lowest average rating for Perception of School Climate for their previous school.

3. For both Reading Achievement and Math Achievement, the pretest means were in the following order: White Youth Culture, White School-Oriented, Black Youth Culture, White Ethnic, Black-School Oriented, and Black School-Alienated.

4. The Black School Alienated and White Ethnic groups ranked second and third highest in their ratings of their previous schools. They were not as critical of them relative to other groups as we might have expected.

Reviewing our original hypotheses about pretest differences, the hypothesis that the Black School-Alienated would rank significantly lower than the other groups on the pretest variables was confirmed consistently only for Reading Achievement and Mathematics Achievement.

Tables 2-35 to 2-40 present a similar multivariate analysis carried out concerning the posttests for the six subgroups without any pretest variables employed as covariates. Thus, these results explicate differences that exist between subgroups at the time of the posttest without reference to the initial scores of students in the subgroups. Again, it was hypothesized that the Black School-Alienated subgroup would rank lower on such measures as Self Image, Perception of School Climate, Preference for First-Hand Learning, Sense of Control Overall, Experience in the City, Reading Achievement, and Math Achievement. They appeared, based on participant observation, to be benefiting relatively less from the program than other subgroups. As with the pretest analysis, we also wished to explore other patterns that might emerge from the data on subgroups. The following results of the multivariate analysis of posttests are observed in Tables 2-35 to 2-39:

1. Black School-Oriented students ranked significantly higher than Black School-Alienated students in their Reading Achievement and Math Achievement. The multivariate F is highly significant. Table 2-35.

TABLE 2-35. Multivariate and Univariate Analyses of Variance on Selected Posttest Variables (Variable Group 1) for Black School Alienated and Black School Oriented Student Subgroups in Experimental I.

F - Ratio for Multivariate Test = 3.0846
D.F. = 7 and 65 P less than .0021***

Variable	Hyp. Mean Square	Univariate F	P less than
Self Image	256.29	1.7943	.1847
Perception of School Climate	1077.37	0.8292	.3656
Preference for First - Hand Learning	42.23	2.7604	.1011
Sense of Control Overall	13.07	1.9785	.1640
Experience in the City	94.78	1.0714	.3042
Reading Achievement	2500.78	7.3472	.0085**
Math Achievement	3855.14	13.9016	.0004***

D.F. for hypothesis = 1 D.F. for error = 71

**less than .01
***less than .001

TABLE 2-36. Multivariate and Univariate Analyses of Variance on Selected Posttest Variables (Variable Group 1) for Black School Alienated and Black Youth Culture Student Subgroups in Experimental I.

F - Ratio for Multivariate Test = 0.4496
D.F. = 7 and 65   P less than .8669

Variable	Hyp. Mean Square	Univariate F	P less than
Self Image	3.6057	0.0252	.8743
Perception of School Climate	207.7012	0.1599	.6905
Preference for First - Hand Learning	10.2588	0.6705	.4157
Sense of Control Overall	1.2474	0.1888	.6653
Experience in the City	14.6546	0.1657	.6853
Reading Achievement	5.0957	0.0150	.9030
Math Achievement	389.7184	1.4053	.2398

D.F. for hypothesis = 1   D.F. for error = 71

TABLE 2-37. Multivariate and Univariate Analyses of Variance on Selected Posttest Variables (Variable Group 1) for Black School Alienated and White School Oriented Student Subgroups in Experimental I.

F - Ratio for Multivariate Test = 4.6073
D.F. = 7 and 65 P less than .0004

Variable	Hyp. Mean Square	Univariate F	P less than
Self Image	332.2146	2.3259	.1317
Perception of School Climate	4723.6767	3.6358	.0606
Preference for First - Hand Learning	22.3076	1.4580	.2313
Sense of Control Overall	37.0192	5.6022	.0207*
Experience in the City	20.3072	0.2296	.6334
Reading Achievement	5083.7102	14.9357	.0003***
Math Achievement	2773.5672	10.0015	.0024**

D.F. for hypothesis = 1 D.F. for error = 71

*less than .05
**less than .01
***less than .001

TABLE 2-38. Multivariate and Univariate Analyses of Variance on Selected Posttest Variables (Variable Group 1) for Black School Alienated and White Youth Culture Student Subgroups in Experimental I.

F - Ratio for Multivariate Test = 3.1675
D.F. = 7 and 65 P less than .0061

Variable	Hyp. Mean Square	Univariate F	P less than
Self Image	454.4124	3.1814	.0788
Perception of School Climate	12448.7522	9.6125	.0028**
Preference for First - Hand Learning	57.5791	3.7634	.0564
Sense of Control Overall	57.8916	8.7609	.0042**
Experience in the City	256.2375	2.8967	.0932
Reading Achievement	5244.1212	15.4070	.0002***
Math Achievement	2997.2803	10.8081	.0016**

D.F. for hypothesis = 1 D.F. for error = 71

*less than .01
**less than .001

TABLE 2-39. Multivariate and Univariate Analyses of Variance on Selected Posttest Variables (Variable Group 1) for Black School-Alienated and White Ethnic Student Subgroups in Experimental I.

F - Ratio for Multivariate Test = 1.0349
D.F. = 7 and 65 P less than .4158

Variable	Hyp. Mean Square	Univariate F	P less than
Self Image	0.0055	0.0000	.9951
Perception of School Climate	2237.0512	1.7218	.1937
Preference for First - Hand Learning	7.6059	0.4971	.4831
Sense of Control Overall	27.7552	4.2003	.0442*
Experience in the City	33.9789	0.3841	.5374
Reading Achievement	705.3333	2.0722	.1544
Math Achievement	850.0833	3.0654	.0843

D.F. for hypothesis = 1 D.F. for error = 71

*less than .05

2. White School-Oriented students ranked significantly higher than Black School-Alienated students in their Sense of Control Overall, Reading Achievement, and Math Achievement. The multivariate F is highly significant. Table 2 - 37.

3. White Youth Culture Students ranked significantly higher than Black School-Alienated students in Perception of School Climate, Sense of Control Overall, Reading Achievement, and Math Achievement. The other three variables in Variable Group 1 (Self Image, Preference for First-Hand Learning, and Experience in the City) approached significance in this comparison (P between .10 and .05). Especially given the small number of subjects in the White Youth Culture subgroup, these consistent results are extremely compelling.

To supplement the interpretation of these results, it is helpful to review some patterns in the mean posttest scores for the six subgroups from Table 2-29:

1. Black School-Alienated students have the lowest posttest means for Perception of School Climate (in this instance of Metro), Preference for First-Hand Learning, Sense of Control Overall, Experience in the City, Reading Achievement, and Math Achievement.

2. White Youth Culture students have the highest posttest means for Self Image, Perception of School Climate, Preference for First-Hand Learning, Sense of Control Overall, Experience in the City Reading Achievement, and Math Achievement.

3. For Reading Achievement, the mean posttest scores of the subgroups are in the same order as on the pretest: White Youth Culture, White School Oriented, Black Youth Culture, White Ethnic, Black School-Oriented, Black School-Alienated. For posttest Math Achievement, the groups ranked in the same sequence except that White Ethnic ranked above rather than below Black Youth Culture.

Reviewing our original hypothesis about posttest differences, the hypothesis that Black School-Alienated students would rank significantly below other groups was confirmed consistently only for Reading Achievement and Math Achievement. It was supported for all variables, however, in the comparison of the Black School-Alienated and White Youth Culture students.

The third set of multivariate analysis carried out for the student subgroups is presented in Tables 2-40 to 2-44. These analysis answer the question: Were there differential effects on subgroups of the Experimental I program (were there differential posttest results taking pretests into account? It was again hypothesized that Black School-Alienated students would derive less benefit from the program than other groups. Summarized simply, no such results appeared. No multivariate F's in these tables reached the .05 level of significance. Thus, the two significant univariate F's of the 35 in these tables should be disregarded. There is some suggestion in the gain scores reproduced in Table 2-29 that the Black School Alienated subgroup was lagging behind others in terms of program effects. The Black School-Alienated students show the smallest gains of any subgroup on the following variables: Perception of School Climate, Preference for First-Hand Learning, Sense of Control Overall, Experience in the City, and Reading Achievement. As with the Experimental I - Control I comparison, we carried out an alternative approach to multivariate analysis of program effects with the subgroup data--*i.e.*, a multivariate analysis of gain scores to see if our covarience method was masking effects. This alternative analysis produced the same results as the multivariate analysis of variance with pretests and covariates--*i.e.*, no differential program effects by sub-

TABLE 2-40. Multivariate and Univariate Analyses of Covariance on Selected Posttest Variables with Corresponding Pretests as Covariates (Variable Group 1) for Black School Alienated and Black School Oriented Student Subgroups in Experimental I.

F - Ratio for Multivariate Test = 1.8323
D.F. = 7 and 58   P less than .0983

Variable	Hyp. Mean Square	Univariate F	P less than
Self Image	257.1326	2.3915	.1270
Perception of School Climate	91.6156	0.0788	.7799
Preference for First - Hand Learning	18.3220	1.1745	.2826
Sense of Control Overall	16.8056	3.1436	.0810
Experience in the City	3.1652	0.0421	.8381
Reading Achievement	187.4553	1.1719	.2831
Math Achievement	1480.8305	5.8265	.0187*

D.F. for hypothesis = 1   D.F. for error = 64

*less than .05

TABLE 2-41. Multivariate and Univariate Analyses of Covariance on Selected Posttest Variables with Corresponding Pretests as Covariates (Variable Group 1) for Black School Alienated and Black Youth Culture Student Subgroups in Experimental I.

F - Ratio for Multivariate Test = 1.1250
D.F. = 7 and 58   P less than .3603

Variable	Hyp. Mean Square	Univariate F	P less than
Self Image	20.6957	0.1925	.6624
Perception of School Climate	639.1114	0.5494	.4613
Preference for First - Hand Learning	24.2185	1.5525	.2173
Sense of Control Overall	8.9773	1.6793	.1997
Experience in the City	30.2703	0.4027	.5280
Reading Achievement	395.1144	2.4702	.1210
Math Achievement	162.6071	0.6398	.4268

D.F. for hypothesis = 1   D.F. for error = 64

TABLE 2-42. Multivariate and Univariate Analyses of Covariance on Selected Posttest Variables with Corresponding Pretests as Covariates (Variable Group 1) for Black School Alienated and White School Oriented Student Subgroups in Experimental I.

F - Ratio for Multivariate Test = 2.1879
D.F. = 7 and 58 P less than .0485*

Variable	Hyp. Mean Square	Univariate F	P less than
Self Image	899.6796	8.3676	.0053**
Perception of School Climate	229.1160	0.1970	.6587
Preference for First - Hand Learning	0.0785	0.0050	.9437
Sense of Control Overall	3.1122	0.5822	.4483
Experience in the City	163.6901	2.1775	.1450
Reading Achievement	60.7954	0.3801	.5398
Math Achievement	381.6731	1.5017	.2249

D.F. for hypothesis = 1 D.F. for error = 64

*less than .05
**less than .01

TABLE 2-43. Multivariate and Univariate Analyses of Covariance on Selected Posttest Variables with Corresponding Pretests as Covariates (Variable Group 1) for Black School Alienated and White Youth Culture Student Subgroups in Experimental I.

F - Ratio for Multivariate Test = 0.7125
D.F. = 7 and 58   P less than 0.6616

Variable	Hyp. Mean Square	Univariate F	P less than
Self Image	0.3308	0.0031	.9560
Perception of School Climate	1309.1227	1.1254	.2928
Preference for First - Hand Learning	12.6814	0.8129	.3707
Sense of Control Overall	6.4526	1.2070	.2761
Experience in the City	284.4334	3.7837	.0562
Reading Achievement	60.7473	0.3798	.5400
Math Achievement	305.1801	1.2008	.2773

D.F. for hypothesis = 1   D.F. for error = 64

TABLE 2-44. Multivariate and Univariate Analyses of Covariance on Selected Posttest Variables with Corresponding Pretests as Covariates (Variable Group 1) for Black School Alienated and White Ethnic Student Subgroups in Experimental I.

F - Ratio for Multivariate Test = .9296
D.F. = 7 and 58 P less than .4908

Variable	Hyp. Mean Square	Univariate F	P less than
Self Image	122.3471	1.1379	.2901
Perception of School Climate	1482.3724	1.2743	.2632
Preference for First - Hand Learning	4.3315	0.2777	.6001
Sense of Control Overall	18.2127	3.4068	.0696
Experience in the City	63.4083	0.8435	.3619
Reading Achievement	22.5522	0.1410	.7086
Math Achievement	231.5542	0.9111	.3435

D.F. for hypothesis = 1 D.F. for error = 64

group. Thus, the smaller gain scores for the Black School-Alienated subgroup on these five variable may be suggestive for later studies but was not statistically significant in two alternative approaches to testing for differential effects that we employed.

The completion of the analysis of differential benefit by subgroup within the Metro program prompted us to examine the effects of both Metro and control on Anglo and black students. Thus, we carried out three sets of multivariate analyses of variance which compared Experimental I and Control I, Anglo and black, and the interactions of treatment and race. The three analyses were multivariate analyses of selected variables on the pretest (Tables 2-46 to 48), posttest (Tables 2-49 to 2-51), and the posttest with corresponding pretest variables employed as covariates (Tables 2-52 to 2-54). The variables chosen for analysis were those in Variable Group 1, plus the two measures of educational aspiration.

Tables 2-46 to 2-48 indicate the results of analyzing pretest scores. Table 2-46 indicates Experimental I versus Control I differences that have been noted in earlier analyses. Experimental I students in their first few days of the Metro program rated their previous school significantly more negatively on Perception of School Climate and expressed significantly higher Realistic Educational Aspirations.

Table 2-47 indicates several differenees on the pretest between Anglo and black students that exceed or approach significance at the .05 level. The multivariate F is highly significant (P less than .0001). Extremely large pretest differences in initial reading and mathematic achievement are reflected

TABLE 2-46. Multivariate and Univariate Analyses of Variance on Selected Pretest Variables for Experimental I and Control I (Treatment Effects).

F - Ratio for Multivariate Test = 2.54
D.F. = 9 and 132 P less than .0103

Variable	Hyp. Mean Square	Univariate F	P less than
Educational Aspirations - Ideal	0.05	0.04	.8461
Educational Aspirations - Realistic	8.16	4.06	.0459
Reading Achievement	0.01	0.28	.5952
Math Achievement	0.01	0.41	.5237
Self Image	0.01	0.51	.4772
Perception of School Climate	0.82	9.71	.0023
Prefers First-Hand Learning	0.02	0.17	.6745
Sense of Control Overall	0.00	0.06	.8052
Experience in the City	0.04	0.06	.8130

D.F. for hypothesis = 1 D.F. for error = 140

Pre - M.C.

TABLE 2-47. Multivariate and Univariate Analyses of Variance on Selected Pretest Variables for Anglo and Black Students (Race Effects)

F - Ratio for Multivariate Test = 8.21
D.F. = 9 and 132 P less than .0001

Variable	Hyp. Mean Square	Univariate F	P less than
Educational Aspirations - Ideal	0.19	0.14	.7110
Educational Aspirations - Realistic	2.02	1.01	.3173
Reading Achievement	1.09	49.87	.0001
Math Achievement	0.78	49.10	.0001
Self Image	0.05	3.17	.0774
Perception of School Climate	0.44	5.25	.0235
Prefers First - Hand Learning	0.03	0.21	.6488
Sense of Control Overall	0.26	4.01	.0471
Experience in the City	0.48	0.73	.3952

D.F. for hypothesis = 1 D.F. for error = 140

Pre - BW

TABLE 2-48. Multivariate and Univariate Analyses of Variance on Selected Pretest Variables for Anglo and Black Students in Experimental I and Control I (Race X Treatment Effects)

F - Ratio for Multivariate Test = 1.36
D.F. = 9 and 132 P less than .2139

Variable	Hyp. Mean Square	Univariate F	P less than
Educational Aspirations - Ideal	0.05	0.04	.8496
Educational Aspirations - Realistic	0.50	0.25	.6191
Reading Achievement	0.00	0.13	.7189
Math Achievement	0.00	0.14	.7071
Self Image	0.03	2.48	.1179
Perception of School Climate	0.08	0.99	.3217
Prefers First - Hand Learning	0.42	3.01	.0849
Sense of Control Overall	0.01	0.19	.6656
Experience in the City	2.07	3.15	.0782

D.F. for hypothesis = 1 D.F. for error = 140

Pre - Int.

TABLE 2-49. Multivariate and Univariate Analyses of Covariance on Selected Pretest Variables with Corresponding Pretests as Covariates for Experimental I and Control I (Treatment Effects)

F - Ratio for Multivariate Test = 14.24
D.F. = 9 and 123   P less than 0.0001

Variable	Hyp. Mean Square	Univariate F	P less than
Educational Aspirations - Ideal	1.70	1.22	.2718
Educational Aspirations - Realistic	1.39	0.75	.3896
Reading Achievement	0.16	11.07	.0012
Math Achievement	0.06	2.73	.1008
Self Image	0.00	0.12	.7287
Perception of School Climate	12.99	99.78	.0001
Prefers First - Hand Learning	0.00	0.01	.9054
Sense of Control Overall	0.06	2.13	.1472
Experience in the City	6.01	10.37	.0017

D.F. for hypothesis = 1   D.F. for error = 131

Cov - M.C.

TABLE 2-50. Multivariate and Univariate and Analyses of Covariance on Selected Posttest Variables with Corresponding Pretests as Covariate for Anglo and Black Students (Race Effects)

F - Ratio for Multivariate Test = 2.89
D.F. = 9 and 123   P less than .004

Variable	Hyp. Mean Square	Univariate F	P less than
Educational Aspirations - Ideal	3.64	2.62	.1082
Educational Aspirations - Realistic	4.79	2.56	.1118
Reading Achievement	0.02	1.63	.2042
Math Achievement	0.23	11.18	.0011
Self Image	0.04	3.50	.0635
Perception of School Climate	0.02	0.20	.6540
Prefers First - Hand Learning	0.44	3.33	.0703
Sense of Control Overall	0.04	1.42	.2362
Experience in the City	0.59	0.99	.3198

D.F. for hypothesis = 1   D.F. for error = 131

Cov A-B

TABLE 2-51. Multivariate and Univariate Analyses of Covariance on Selected Posttest Variables with Corresponding Pretests as Covariates for Anglo and Black Students in Experimental I and Control I (Race X Treatment Effects)

F - Ratio for Multivariate Test = 1.43
D.F. = 9 and 123 P less than .1822

Variable	Hyp. Mean Square	Univariate F	P less than
Educational Aspirations - Ideal	3.39	2.43	.1212
Educational Aspirations - Realistic	0.97	0.52	.4735
Reading Achievement	0.03	2.03	.1570
Math Achievement	0.04	2.05	.1545
Self Image	0.00	0.42	.5192
Perception of School Climate	0.89	6.86	.0099
Prefers First - Hand Learning	0.04	0.32	.5751
Sense of Control Overall	0.01	0.44	.5082
Experience in the City	0.02	0.04	.8387

D.F. for hypothesis = 1 D.F. for error = 131

Cov - Int.

TABLE 2-52. Multivariate and Univariate Analyses of Variance on Selected Posttest Variables for Experimental I and Control I (Treatment Effects)

F - Ratio for Multivariate Test = 14.76
D.F. = 9 and 132 P less than .0001

Variable	Hyp. Mean Square	Univariate F	P less than
Educational Aspirations - Ideal	2.41	1.29	.2589
Educational Aspirations - Realistic	2.61	1.04	.3089
Reading Achievement	0.16	4.93	.0280
Math Achievement	0.07	2.59	.1097
Self Image	0.02	1.29	.2567
Perception of School Climate	11.58	80.56	.0001
Prefers First - Hand Learning	0.06	0.39	.5292
Sense of Control Overall	0.00	0.01	.9126
Experience in the City	6.57	9.61	.0024

D.F. for hypothesis = 1 D.F. for error = 140

Post - M-C

TABLE 2-53. Multivariate and Univariate Analysis of Variance on Selected Posttest Variables for Anglo and Black Students (Race Effects)

F -- Ratio for Multivariate Test = 8.38
D.F. = 9 and 132 P less than .0001

Variable	Hyp. Mean Square	Univariate F	P less than
Educational Aspirations - Ideal	3.81	2.03	.1569
Educational Aspirations - Realistic	5.13	2.05	.1546
Reading Achievement	1.21	36.82	.0001
Math Achievement	1.28	44.98	.0001
Self Image	0.00	0.20	.6545
Perception of School Climate	0.23	1.60	.2068
Prefers First - Hand Learning	1.67	11.37	.0010
Sense of Control Overall	0.09	2.22	.1382
Experience in the City	2.06	3.02	.0846

D.F. for hypothesis = 1 D.F. for error = 140

BW - Post

TABLE 2-54. Multivariate and Univariate Analyses of Variance on Selected Posttest Variables for Anglo and Black Students in Experimental I and Control I (Race X Treatment Effects)

F - Ratio for Multivariate Test = 1.74
D.F. = 9 and 132   P less than .0854

Variable	Hyp. Mean Square	Univariate F	P less than
Educational Aspirations - Ideal	1.96	1.05	.3083
Educational Aspirations - Realistic	0.00	0.00	.9915
Reading Achievement	0.03	1.02	.3143
Math Achievement	0.05	1.60	.2074
Self Image	0.03	1.86	.1752
Perception of School Climate	0.91	6.29	.0134
Prefers First - Hand Learning	0.99	0.67	.4138
Sense of Control Overall	0.00	0.08	.7845
Experience in the City	0.47	0.69	.4077

D.F. for hypothesis = 1   D.F. for error = 140

Post - Int.

in highly significant univariate results on these variables (both P values are less than .0001). A racial difference in Sense of Control Overall had a significant P-value less than .0471. As indicated by Table 2-45, this difference reflects higher initial ratings on the Sense of Control Overall scale for Anglo as compared to black students. The P-value for Self Image approaches the .05 level (P less than .0774), and Table 2-45 indicates that black students had slightly lower scores on this scale in the pretest than did Anglo students.

Table 2-48 indicates that there were no significant interaction effects on the pretest scores. The multivariate F is not significant, nor is any univariate P-value less than .05.

Tables 2-49 to 2-51 indicate the results of multivariate and univariate analyses of covariance for posttest scores in which corresponding pretests have been used as covariates. Consistent with earlier analysis, the comparison of Experimental I and Control I produced a highly significant multivariate F and highly ignificant univariate differences on the Reading Achievement, Perception of School Climate, and Experience in the City variables. Table 2-45 indicates that the differences on Reading Achievement can be attributed to gains of 11.8 for Experimental I Anglos and 8.9 for Experimental I blacks as opposed to minimal gains of 1.2 for Control I Anglos and 2.7 for Control I blacks. The lack of any Anglo-black difference on this variable (see Table 2-50) or any significant race by treatment interaction (see Table 2-51) indicates that the result stems from consistent gains by both Anglos and blacks in Experimental I compared to gains for Anglos and blacks in Control I.

The highly significant Treatment effect shown in Table 2-49 for Perception of School Climate is explicated further by the racial breakdowns by gain scores in Table 2-45 and by the analysis of variance concerning the race by treatment interaction in Table 2-51. Examination of the gain scores in Table 2-45 indicates that Experimental I Anglo students made an average gain of 93.6, while Experimental I blacks made an average gain of 56.0. In contrast, Control I Anglo and black students showed virtually no change from pretest to posttest (-2.5 and +1.7 respectively). The treatment effect then is highly significant with a P-value less than .0001. However, Table 2-51 also indicates a treatment by race interaction effect with a P-value less than .0099. This P-value must be interpreted with great caution since the overall multivariate test for the interaction was not significant. However, referring back to the means for Anglo and black Experimental I students, we note that the Anglo gain of 93.6 was appreciably greater than the Experimental I black gain of .56.0, thus accounting for the interaction effect. In summary, significant results for Perception of School Climate can be traced to a large difference between Metro and control and the fact that Metro Anglos differed more from the control group than did Metro blacks.

The significant Experimental I versus Control I result for Experience in the City shown in Table 2-49 can be examined further in Table 2-45. Both Anglo and black Experimental I students made greater gains on this variable than did Anglo and black Control I students, with Experimental I Anglos making slightly greater gains than Experimental I blacks. However, the highly significant treatment difference on Experience in the City shown in Table 2-49, coupled with the lack of any significant race or race by treatment effects (see Tables 2-50 and 2-51) indicate that the treatment difference is the major important fact to be noted about this variable.

Turning to Table 2-50, we find that there is a significant racial effect in the data (P less than .004) although it is not as strong in the multivariate analysis as was the treatment effect (P less than .0001). Contributing to this racial effect are strong racial differences in Math Achievement (P less than .0011) and marginal differences on Self Image and Prefers First-Hand Learning. It should be noted that none of these variables approached significance in the analysis of race by treatment interaction presented in Table 2-56.

The significant racial effect with respect to Math Achievement can be examined in Table 2-45. The major pattern evident in these means is that Experimental I blacks lost 6.0 points from pretest to posttest while the other three groups gained 2.1, 2.9, and 3.7 respectively. Thus, blacks gained on the average less than Anglos, and the major contributors to this difference appear to be the Experimental I blacks.

Marginal race effects on Self Image and Prefers First-Hand Learning can be examined by looking at the means in Table 2-45. It appears that black students regardless of treatment made slightly greater gains on the Self Image scale, while Anglos regardless of treatment made slightly greater gains on Prefers First-Hand Learning.

While the most important analysis of posttest variables is the one just discussed, in which appropriate pretests are used as covariates, additional information can be derived from the analysis of posttest variables with no covariates. This analysis is presented in Tables 2-52 to 2-54. The major additional information comes from the analysis of racial effects presented in Table 2-53. It indicates that there are still large racial differences across treatment in reading and mathematics achievement for both Experimental I and Control I, and also a significant racial difference on the Prefers First-Hand Learning scale, in which Anglos, especially those in the control group state a somewhat greater preference for first-hand learning.

Factor analysis of perception of school climate scale

The Perception of School Climate Scale was constructed employing a set of subscales that were intended to represent changes in school climate that the Metro program hoped to institute, such as tolerance for individuality, respect for racial and religious difference, student influence on decision making, etc. Each of these fourteen subscales was represented in the final 84-item instrument by six items. These six items included three statements intended to describe the absence of this characteristic. This scale construction process is described earlier in this chapter.

The combined posttest responses of Experimental I and Control I were factor analyzed to determine whether these original subscales would represent factors in student responses and to determine what other factors might emerge.

Interest in carrying out this analysis was heightened by the results of the multivariate analysis reported earlier, which indicated that the Perception of School Climate Scale discriminated sharply between the experimental and control situations. A principal components analysis was carried out on the 84 item scale. This analysis generated three factors before factor extraction was halted because the fourth factor to emerge accounted for less than 1% of the variance. A varimax rotation of these three factors generated results presented in Table 2-55. The three factors are sharply defined reasonably and easy to interpret. All items with factor loadings on each of the three fact[illegible]ater than .500 are presented in Table 2-55 in descending order of factor loading.

The first factor accounted for 34.9% of the variance. Examination of the items loading above .500 on Factor 1 indicate that it is tapping "Institutional Rigidity." This factor has 37 items that load above .500. They are 37 of the 42 items that were conceived by the scale designers as representing the lack of a positively valued characteristic in the school climate. For example, Item 62 ("There is a rush for the door at the end of school because people are so glad to get out.") was conceived as the absence of "energy and enthusiasm" in the school, while Item 56 ("Teachers put a lot of enthusiasm into their teaching.") was conceived as the presence of "energy and enthusiasm." However, the factor analysis indicates that students didn't link such positive and negative items into cohesive factors in their conception of the school climate. Instead, they saw the

TABLE 2-55. Items with High Loadings on Three Factors Identified through a Factor Analysis of the Combined Scores of Experimental I and Control I on the Perception of School Climate Posttest.

Item No.	Item	Factor Loading
Factor 1. Institutional Rigidity		
62	There is a rush for the door at the end of school because people are so glad to get out.	.724
68	Teachers just seem to teach the same books year after year.	.715
34	Most teachers believe there is only one right answer to a question.	.713
48	School is so dull that kids goof around and get into trouble because they are bored.	.711
5	Teachers enjoy watching students squirm if they catch them doing something wrong.	.710
19	Most tests are based on memorizing the textbook, not thinking things out.	.703
11	There are many students here who teachers think can never learn anything.	.695
39	If a teacher saw a student downtown on the street, he would probably pretend he didn't know him.	.676
57	If a student wondered about a certain type of occupation, he wouldn't really have anyone to talk with about it.	.668
53	Most students and teachers don't really care much about the problems of our society when you get right down to it.	.667

TABLE 2-55. Items (continued)

Item No.	Item	Factor Loading
70	Teachers don't have time to explain a problem to students who don't understand.	.662
52	Most students here are just waiting around until they can get a diploma.	.660
75	Many teachers seem moody and hard to figure out.	.653
3	Students often copy homework from each other just to get it done.	.651
49	Teachers always seem to think students are planning to cause trouble.	.650
59	If a student suggested that the class study something different, he could really get into trouble.	.646
81	Most students don't pay much attention in class unless they are called on.	.646
24	If a student knows what's good for him, he will keep his mouth shut when he disagrees with the teacher.	.643
8	When a student makes a mistake in class, the others often laugh at him.	.641
42	Most teachers feel students are too young to make decisions about the way the school is run.	.642
46	Students are often punished without knowing the reason for it.	.641
70	It is almost impossible to arrange a field trip here.	.631

TABLE 2-55. Items (continued)

Item No.	Item	Factor Loading
63	Teachers' cars are often damaged by students.	.629
69	There is little chance to be creative in most classes here.	.628
36	When kids are with their own group, they use a lot of bad terms to describe kids from other ethnic groups.	.626
79	A teacher who tried a lot of new ideas about teaching here would be considered odd by the other teachers.	.620
60	Even if a student had some good luck and was very happy, he wouldn't tell his teachers about it.	.617
78	There are a lot of fights in the school.	.617
47	A student who understands a particular lesson more quickly just has to wait until the rest of the class catches up.	.616
32	If a student really believes something, but most other students don't, he'd better not talk about it.	.604
26	If you don't dress and act pretty much like everyone else, you are in a lot of trouble.	.604
23	There are a few groups that sort of run the school. If you aren't in one of them, it can be pretty rough.	.589
83	If a male student was to have a poem published in the school paper, most of his friends would think he was a sissy.	.587

TABLE 2-55. Items (continued)

Item No.	Item	Factor Loading
55	Students do their work mostly to get better grades than other people.	.575
2	Most teachers think that being creative is something you are born with. The average student just wastes his time when he tries to be creative.	.572
14	Often kids from different racial groups yell things at each other on the way home from school.	.551
54	Most of the teachers are not interested in students' personal problems.	.543
27	A lot of students say they want a certain kind of job when they get older, but they don't really know much about that job.	.526
9	Students tend to hide their real feelings from each other.	.521

Factor 2. High Interest and Involvement

Item No.	Item	Factor Loading
28	Students put a lot of energy into everything they do, in class and out.	.657
38	There is a lot of interest in learning for its own sake, rather than for grades or credits.	.636
71	Students often get together in their own time and talk about things they've learned in class.	.627
80	Outside of class, students spend a lot of time discussing things like hunger and pollution.	.611

TABLE 2-55. Items (continued)

Item No.	Item	Factor Loading
77	Teachers encourage students from different backgrounds to talk about experiences distinct to their groups.	.570
67	If a student is feeling sad about something, most teachers will notice it and try to talk to him about it.	.569
50	There are so many things going on in this school that anyone can find something he likes to participate in.	.547
72	What a person wants to do or be later in life is a favorite topic around here.	.539
56	Teachers put a lot of enthusiasm into their teaching.	.537
45	Sometimes students are so interested in a class that they start to discuss the work before the teacher arrives.	.536
61	The principal is willing to hear students' complaints.	.530
64	Students try in all sorts of ways to be friendly and to help each other.	.528
16	Teachers here are genuinely concerned about students' feelings.	.521
40	Around this school, there are as many students interested in the problems facing our society, as there are students interested in basketball or parties.	.511
82	New ideas are always being tried out here.	.510

TABLE 2-55. Items (continued)

Item No.	Item	Factor Loading
51	Teachers talk about jobs and the education you need for them outside of class.	.509
35	Students don't hesitate to speak up to teachers when they think something is wrong in school, and the teachers do something about it.	.499
Factor 3. Independent Thinking Encouraged		
13	Students are not told what to think about a problem, but encouraged to make up their own minds.	.604
25	People here are interested in a lot of different things, and everyone just accepts it.	.556
15	Teachers and students often laugh at things together.	.538
16	Teachers here are genuinely concerned about students' feelings.	.476
17	In science classes, we spend a lot of time finding our own solutions to problems, rather than being told what to do.	.472
41	Teachers encourage students to defend their ideas in class discussions and debates.	.467
22	Students are looked up to here if they do what they believe is right.	.464
12	The teachers are usually understanding if a student does something wrong. The first time, at least, they will give him the benefit of the doubt.	.460

school as either possessing certain rigid institutional characteristics or as lacking these characteristics. Thus, for example, a school could be characterized by presence or absence of overt racial tension, but the absence of overt racial tension did not imply the presence of positive interracial contact. Just because teachers didn't actively harrass and embarrass students did not imply close student-teacher relationships. The reader can gain an understanding of the concomitants of the Institutional Rigidity Factor by inspecting Table 2-55. The individual items woven together form a picture of student boredom, authoritarian and harsh treatment of students, student-teacher tension, tension among students, and suppression of individuality among students.

Factor 2 can be labelled "High Interest and Involvement." It draws items exclusively from the positively valued items in the scale although it does not coincide with the items from one or more of the original subscales. As the reader can see from examining Table 2-45, the themes of energy, interest, encouragement, spontaneous discussion, and concern run through items loading high on the factor. Together they depict a learning environment in which both teachers and students are actively involved in discussion that blurs the boundaries between formal classroom experience and informal experience.

Factor 3 can be labelled "Independent Thinking Encouraged." To get a better understanding of possible patterns of items loading on this factor, items with loadings down to .450 have been reproduced. The item loading highest on this factor reflects its general tenor ("Item 13. Students are not told what to think about a problem, but encouraged to make up their own minds.").

A comparison of Experimental I and Control I students employing factor scores based on this factor analysis has not been carried out. However, we can infer from the large differences between Experimental I and Control I in the multivariate analysis reported earlier that Control I is characterized by the presence of "Institutional Rigidity," the absence of "High Interest and Involvement," and the absence of "Independent Thinking Encouraged," while Experimental I is characterized by the absence of "Institutional Rigidity," the presence of "High Interest and Involvement," and the encouragement of "Independent Thinking."

Effects of attrition

Table 2-1, which has been discussed earlier, indicates the numbers of students who dropped out of the study at various stages. Of 104 students in Experimental I who took the pretest, 78 (or 75%) also took the posttest. Of the 88 Control I students who took the pretest, 68 (or 87%) also took the posttest. To determine whether those students who took only the pretest were markedly different from those students who took both pretest and posttest, the characteristics of each group on the following background variables were generated: Sex, Race, Socioeconomic Status, Track in Previous School, Pretest Reading Achievement Score, and (for Experimental I) Subgroup.

The results are reproduced in Table 2-56. In the main, one cannot discern systematic differences between those who dropped out of the sample and those

TABLE 2-56. Characteristics of Experimental I and Control I Students Who Completed the Pretest Only Compared With Students Who Completed Both Pretest and Posttest.

Category	Exp. I		Con. I	
	Pretest no Posttest % n	Pretest and Posttest % n	Pretest no Posttest % n	Pretest and Posttest % n
Sex				
Male	36.4% n = 8	57.3% n = 47	63.2% n = 12	43.5% n = 30
Female	63.6% n = 14	42.7% n = 35	36.8% n = 7	56.5% n = 39
Total	100.0% n = 22	100.0% n = 82	100.0% n = 19	100.0% n = 69
Race				
Anglo	38.1% n = 8	43.9% n = 36	36.8% n = 7	43.5% n = 30
Black	47.6% n = 10	56.1% n = 46	57.9% n = 11	49.3% n = 34
Latino	14.3% n = 3	0.0% n = 0	5.3% n = 1	7.2% n = 5
Total	100.0% n = 21	100.0% n = 82	100.0% n = 19	100.0% n = 69

TABLE 2-56. (continued)

	Exp. I		Con. I	
Category	Pretest Only % n	Pretest and Posttest % n	Pretest Only % n	Pretest and Posttest % n
Socioeconomic Status				
Scores 0 - 28	43.8% n = 7	17.6% n = 12	38.9% n = 7	22.0% n = 13
Scores 29 - 35	6.3% n = 1	27.9% n = 19	22.2% n = 4	16.9% n = 10
Scores 36 - 43	37.5% n = 6	19.1% n = 13	5.5% n = 1	20.3% n = 12
Scores 44 = 54	6.3% n = 1	17.6% n = 12	16.7% n = 3	28.8% n = 17
Scores 55 - 86	6.3% n = 1	17.6% n = 12	16.7% n = 3	11.9% n = 7
Total	100.0% n = 16	100.0% n = 68	100.0% n = 18	100.0% n = 59
Track in School				
Basic	22.7% n = 5	17.9% n = 14	21.1% n = 4	14.5% n = 9
Essential	27.3% n = 6	15.4% n = 12	31.6% n = 6	29.0% n = 18
Regular	40.9% n = 9	42.3% n = 33	26.3% n = 5	27.4% n = 17
Honors	9.1% n = 2	24.3% n = 19	21.1% n = 4	29.0% n = 18
Total	100.0% n = 22	100.0% n = 78	100.0% n = 19	100.0% n = 62

TABLE 2-56. (continued)

Category	Exp. I		Con. I	
	%	Cum.%	%	Cum.%
Pretest Reading Achievement Grade Level				
4 - 0 to 4 - 11	23.8% n = 5	17.9% n = 14	36.8% n = 7	10.2% n = 7
5 - 0 to 5 - 11	9.5% n = 2	7.7% n = 6	0.0% n = 0	10.2% n = 7
6 - 0 to 6 - 11	9.5% n = 2	5.1% n = 4	15.8% n = 3	8.8% n = 6
7 - 0 to 7 - 11	0.0% n = 0	10.3% n = 8	5.3% n = 1	11.8% n = 8
8 - 0 to 8 - 11	14.3% n = 3	15.4% n = 12	10.5% n = 2	17.6% n = 12
9 - 0 to 9 - 11	19.0% n = 4	17.9% n = 14	5.3% n = 1	19.1% n = 13
10 - 0 to 10 - 11	14.3% n = 3	10.3% n = 8	5.3% n = 1	11.7% n = 8
11 - 0 to 11 - 11	0.0% n = 0	10.3% n = 8	5.3% n = 1	7.3% n = 5
above 12 - 0	9.5% n = 2	5.1% n = 4	15.8% n = 3	2.9% n = 2
Total	100.0% n = 21	100.0% n = 78	100.0% n = 19	100.0% n = 68

TABLE 2-56. (continued)

Category	Exp. I	
	%	Cum. %
Subgroup		
Black School - Oriented	41.1% n = 7	36.4% n = 28
Black Youth Culture	0.0% n = 0	5.2% n = 4
Black School - Alienated	17.6% n = 3	15.6% n = 12
White School - Oriented	23.5% n = 4	29.9% n = 23
White Youth Culture	0.0% n = 0	7.8% n = 6
White Ethnic	17.6% n = 3	5.2% n = 4
Total	100.0% n = 17	100.0% n = 77

who did not on these variables. Distributions of Track in Previous School, Pretest Reading Score, and Subgroup closely mirror each other. Race is also similar for blacks and Anglos, but all of the small number of Latinos (n=3) were lost from Experimental I. In Experimental I, somewhat more girls were lost than boys, and in Control I, somewhat more boys were lost than girls; however this result was not statistically significant. With respect to Socioeconomic Status, a somewhat disproportionate number of students were lost from the lowest Socioeconomic Status group in both Experimental I and Control I, although these groups were still substantially represented among students who took both pretest and posttest. This pattern probably does not bias Experimental I versus Control I, Subgroup, or Racial analyses of variance.

Attrition from the sample is, of course, related to dropping out of school. In Appendix D, we will explore patterns of school dropout in both Experimental I and Control I through a recent follow-up study of both samples.

Methodological Conclusions

Below we discuss some of the major conclusions we have reached concerning the strengths and weaknesses of using group-administred paper and pencil instruments in assessing the influence of an alternative learning environment on urban students. We review some major events in the development, administration, and analysis of these instruments as a means for organizing this discussion.

1. The random assignment of subjects to Experimental I and Control I treatments. It is unusual that one can study groups of students assigned randomly to high school programs differing fundamentally in their mode of operation.

This opportunity is a decided strength of the research, since it enables us to attribute differences between groups to the effect of the Metro or control experience with a high degree of confidence. It should be noted that the desire of the research team to assign students randomly to groups for research purposes coincided with the desire of the program initiators to find a fair way to choose program participants from the pool of applicants. Thus, there was no conflict between a strong research design and the priorities of program operation.

2. The wide-ranging nature of the variables we attempted to measure. Since the research opportunity presented itself on short notice and was of uncertain duration (both in terms of funding and in terms of the approval of the research by the Chicago Public Schools), the research team sought to measure a number of program outcomes using instruments either obtained or developed on site in a short period of time. In general, this was a weakness of the program. It would have been much more desirable to carry out a period of program observation, identification of instruments from other sources, and instrument development and trial-testing before launching into a full-fledged research program. We discuss the possible structure of such a research program in Chapter 9. The rapid start-up process had a number of ramifications that are discussed in other parts of this section. In addition to pointing out weaknesses of this start-up procedure, we also point out some things that we believe were done well in this process.

3. The weakness of existing measures. When we began a search in the literature for valid measures of dimensions in which we were interested, the results were extremely disappointing. We found almost no instruments that even

purported to measure some dimensions in which we were interested. We found others lacking face validity to measure what they claimed to measure. We found measures tested primarily on college psychology classes with no evidence presented that the concepts embodied in the instruments or in specific questions had any reality in terms of the thought categories of our intended population for study. We found instruments so tainted with an ideological bias that they were unusable (*e.g.*, an attitude survey that penalized a student if he didn't strongly agree with the statement that "Everyone has an equal chance to get ahead in this country"). In reviewing these instruments, we were also confronted with the classical problems of using paper-and-pencil questionnaires to measure attitudes, such as the tendency of a subject to give socially desirable answers or answers that she feels the research wants. This last point is discussed more fully later.

Finding no suitable instruments in some areas that we wished to measure, we developed our own. Our success in instruments development was mixed, as will be discussed below. Nevertheless, we feel in retrospect that the press to develop valid and appropriate instruments rather than to administer a grab-bag of well-known but inappropriate instruments was a definite strength of the research program.

4. Trial testing of instruments. As mentioned above, the trial testing of instruments was hurried. However, we did one thing that is seldom done by researchers and which we believe benefitted us substantially. We administered a group of instruments we were thinking about using to a series of students reflecting the diversity of our target population in a one-to-one relationship with an inter-

viewer of their own race and sex. We then went over the questions and responses one by one with the subjects, noting items or scales that were unclear or were perceived differently than we had intended them to be perceived. This trial work resulted in substantial benefits for our refinement of the final questionnaire.

5. Administration of the questionnaire. Our experience in administering the questionnaire underlines two major types of difficulties. First, students in general, and especially students in an alternative school emphasizing independent thinking, resist filling out long questionnaires. The questionnaire had the disadvantage of being the most obtrusive and least intrinsically rewarding of all our research methods.

Second, we were studying a diverse sample of highly mobile urban students. The control sample was especially difficult to locate and test since control students attended over fifty different high schools, The expenditure of time in locating students, setting up testing sessions not attended, following up again, etc. was enormous. Further by the time of the second testing and of the follow-up study described in Appendix D, similar problems were encountered in locating and testing Metro students. We obtained both complete information on the student's address and telephone number and the address of a friend who was not likely to move. We could have profited from even more such information, perhaps paying students to report regularly on their address and phone number.

6. Attrition. Despite problems of locating and testing students, we were able (as described earlier in this chapter) to achieve satisfactory levels of response and the characteristics of the students who could not be located for posttesting

were not substantially different on some basic background measures from students who were successfully posttested.

The sample size we were able to maintain allowed us to test some hypotheses concerning subgroupings within the sample that could not have been done with a smaller sample and came to close to being obviated by attrition. As Chapter 3 indicates, this problem was even more severe in connection with the smaller samples who were interviewed in-depth. Thus, we would recommend to any researcher contemplating research on urban students that she select large enough samples to allow for attrition and for the desire to test hypotheses related to student subgroupings and that she institute systematic methods for keeping track of the whereabouts of students from the beginning.

7. Usefulness of background measures. Turning to the utility of some of our results, we see great potential in the usefulness of collecting background information on students involved in alternative school programs. Clear information about such variables as race, socioeconomic status, sex, mobility, previous success in school, and previous track in school can provide a basis for the sensitive analysis of many aspects of research data collected using multiple methods. Further, the rapid feedback of such data to the participants in alternative programs can sensitize them to the nature of their student population and thus help them plan strategies for effective educational programs. For example, our research information concerning the large black-Anglo differences in reading and math achievement at Metro were not fully apparent to us until we analyzed our data in 1975. Had this information been fed back to teachers soon after it was collected when Metro opened, it could have been of substantial benefit to them.

8. Usefulness of achievement tests. Achievement tests have been misused in a number of ways in educational research and evaluation. Often they have been used as the exclusive method for evaluating the success or failure of educational programs, and researchers have blindly ignored both the measurement of other outcomes and the aspects of the treatment that might account for certain outcomes. A second misuse of achievement tests has been to interpret racial differences in measured achievement to defects in the student, rather than the structural racisim of the educational and other social systems. Some would argue that even collecting such achievement information raises so many dangers for misinterpretation that it is better left uncollected. Closely related to this argument is an analysis holding that the content of most reading tests is so biased toward the white middle class that they should not be used as indicators of the ability of poor whites or other racial groups.

On balance, we feel strongly that these tests have had a definite value in our overall research program and that improved versions appropriate to urban students should be administered in a properly designed research program. We have guarded against over-emphasis on achievement tests by using multiple measures and methods. There does appear to be a white middle class bias in the manifest content of the STEP tests, and we wish in retrospect that we had administered tests whose content was more relevant to urban students.

Nevertheless, the tests point out some important facts about wide variations in achievement within the program and differential benefits derived from the program that must be dealt with if effective alternative educational programs are to be offered to be offered to urban students, as the substantive results summarized earlier strongly emphasize.

9. Self-developed measures. Our decision to employ self-developed measures where we could not find appropriate ones in existence had mixed results. Two instruments that required students to complete paragraph responses could not be analyzed because students varied so much in their responses, probably because of differences in motivation and writing ability. This type of instrument is probably generally inappropriate for an urban student population. Further, even if the students had responded adequately we would have been faced with the problem discussed in Chapter 3, how to analyze quantitatively extensive texts generated by subjects without a coding scheme worked out in advance.

Preference for First-Hand Learning suffered from ceiling effects. Students in all groups and subgroups on both pretest and posttest found the alternatives involving first-hand learning so attractive that there was little room for change on these scales.

Experience in the City was more useful. It showed strong treatment differences between Metro and control and showed that by far the smallest gain within Metro was made by Black School Alienated Students. Both of these patterns are consistent with participant observation data presented in Chapter 6. The major strength reflected in the development of the instrument appears to be that the items were based on people, institutions, and activities that students might realistically encounter if the school without walls was in fact bringing them into extensive contact with the city. It was developed with the objectives and realities of this particular program in mind.

The most successful instrument developed directly by the research staff was the Perception of School Climate Scale. As indicated earlier, the research staff found the general form of the Stern (1960) scale useful, but in examining specific items and subscales within it could not find clear ways in which its content related to the differences in educational practice that the initiators of Metro hoped to effect. The decision to develop a scale related to the specific goals of the Metro program was a good one. Further, the instrument developers had sufficient experience in working in urban schools to develop items that were pertinent to the student's experience. The result was a scale that showed strong differences between Metro and control and also racial and subgroup differences within the Metro program. These results are consistent with participant observation results indicated in Chapter 6. The validity of the scale is also attested to by the factor analysis of posttests, which produced strong and easily interpretable factors. (The use of the factor analysis was itself a strength of the research program that provided extremely useful information.)

10. Use of standard attitude scales. We used several popular instruments purporting to tap attitudes or values, including the Self Image, Sense of Control,

Nature of Hoped-For Life Accomplishments, Characteristics of Ideal Job, Indentification with Parents, and Level of Educational Aspiration. We found few significant results on these scales in any of the treatment, subgroup, or Anglo-black comparisons in the study. One can either conclude from these results that such differences did not exist or that the scales were not either valid enough or sensitive enough measures. Based on data collected by other methods, we would tend toward the latter conclusion. For example, participant observation indicated that the social structure of Metro was profoundly different from the traditional school, subjecting the student to a high level of supportive interpersonal communication with teachers and fellow students. One might expect that such an input would result in some attitude or value changes. However, the instruments we chose do not appear to be closely enough tied to the specific types of influences of the Metro experience. As indicated in Chapter 8, we feel that similar research should attempt to develop new scales or modify existing ones in an extensive initial period of participant observation and instrument development to achieve the needed validity and sensitivity.

11. Combining multiple methods. By and large, each of the methods employed in the research program was allowed to proceed without influencing the others (e.g., we did not modify our posttest indepth interview because of interesting results in the pretest questionnaire.) We consider this lack of interaction between methods to be a weakness of the research program. One marked exception to this pattern was the use of participant observation data to identify subgroups

and then the use of these subgroups as the basis for one portion of the analysis of questionnaire and achievement test data. The questionnaire results both supported the validity of some observations made by the participant observers and failed to support others. For example, White Youth Culture students, consistent with the participant observation, were shown to rank highest on most pretest and posttest measures compared to other subgroups. This finding supports the validity of some portions of the participant observation. Yet the analysis of questionnaires and achievement tests failed to reveal statistically significant program effects for any subgroup, contradicting another hypothesis derived from the participant observation. This inconsistency could, in an on-going research program, spark further focused observation or the development of more sensitive questionnaires to explore the inconsistency. As we discuss in Chapter 8, not only the use of multiple methods, but their dynamic influence on each other during the course of a research program, is one of the characteristics of useful applied research.

Main Substantive Conclusion

Summarizing and analyzing the results presented in the previous section, we first reach the following conclusions about the characteristics of the students entering Metro:

1. In their sex and race distribution, they closely mirrored the composition of the high school population of the Chicago public schools. Metro was 53% black, 43% Anglo, and 4% Latino and were evenly split between males and females.

2. Their socioeconomic range was wide, with substantial representation in each of five socioeconomic status groups enployed in the analysis. Black students came from somewhat lower socioeconomic status backgrounds than Anglos, but the difference was not a radical one.

3. The students were also diverse in the level of education attained by their parents with 60% of parents not having attended college, 20% having attended but not graduated and 20% having graduated from college.

4. Both black and Anglo students had appreciable rates of father absence from the home, with black students (60% absent) significantly higher than Anglo students (26% absent).

5. The students expressed somewhat less identification with their parents than a more representative sample of American students tested by Kandel and Lesser, but the differences were not great (and did not change in the program).

6. The distribution of students coming from various tracks in their previous high schools generally reflected the distribution of Anglo and black students in tracks in Chicago public high schools, except that Metro had somewhat more honors and fewer regular track students. However, the overall pattern in Chicago public high schools is that substantially more black than Anglo students are in remedial tracks and substantially fewer black than Anglo students in honor tracks. Metro overall had 37% who came from remedial tracks, 41% from the regular track,and 21% from the honors track. In reflecting Chicago's overall racial distribution of students from the various tracks, it had 2 1/2 times as many blacks as Anglos from the remedial tracks and 3 times as many Anglos as blacks from the honors tracks. (There was no formal tracking system at Metro itself.)

7. More than half the Metro students came from schools that were almost all their own race.

8. About 75% of all Metro students said that realistically they planned to attend at least some college.

9. Overall, in responding to questions about their values, students ranked helping people and a secure future high and political activism and participation consistently low.

10. The average Metro student entered Metro months below national averages in measured reading achievement and months below national averages in measured math achievement. These averages however conceal an enormous difference in measured achievement between black and Anglo students. The average black student entering Metro was months below the national average in reading achievement and below the national average in math. The average Anglo student was months above the national average in reading and months above the national average in math. Thus the overall distribution of students ranged from substantial numbers below the sixth grade level to substantial numbers achieving near entering college level.

After three semesters of the Metro porgram, the following key patterns were ovserved in comparing the growth of Metro students (Experimental I) to control students (Control I):

1. Metro students made significantly greater gains in reading achievement, gaining at a rate greater than the national average over the period under study, while control students made minimal gains.

2. Metro students perceived the climate of Metro (as compared to their previous schools) to be characterized by significantly more of the attributes which Metro's originators hoped would characterize its climate. Differences were large and highly significant. A factor analysis of results indicates that Metro students were perceiving three main areas of difference between Metro and their old school: an absence of institutional Rigidity, the presence of High Interest and Involvement, and the encouragement of Independent Thinking. Comparison with control students indicates that they perceived the presence of Institutional Rigidity, absence of High Interest and Involvement, and the discouragement of Independent Thinking.

3. Metro students (after 18 months at Metro) had had significantly more contact with a variety of people, institutions, and situations in the city than had control students.

4. Control students made relatively greater progress in math than Metro students, a difference approaching significance at the .05 level. Although control students made gains at less than half the rate of the average American student, the Metro students did even worse, actually losing ground rather than gaining any.

5. No important differences between Experimental I and Control I students were observed on scales of Self Image, Sense of Control, Identification with Parents, Nature of Hoped-For Life Accomplishments, and Characteristics of Ideal Job. Whether no differences occurred in these areas or whether these instruments do not adequately measure such differences will be discussed later.

As a result of participant observation, six student subgroups were identified in the Metro student body (Black School-Oriented, Black Youth Culture, Black School-Alienated, White School-Oriented, White Youth Culture, and White Ethnic). It was predicted that there would be substantial differences on the variables measured between these subgroups both at the time they entered Metro and at the end of the period of study. It was further predicted that Metro would have a differential effect on the subgroups. To test this line of argument, the Black School Alienated students, whom it was predicted were benefiting least from Metro, were compared to the other subgroups. It was also perceived that White Youth Culture students were benefitting most from Metro. Concerning their relative status when entering Metro, the following patterns were observed:

1. On the pretest, Black School-Alienated students ranked significantly lower than every other group on tests of reading and math skills, but not significantly lower on other variables. They were not as critical of their old school on the Perception of School Climate Scale as were some other subgroups.

2. Consistent with our predictions, the White Youth Culture students on the pretest ranked high of all subgroups on Self Image, Preference for First-Hand Learning, Experience in the City, Reading Achievement, and Math Achievement. They were the most critical of all subgroups of their old schools. These mean differences were not subjected to significance tests.

3. The mean rankings of subgroups on Reading and Math Achievement when the program began were consistent with our participant observations. The ranking of group means on both achievement tests were as follows: White Youth Culture, White School-Oriented, Black Politically Conscious, White Ethnic, Black School-Oriented, and Black School-Alienated. These mean differences were not subjected to significance tests.

Concerning the relative status of subgroups on the posttest without respect to their pretest scores, we observed the following:

1. The differences in Reading and Math Achievement between the Black School-Alienated students and the other subgroups was still statistically significant and had increased somewhat.

2. The White Youth Culture students ranked highest of all subgroups on Self Image, Sense of Control, Perference for First-Hand Learning, Experience in the City, Reading Achievement, and Math Achievement. They rated Metro highest of all subgroups on the Perception of School Climate Scale in rating Metro. These patterns were not subjected to significance tests.

3. There were statistically significant (or almost significant) differences between the Black School-Alienated students and the White Youth Culture students on these same variables: Self Image, Sense of Control, Preference for First-Hand Learning, Experience in the City, Reading Achievement, and Math Achievement.

Concerning the measurement of differential program effects between subgroups (i.e., analyses of posttests with pretests employed as covariates), the following patterns were observed:

1. There were no statistically significant differences among subgroups on any variable once pretest scores were taken into account as covariates.

2. In examining gain scores, there was some suggestion that the Black School-Alienated students were lagging behind other subgroups somewhat. They had the smallest gain scores among Metro subgroups on Sense of Control, Perception of School Climate, Experience in the City, and Reading Achievement. On the other hand, they made the largest gain in Self Image and their gain in Reading Achievement, while smaller than other Metro subgroups, was larger than the average gains of either Anglo or black students in the control group.

Concerning the comparison of black and Anglo students in the Metro and control groups, we observed the following patterns:

1. There were highly significant Anglo-black differences on pretests in Reading and Math and significant but weaker differences in Sense of Control and Self Image regardless of whether students were in Experimental or Control.

2. Earlier it has been observed that there were Experimental I versus Control I differences that can be attributed to program effects in Reading Achievement, Perception of School Climate, Experience in the City, and Math Achievement: This further analysis indicates that with respect to these treatment effects:

    a. The difference in Reading Achievement can be attributed primarily to the effect of the Metro experience, although the gains for Anglo students were somewhat greater than the gains for blacks students.

    b. The difference in Perception of School Climate reflects both a strong treatment effect in which Metro students scored significantly higher than controls and a racial effect within the Metro sample, in which Anglos students scored appreciably higher than black students.

    c. The difference in Experience in the City was a treatment effect not influenced by race.

    d. The difference in Math Achievement was substantially a racial effect in which black students regardless of treatment--did more poorly than Anglos. Metro black students were especially weak in Math Achievement during the study period.

3. At the end of the study period, an examination of posttests without pretests as covariates indicates that there were still strong racial differences regardless of treatment in Reading and Math Achievement level.

CHAPTER 3. STRUCTURED IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS

To complement other research methods described elsewhere in this report, we collected information on areas of student growth using in-depth structured interviews which allowed for open-ended responses to specified questions and probes. In this chapter, we discuss some of the substantive and methodological insights we have gained from this phase of our investigation.

Rationale For The Interviews

In a number of recent studies of schools and school climates, one can detect a mono-methodological approach. Cusick, for example, in his study of a suburban high school (1973), relies entirely on participant observation methods, so that one gets an excellent holistic idea of the group-level functioning of the school as a community, but is left with little ability to generalize and form conclusions due to the lack of quantitative material. Neither does one get a very good insight into the students' perceptions of their school situation.

In another study of high school students, Buxton (1973) relied entirely on use of large-sample questionnaires. The study gives little idea of the functioning of the schools as social groups, although such insight would have greatly improved Buxton's comparative study of four schools. On the other hand, the lack of in-depth material on individual students also has a telling effect. The author is able to state:

> "Since adolescents do not ordinarily discuss, at least with behavioral scientists, private feelings about matters such as those which appear to be confidently described in the last few pages, can we really believe

> what is reported? I think the answer is that we can treat such statements as fairly legitimate inferences from what adolescents do or say, or what we may learn from the occasional (how representative?) adolescent who trusts and talks to us." (Buxton, 1973, page 6)

A major alienation between school researchers and student researchees is implicit in Buxton's statement, making the validity of research results on student opinions somewhat doubtful. One visualizes the researcher and the "subject" separated by a barrier of mutual anxiety and suspicion.

In the theoretical discussion of this section, we will discuss the concepts of dialogue and compartmentalization of roles in understanding students' reactions to teachers. We will present evidence that student-teacher relations are measurably improved by an interactional frame which allows dialogue (the exploration of each others' feelings and ideas in an open and fluid way), and does not compartmentalize, (sets up an interaction between two whole human beings rather than two limited social roles).

If communication and rapport are improved by these two factors in student-teacher relations, it seems logical that the same effect would be seen in researcher-researchee relationships, i.e., that a greater degree of emotional openness would be achieved in a more human and less forced situation. This is a major reason for our use of participant observation in conjunction with other techniques. It is also a reason for setting up an interview situation in which the student is given maximum freedom to express his own ideas in his own words.

Another rationale for not relying excessively on limited-option, large-sample questionnaires comes from recent thinking in sociology and social anthropology, concerning the importance of actor relevant categories (Garfinkel, 1967), or emic categories (Tyler, 1969). These two closely related concepts refer to the categories and definitions which individuals themselves use to construct their own cognitive map of a situation. Anthropological work (Tyler, 1969) has led to an understanding of the degree to which different human groups and subgroups may understand their experiences in differing ways. This is true of people's classification of the physical universe, and probably even more so of intangible qualities such as pleasant and unpleasant characteristics of schools.

Differences in definition and characterization are not only found between sharply differing cultural and ethnic groups. Spradley has shown the utility of looking at emic categories in his study of the subculture of derelict alcoholics in Seattle (1970). One of the major points of recent discussion on the question of adolescent alienation has been the degree to which a separate (or, as we show here, several separate) adolescent life styles and subcultures can be shown to exist in our society (e.g., Friedenberg, 1959, 1965). Insofar as these adolescent subcultures have their own systems of definitions and categories it seems crucial to a socio-psychological understanding of the high school student in a variety of schoolsettings that questions be asked as much as possible in terms of these categories and definitions.

In addition to setting up communication barriers and limiting rapport with respondants, preformed limited-option questionnaires have a tendency to force the subject into conformity with the categorical system and referential frame of the researcher. Indeed, insofar as this allows for standardization of results, it is to a certain extent necessary for quantitative analysis. But there is also a loss of variety and at least the possibility that the investigator will never discover crucial thought categories and definitions of the situation because he has restricted himself to a preformed questionnaire framework. In short, we find the tendency to rely on highly quantified questionnaire techniques leads to the danger of obscuring some of the things we are most interested in, namely the students' own perceptions of their life situations.

With these problems in mind, we carried out in-depth interviews with subsamples of Experimental I, Experimental II, and Control I students. Each subsample consisted of sixteen students chosen randomly from the appropriate subsample stratified by race and sex. Thus, each of the three subsamples consisted of four black males, four black females, four Anglo males, and four Anglo females (see Table 3-1). Ideally, they were interviewed in depth using a structured format in the pre- and posttest design described in Chapter 1.

Unfortunately, this paradigm was interfered with in practice by the irregular quality of the data that resulted from the interviews and by great sample attrition from pre- to postinterviews, especially in the case of black males in the control subsample, many of whom could not be reached to carry out a postinterview. This problem varied from interview topic to interview topic, as will be seen in the presentation of the data.

TABLE 3-1. Race and Sex Composition of Each of the Interview Subsampies.

	Race	
Sex	Anglo	Black
Male	n = 4	n = 4
Female	n = 4	n = 4

Nature Of The Interview

The research design required the collection of complete "baseline" data on the student and control samples before treatment--*i.e.*, before they had been appreciably affected by the Metro experience. This did not allow for the focused pre-selection of a restricted range of questions to be investigated, since we did not know at the outset exactly what questions would be relevent or important. Thus the initial interview was long and covered a great number of topics. The following major topic headings were included in the interview:

I. INTRODUCTORY SECTION: The student was asked to identify himself by name, address, grade, and school, whether he had ever lived away from home.

II. CONTROL OF ENVIRONMENT: The student was given a series of fourteen hypothetical problem situations and was asked to tell the interviewer what he would do if he were confronted with these situations.

III. PEER GROUP: The student was asked about his friends, how they are doing in school, their academic ambitions, their racial/ethnic background.

IV. SELF CONCEPT: We asked a series of questions about the student's ideas of his own personal characteristics, his perception of his own ambitions, his perceptions of how others see him.

V. NEIGHBORHOOD AND CITY: The student was asked about his perceptions of his own neighborhood, his hang outs and favorite haunts, and his experiences in other parts of the city.

VI. SCHOOL EXPERIENCE: The student was asked about his school and teachers in order to assess his perceptions of school climate and student-teacher relationships, as well as his feelings about how schools ought to be. The same question was asked about Metro as about other schools.

VII. ETHNIC BACKGROUND AND CROSS-GROUP CONTACT: The student was questioned to determine his contact experience with, and attitudes toward persons of different ethnic backgrounds.

VIII. WORK: The student was asked about his work experiences and attitudes and about his career aspirations.

IX. EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS AND FUTURE PLANS: The student was asked about his educational aspirations and future overall life plans.

The interviewer then recorded a few comments on the nature of the interview and his interaction with the student. Specific questions varied slightly between Metro and control and between pre- and postinterviews to assess the differential reactions to the different situations.

Results Of Interview Procedure

The typed transcripts of the interview tapes reveal by their length and variation the "shot gun" approach that we had to use, since our research design did not allow us to pinpoint a limited number of hypothetical areas of interest. Transcripts average about fifty pages, and many are considerably longer. The sheer bulk of the interviews presented a problem in analysis.

All questions were asked in an open-ended way, and the interviewer carefully probed to encourage the student to fully voice his feelings and opinions on each topic. Thus, as well as being bulky, the interviews contained much variability. Some students expanded greatly on specific topics while others answered the same probing questions with monosyllables. Some students were at ease, very open, and expansive. While the responses of others were very restricted, defensive, and stereotyped.

The length and variability of the interviews made it necessary to limit ourselves in their analysis. Many of the topics which we asked about in the interviews seemed at a later date to be peripheral to our fields of interest and concentration. Their full content analysis would have cost us many man-hours without promising much specific reward. Thus the total amount of material which we have fully analyzed amounts to no more than a fraction of all that we could have looked at. In the light of the key innovations attempted at Metro which became the central focus of the overall research program, we first carried out an in-depth analysis of two topics: school climate and student perception of teachers. We later attempted to analyze two additional topics: experience in the city and student perceptions of self-image. After discussing some general issues concerning content analysis that bear on this study, we will present the results of our analysis and an analysis of the strengths and weaknesses of our methods.

Quantitative Content Analysis And The Analysis Of Interviews

Our purpose in designing the interviews was to get the student to talk on subjects of interest to us, eliciting a body of spontaneous thoughts which could then be subjected to systematic content analysis.

Content analysis is defined by Holsti (1969) as "*... any technique for making inferences by objectively and systematically identifying specified characteristics of messages*"(emphasis in original). Berelson defines content analysis as "*... a research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication*" (emphasis in original) (1966). Looking at the body of content analysis literature, however, shows both of these definitions to be too broad to really delineate what has been called content analysis in practice. Much of survey research would qualify as content analysis by these definitions.

Methodological techniques usually specified as content analysis seem to have the following additional elements in common: They are quantitative, but not necessarily numerical (a requirement that is part of the definition which Berelson proposes), and they are generally applied to a message which is largely constructed by the sender, not simply a monosyllabic or other brief response to a question placed by the researcher. Thus content analysis has typically been applied to fairly large message segments uninterrupted by the questions of an interviewer.

Some of the earliest applications of systematic content analysis were to journalistic works and propaganda literature (e.g., Laswell, 1972). Here, the units of study were pamphlets and articles designed by people in the respective governments of the combatant powers of World Wars I and II. Although these propaganda pieces would not necessarily represent the outpourings of the cognitive systems of single individuals, they would be analyzed without interruption or deflection of the logical flow of the message segment by the researcher.

The same statement can be made about most other topics for which content analysis has been used. In Hall's and Van de Castle's (1966) studies of the content and analysis of dreams for example, the major message units being broken down for analysis are peoples' recollections of their dream sequences. Content analyses have been done with folktales (Colby, Collier and Postal, 1963), studies of newspaper advertising (Abu-Lughod, 1961), studies of schoolbooks and their content (*e.g.*, de Charms and Moeller, 1962), studies of the international press (*e.g.*, Abu-Lughod, 1962), of motion pictures and other artistic productions (Dale, 1935), of Thematic Apperception test responses, etc.

In each of these cases, there is a *spontaneous continuity* of the message whose content is being analyzed. One of the important assumptions of all these content analyses is that the manifest content of the message, once analyzed, can tell us something about the perceptions, cognitions, or behavioral dispositions of the sender (or senders). See Holsti, 1969, and Berelson, 1966, who stress the importance of these assumptions.

Thus content analysis has been traditionally applied to data which is highly *emic* in nature, or which is structured very much in terms of actor-relevant categories. *Etic* categories, or categories imposed by the researcher for his own analytic purposes, may be imposed as a grid over the *emic* structure of the content analysis for the purpose of quantification. (But this does not have to be the case. For example, a member of the "folk" or an "actor" in the situation could be assigned the task of deriving the categories which the quantitative analysis was to be based on.) However, the intrusion of the researcher's (*etic*) categories in the structure of the message, prior to its analysis, clearly interferes with this assumption. This is the basic problem we faced in defining a developing content analysis of our interview data.

The interview consisted of a dialogue between two people, one of our data gatherers and a high school student. Researcher and subject each brought to the interview situation his own conceptual framework. The textual result does not fully represent the spontaneous output of the cognitive system of the research subject, but rather a mixture of the ideas of the research subject and those of the interview designers. Most people who have used content analysis of interviews have not noticed (or at least not mentioned) this potential problem. (See Marsden, 1965, for an exhaustive survey of the literature on the content analysis of therapeutic interviews.) This fact puts some limitations on our interpretations of the interview results. For example, in our study, we cannot conclude anything about the relative importance of school in the life of the student, since the introduction of the idea of "school" comes from the interviewers. Nor can we conclude anything, within the context of "schools," about the relative importance of relationships with teachers, since the student was specifically asked questions about teachers and their behavior and did not spontaneously bring them up.

We do, of course, know from other information that "school" and "teacher" represent real cognitive categories in the minds of the students, and that they have good and bad dimensions which are also real to the students. Thus by using these particular concepts as starting points, we are probably not imposing anything on the student's cognitive system that is not already there. However, we cannot make anything of the order in which students brought up characterizations and ideas, since sequential order was to a large extent determined by the interview format, i.e., was imposed by the people carrying out the research rather than being a product of the thought-patterns of the subjects.

Thus we found ourselves confronted with long typewritten interviews which we needed to "mine" by content analysis techniques to get information on students' perceptions of school climate, students' perceptions of teachers, experience in the city, and students' self-image. Results are discussed below.

School Climate And Student Perception Of Teachers

Specific coding procedures

One procedure we could have used in the coding of this and other topics would have been to go through each entire interview (which run up to one hundred pages of typescript) for all statements concerning school or teachers. A pilot attempt convinced us that this would be impractical. Instead, we decided to concentrate on parts of the interview protocols in which the interviewer specifically directed his questions toward the school and teachers. Student ideas about teachers are concentrated in a relatively brief section of the interview in which the student was asked the following questions, and was encouraged to expand on his answers with probing.

> Think of the specific teacher you liked most in your old school. Tell me something about him (her).
>
> a. What is it exactly that you like about him (her)?
> b. Does he (she) like you?
> c. Are there many other teachers at your old school like him (her)?
>
> Think of the specific teacher you liked least in your old school. Tell me something about him (her).
>
> a. What is it exactly you don't like about him (her)?
> b. Does he (she) like you?
> c. Are there many other teachers at your old school like him (her)?

In the administration of the interviews, the specific phrasing of the above questions was slightly varied to ensure that in the pre-tests, all experimental groups were talking about the old (pre-Metro) school, while in the posttest, the Experimental Group I and Experimental Group II students were talking about Metro while the Control group students were talking about the school they had been attending.

Ideas about schools (rather than about teachers) were not concentrated in such a compact part of the interview, but rather required that the coder "mine" a larger and more varied section of the interview typescript. (See Appendix B.) Otherwise, these two subtopics were coded and analyzed in a similar way.

One of the concerns which led us to use the interviews rather than just the questionnaires was the desire to have some of the data presented in categories that are actor-relevant or emic.

The first step, then, consisted of deriving a set of actor-relevant coding categories. This was done by a qualitative examination of a limited number of randomly selected interview transcripts (a half-dozen for each of the two topics). An inventory was made of all evaluative comments the students made about schools and teachers. This inventory was examined to find common features, and from this were produced two sets of dimensions, one for school climate in general and one for perceptions of teachers. To the sets of dimensions derived from the preliminary inspection were added a few dimensions which had not turned up so far but which we felt might later be found. The resulting lists of dimensions and their definitions are as follows, each with a positive and a negative evaluative pole.

It should be remembered that these lists of categories (See Tables 3-16 and 3-17), explanations and examples for each category, are the ones that were actually given to the data coders to guide them in their coding. Therefore, we have made only the most minor stylistic changes essential for clarity. Most of the examples, also, are hypothetical although a few are taken from interviews looked at in the preliminary analysis from which the categories were derived.

TABLE 3-16. Categories For The Description Of School Climate

Category I: Personal Freedom From School Rules

Positive Pole:

The school does not make the student feel controlled or restricted in an uncomfortable or unpleasant way. Example: Student praises the fact that one can more or less come and go and behave as one pleases without being "hassled" by petty rules.

Negative Pole:

The school makes the student feel trapped, hemmed in by rules and regulations.

Category II: Freedom Of Academic Choice

Positive Pole:

The student feels able to plot out his own academic career as he wishes. Example: The student praises the variety and options open to him.

Negative Pole:

The student feels locked into a rigid, prearranged program. Example: Complains about required courses, rigid program.

Category III: Freedom Of Personal Expression In Class

Positive Pole:

Student feels that he can speak up and express divergent ideas in class without being graded down or yelled at or having the teacher report him as subversive. Example: Praises the degree of open discussion of controversial issues in social studies.

Negative Pole:

Student feels teachers force their ideas on him, that there is no chance to talk back, object, or voice a different opinion. Example: Complains about teachers propagandizing students, brainwashing them.

Category IV: Freedom From Fellow Student Pressure

Positive Pole:

Student feels he can do as he likes without fear of ostracism by other students, being beaten by gangs, etc. Example: Student talks about the fact that he is welcome in any student discussion or get-together.

Negative Pole:

Student social structure is such that the student has to move and choose his words carefully so as not to offend some gang or clique. Example: Student expresses fear of gang recruiters or resentment of an exclusive "in crowd."

Category V: Feeling Of Direction And Organization In Academic Program

Positive Pole:

Student feels the school is "together"--organized for a purpose and achieving that purpose. Example: "man, they've really got this place organized, everything works just right.

Negative Pole:

Student feels the teachers and/or administration of the school are not capable of maintaining it as an orderly, ongoing institution. Example: "This place is just chaos, nobody knows what he's supposed to do and we all run around like chickens with their heads cut off."

Category VI: Feeling Of Camaraderie (With Other Students)

Positive Pole:

Student enjoys the companionship of other students and looks upon going to school as a rewarding social event. Example: Praises the great crowd he gets together with at school, how friendly everyone is.

Negative Pole:

Student feels that he is isolated emotionally from other people in the school, does not have feeling of warm social contact with other students. Example: Complains about being "just another statistic," faceless masses, no opportunity to socialize.

Category VII: Feeling Of Interest In Class And Academic Content And In The Teachers And Their Teaching

Positive Pole:

Student looks forward to hearing what the teacher has to say and/or enjoys what he reads, assigned projects, etc. Example: Expresses interest either in the school program in general or in a specific aspect or project -- e.g. story workshop.

Negative Pole:

Student bored or irritated by academic content. Example: statements like, "Man, these teachers just drone on and on, they really put me to sleep."

Category VIII: Feeling Of Ability To Cope With Class And Other Academic Work

Positive Pole:

Student feels he is doing well, that the work is "just right" in terms of difficulty, that he is coping with his academic assignments, etc. Example: Expresses that he does not feel "snowed under."

Negative Pole:

Student feels he is going to flunk, that the work is too hard for him to understand, that he cannot cope with it, that the academic program is too demanding. Example: Expresses that he can't follow the lecture, can't keep up with the homework, can't manage the tests.

Category IX: Feeling Of Positive Challenge

Positive Pole:

Student feels he is being challenged, asked to work and learn, student is pleased with this. Example: States that school is leading to discovery of new potentialities.

Negative Pole:

Student feels that he is not learning anything, that it is all too simple and easy for him. Example: States that school is "Mickey Mouse," "I learned all this stuff in grade school."

Category X: Feeling Of Preparation For The Future

Positive Pole:

Student feels that he is being well prepared for college, employment, and life in general. Example: Comments about specific courses and their relationship to his future, also general statements to this effect.

Negative Pole:

Student feels that what goes on in the school is not preparing him for work and/or college and/or life. Example: Questions whether a particular feature of the school, or the program in general, will "get me into college," or, "put food on my table," as well as more general criticisms of irrelevance.

Category XI: Logistics And Practicality Of The School

Positive Pole:

Getting to and from school, getting around, getting things done, are easy and time and effort are not wasted. Example: specific and general statements about the school's conveniece.

Negative Pole:

There is too much traveling, too much time and effort wasted. Example: Complains about traveling, CTA token problems, sitting around between classes.

Category XII: Athletic And Extracurricular Activities

Positive Pole:

All statements praising the opportunities for athletic and other extracurricular activities, either generally or specifically phrased.

Negative Pole:

Statement about the qualitative or quantitative deficiences in the athletic and other extracurricular programs (or complaints about too much emphasis on these).

Category XIII: Personal Relationships With The Teachers*

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*This category is listed here when the topic came up in the general segment of text being coded for school climate features. It was also broken down and coded more specifically for another section of text, as will be subsequently shown.

Positive Pole:

Warm, good personal relationships with teachers. Example: statements praising either specific relationships and specific teachers or the general warmth of student-teacher relationships.

Negative Pole:

Conflict-filled or otherwise negative relationship with teachers. Example: Statements complaining about specific teachers or the teachers in general as being too hostile, ignoring the student, or other negative features.

Category XIV: Just "Like" Without Being Able To Explain

Positive Pole:

Student makes a definite evaluation statement in face of the school, without interviewer being able to pin him down to more specific characterizations.

Negative Pole :

Student makes definitely critical or negative statements about the school, without being able to further specify the cause for complaint.

Category XV: Residual

This category was used for all statements that did not fit well into categories 1 - 15.

TABLE 3-17. Categories For The Description Of Teachers

(Teacher - Student Relationships)

Category I: Dialogue

Positive Pole:

The teacher who dialogues. The dialogue-oriented teacher is described as one who will communicate fully with the student. The student feels that he can express an idea to the teacher, and the teacher will understand and try to recommunicate this understanding. Example: "You can really rap with this guy" or "He listens to you."

Negative Pole:

The teacher who does not dialogue. The non-dialogueing teacher leaves the student with the feeling that he and the teacher have been "talking past" one another--*i.e.*, that what the student says does not quite connect up with what the teacher says. Example: "I don't feel I can talk to him," "I just don't seem to be getting through."

Category II: Non-Compartmentalization

Positive Pole:

The teacher who relates to the whole student. This teacher gives the impression to the student that they are relating as one human being to another, not as student to teacher. Will get interested in the student's personal life and talk seriously about non-school matters (not in the nature of a "nosy" teacher pretending to be a social worker," but as a friend).

Negative Pole:

The teacher who compartmentalized the student, relating to him in the student-teacher relationship only. Never lets his hair down, is always "Mr. Thompson" and resists efforts to relate to students in any other way.

Category III: Warmth

Positive Pole:

Warm, affectionate teacher. This teacher communicates real warmth and open affection for the student

Negative Pole:

Cold, distant teacher. This teacher seems unfriendly to the student.

Category IV: Interestingness And Originality

Positive Pole:

The interesting teacher. This teacher keeps his students' attention, uses humor, demonstrations, unusual techniques to keep the students absorbed.

Negative Pole:

The boring teacher. This teacher rattles on in the same old way, while his students slowly doze off.

Category V: Competence

Positive Pole:

The highly competent teacher. This teacher communicates the impression that he really "knows his stuff," that if you ask him a question, he will not give you a "snow job" answer -- at the very least, he will guide you on how to find out the answer.

Negative Pole:

The know-nothing teacher. This teacher comes across as not knowing what he is talking about -- his talks have little real content, his students easily trip him up with questions, and he frequently seems to be "faking it" with his answers.

Category VI: Direction And Control

Positive Pole:

The teacher who is in control and gives direction to activities. This teacher inspires students with the idea that something is happening besides confusion and that they will not just be left to fend for themselves -- he gives a sense of direction and purpose as well as order.

Negative Pole:

The teacher whose classroom is chaos. This teacher gives the impression that he, himself, needs to be led and guided.

Category VII: Non-Authoritarianism

Positive Pole:

The non-authoritarian teacher. This teacher conveys the idea that the student is a free and equal individual with many personal rights, does not use unneccessary or petty disciplinary techniques, and allows students to develop their own ideas and procedures.

Negative Pole:

The authoritarian teacher. This teacher is a martinet who believes in scolding, punishment and verbal (sometimes physical) abuse to have his way -- and it always must be his way -- with the students.

Category VIII: Concern For Student Career

Positive Pole:

The teacher who cares about your professional future. This teacher is worried about what kind of a job the student is going to get and orients his teaching activities to this practical aspect.

Negative Pole:

The teacher who does not care about your professional future. This teacher may be interesting but does not try to relate the work to practical life of the student in anything, especially occupation.

Category IX: Justice

Positive Pole:

The teacher who is "fair." This teacher does not favor special groups or individuals.

Negative Pole:

The teacher who is "unfair." This teacher favors special groups, (*e.g.*, whites, girls) over others, plays favorites, or holds grudges.

Category X: Teacher Gives Just Enough Work, Not Too Much

Positive Pole:

The teacher who gives just enough work. This teacher seems to be able to judge how much work the student is able to manage and not go beyond it in assignments.

Negative Pole:

The teacher who gives too much work, is too demanding. This teacher has a habit of giving the student assignments that are very difficult to complete.

Category XI: Helpfulness And Attentiveness

Positive Pole:

The teacher who is helpful and attentive. This teacher is around and available and senses when the student need some guidance or help in work.

Negative Pole:

The teacher who ignores the floundering student. This teacher has a "sink or swim" attitude as far as the students' coping with the academic work is concerned.

Category XII: Intrinsic Characteristic Of The Teacher Which The Student Does Or Does Not Like

Positive Pole:

There is some intrinsic characteristic of the teacher which appeals to the student (that the teacher can't change or help). Example: "I really dig lady teachers,""He's a real young guy and I like that," "He's black like me and I can relate to him."

Negative Pole:

There is some intrinsic characteristic of the teacher that the student does not like. Example: "He's got such funny little squinty eyes, I just don't like that," "I hate those Polack teachers."

Category XIII: Just Likes Or Dislikes Without Being Able To Explain

This category is used for all evaluative statements, positive and negative, which do not go beyond stating a liking or a disliking for some teacher without further explanation.

Category XIV: Residual

This category is used for all evaluative statements, positive or negative, which do not fit into Categories I - XIII.

Category XV: No Answer

Student did not answer the key questions.

Coders for the content analysis were work-study students from local colleges. Due to the complexity of the material being presented and the necessity of some knowledge of the Metro situation in order to be able to understand many of the allusions which the students and interviewers made in the course of the interviews, we had to briefly familiarize the coders with the purposes and context of the study. Thus, this could not be said to be a "blind" coding which some might feel to be ideal. However, the coders were people who did not have a major stake in the demonstration of any hypothesis or the proving of any political or theoretical point.

Once the specific coding categories had been derived, we were left with the basic content analysis task: counting the frequency of their use. One of the major requirements of content analysis is that the unit for coding be uniformly defined and applied. There are a number of different ways of defining what shall be coded as one unit, but the important thing is consistency. In this case, the unit was defined as one interviewer-subject interaction. The interviewer would ask the subject a question, and the subject would answer with anything from a grunt to a paragraph of typescript, but usually with a sentence or two. Each such interaction was considered one coding unit. Thus the positive evaluation of a Metro teacher along the dimension of "dialogue" might involve the student making several statements to this effect in response to one interviewer question or comment. This would be coded as one unit. If the topic arose again in a later section of the interview, this would be coded as another unit.

If, however, the student also mentioned the criterion of "non-compartmentalization" in the same response where he mentioned "dialogue," he would also be recorded for one unit of interaction on the latter category.

This procedure has some problems, of course. Marsden (1965) has pointed out that the assumption of a direct relationship between frequency and intensity in content analysis is unproven. However, we felt that by not coding every statement on a certain dimension as a separate instance, but only those statements which were separated by another interviewer question or probe, this problem was minimized by making sure that one did not repeatedly count statements that are in reality only rephrasings or attempts to clarify.

From this coding procedure we obtained several counts. First of all, we were able to compute a mean frequency count per student of positive and negative statements about the school and about teachers.

Secondly, we were able to determine frequency patterns of usage of the individual categories presented in the two outlines above.

Using the mean frequencies of positive and negative statements, we compared the pretest scores of the three groups (Experimental I, Experimental II, and Control I) the posttest scores of the three groups, the changes from pretest to posttest for each group, and the comparative gains made by students in the three groups. A two-tailed t-test was used to determine statistical significance in each instance.

Also, we carried out a comparative analysis among the three groups for both pretest and posttest concerning their choice of coding categories (e.g., frequencies of using "dialogue" and "direction and control" as descriptors for teachers). Finally, we carried out a separate analysis of a subsample of the interviews using an additional coder as a reliability check. The results of all these analyses will be presented later in this chapter.

Comment On Attrition Of Interviews

The original sample for the interview analysis was supposed to include 48 individuals with two interviews apiece, or a total of 96 interviews, pre- and post-, for Experimental Group I, Experimental Group II and the Control. In fact, we ended with only 73 interviews in all, 42 pre-

and 31 post-. Due to the danger that results might be skewed by nonrandom differences between the pre- and post- samples, for most calculations we could only use those individuals in the sample for whom both a codable pre- and postinterview were available. Thus, the maximum sample for interview coding was reduced to 27 individuals, or 54 total interviews.

The reader will at once recognize that this is a significant difference between the intended and the resulting interview sample. It remains to provide some explanation as to what exactly happened to the remaining interviews that do not appear in the final sample. To a certain extent, this may seem like a case of "water under the bridge," but it might give the reader some clue as to the kind of data quality control that is necessary for such interview operations to approximate the intended sample matrix.

In this study, by far the greatest attrition of sample was due to the inability to carry out the postinterview. This happened with two students in Experimental Group I and II in Experimental Group II. Most seriously, it occurred with a total of 8, half the sample, in the Control group, which has the potential of seriously skewing the nature of the Control sample for which both pre- and post- samples could be carried out.
For the most part, this fact is due to the mobility of students inthe sample. Some Metro students transferred and could not be contacted again, but a considerable number of the Control students changed their addresses and/or

telephone numbers without leaving sufficient forwarding information for us to keep track of them. In addition, it was harder to get Control students to cooperate with the setting up of an interview and thus some were lost this way.

A second source of loss of members from the sample was defective tape recording of the actual interviews which was discovered too late for the interviews to be re-done. Unfortunately, this occured also exclusively in the post-control interviews (3 cases) which reduced the control sample still further. Immediate checking of whether the recordings were audible could have avoided this problem.

A third source ofsample attrition was found in the way the interviews were carried out: in a certain number of cases, questions pertaining to a certain topic were either not asked or were rephrased and changed in such a way as to make resulting answers non-comparable. This meant that some students' interview results could be used for the coding of some topics but not for others. For example, in "school climate" we lost 1 individual from Experimental Group I,and 1 from Experimental Group II in this way.

Finally, there were a few cases in which there was simply no record of an interview being done due to some oversight. The specifics of sample attrition for the interview analysis are presented in Table 3-2.

TABLE 3-2. Sample Attrition: Structured Interviews.

Status of Interview:	Experimental Group I		Experimental Group II		Control	
	Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post
1. Interview not completed.	1	2	0	2	2	8
2. Faulty recording: data not retrievable.	0	0	0	0	0	3
3. Question not asked or asked wrongly.	1	1	2	1	0	0
4. Either pretest or posttest interview correctly completed.	14	13	14	13	14	5
5. Both pretest and posttest interview correctly completed.	13		10		5	

In hindsight, we can see that most of the loss of sample individuals due to the above causes could have been compensated for if adequate preparation had been made in advance. Student mobility and its devastating result on the control subsample could have been compensated for by keeping a more careful watch on the comings and goings of students from their respective schools but more effectively by having a rather larger sample for control than for the Experimental groups, to make up for the anticipated attrition. As already stated, recorded data should be checked for usability shortly after its recording. Finally, procedures could be devised for ensuring that all the questions get asked and in equivalent ways, through such things as more intensive interviewer training, having two interviewers in each interview to act as a check on each other, and going through interviews with a checklist of questions in hand.

Results Of The Content Analysis

With respect to school climate, we first examine the overall frequencies of positive and negative characterizations. Mean frequencies of positive and negative responses, and also mean pre- post - gain scores are shown for each of the three groups in Tables 3-3 and 3-4. A clear pattern revealed in these tables is that both experimental groups made significantly more positive statements about Metro than about their old

TABLE 3-3. Mean Positive Attributions for the Subtopic School Climate.

	Mean Number of Positive Attributions		
Subsample	Pretest	Posttest	Mean Gain
Experimental I n = 13	$\bar{x}$ = 1.69 S.D. = 1.70	$\bar{x}$ = 6.69 S.D. = 3.83	$\bar{x}$ = +5.00 S.D. = 3.70
Experimental II n = 9	$\bar{x}$ = 1.23 S.D. = 1.54	$\bar{x}$ = 8.67 S.D. = 3.71	$\bar{x}$ = +7.44 S.D. = 4.47
Control I n = 5	$\bar{x}$ = 1.60 S.D. = 1.20	$\bar{x}$ = 2.60 S.D. = 2.50	$\bar{x}$ = +1.00 S.D. = 3.71

Notes on two-tailed t-tests of significance

--Pretest to posttest differences are significant for Experimental Group I and Experimental Group II at less than the .05 level.

--Pretest to posttest differences are not significant for Control I at the .05 level.

--Difference between the Mean Gain Scores of Experimental I and Control I significant at less than the .05 level.

--Difference between the Mean Gains Scores of Experimental II and Control I significant at less than the .05 level.

--No differences between Experimental I and Experimental II are significant at the .05 level.

TABLE 3-4. Mean Negative Attributions for the Subtopic School Climate.

Subgroup	Pretest	Posttest	Mean Gain
	Mean Number of Negative Attributions		
Experimental I n = 13	$\bar{x}$ = 4.23 S.D. = 3.55	$\bar{x}$ = 1.46 S.D. = 2.40	$\bar{x}$ = -2.77 S.D. = 4.30
Experimental II n = 9	$\bar{x}$ = 3.33 S.D. = 2.49	$\bar{x}$ = 1.33 S.D. = 2.11	$\bar{x}$ = -2.00 S.D. = 3.74
Control I n = 5	$\bar{x}$ = 3.40 S.D. = 1.57	$\bar{x}$ = 5.20 S.D. = 1.60	$\bar{x}$ = +1.80 S.D. = 2.59

Notes on two-tailed t-tests of significance

--Pretest to posttest differences are significant for both Experimental Group I and Experimental Group II at less than the .05 level.
--Pretest to posttest differences are not significant for Control I.
--No differences between gain scores are significant.

school and significantly fewer negative statements about Metro than about their old school. In all four of the relevant comparisions the p-value is less than .05. In comparison, the positive and negative attributions by Control I students were relatively constant from pretest to posttest.

T-tests of differential gains between the three groups were also carried out. With respect to positive statements, the Experimental I gain of 5.00 and the Experimental II gain of 7.44 were significantly greater than the Control I gain of 1.00. With respect to negative statements, negative statements by Experimental I decreased by 2.77 from pretest to posttest and negative statements by Experimental II decreased by 2.00, while negative statements by Control I increased by 1.80. While these differences did not reach statistical significance (probably because of the small n and the rather large variance), they are consistent with the hypothesis that Metro students were significantly more satisfied with their school experience than control students.

It should be noted that we did not compute positive and negative scores together (that is, adding in the unfavorable attributions as negative values in the computation of an overall index of student opinion about school climate). As we will show later, negative attributions on some dimensions clustered in different categories than did positive attributions.

Why there are larger differences in positive attributions than in negative attributions we can only speculate at this point. The tone of the positive statements about Metro suggests a strong emotional identification with Metro that led the student respondents in the interview to "advertise" Metro, thinking of as many good things as possible to say about it.

Because of small samples and attrition, especially in the post-interviews for Control I, we were unable to carry out a definitive quantitative analysis of the samples according to background variables. However, we have presented such breakdowns in Tables 3-5 and 3-6. See Experimental I and II combined to see if we can identify trends that merit further study.

We have computed the mean frequencies of positive and negative attributions about school climate according to sex and race, pooling the two Metro student groups (Experimental Group I and Experimental Group II) to produce a more adequate sample. Because of small sample size the Control I has not been so subdivided. The results for school climate are shown in Tables 3-5 and 3-6. It must of course be remembered that the samples are too small for any significant tests of the race and sex differences, and thus the results are only suggestive.

Looking at the results for both pretest and posttest with respect to sex, one cannot discern any consistent pattern of sex differences.

Looking at the subdivision by race, the major discernable pattern

TABLE 3-5. Mean Number of Positive and Negative Attributions Concerning School Climate on the Pretest Subdivided by Race and Sex for Experimental I and Experimental II Combined.

	Race		
Category	Black	Anglo	Overall
Male			
Positive	$\bar{x}$ = 1.80	$\bar{x}$ = 2.17	$\bar{x}$ = 2.00
Attributions	n = 5	n = 6	n = 11
Negative	$\bar{x}$ = 2.60	$\bar{x}$ = 6.33	$\bar{x}$ = 4.82
Attributions	n = 5	n = 6	n = 11
Female			
Positive	$\bar{x}$ = 0.33	$\bar{x}$ = 1.13	$\bar{x}$ = .91
Attributions	n = 3	n = 8	n = 11
Negative	$\bar{x}$ = 2.33	$\bar{x}$ = 3.00	$\bar{x}$ = 2.82
Attributions	n = 3	n = 8	n = 11
Overall			
Positive	$\bar{x}$ = 1.25	$\bar{x}$ = 1.57	
Attributions	n = 8	n = 14	
Negative	$\bar{x}$ = 2.75	$\bar{x}$ = 4.42	
Attributions	n = 8	n = 14	

TABLE 3-6. Mean Number of Positive and Negative Attributions Conceming School Climate on the Posttest Subdivided by Race and Sex for Experimental I and Experimental II Combined.

	Race		
Category	Black	Anglo	Overall
Male			
Positive	$\overline{x} = 5.60$	$\overline{x} = 10.00$	$\overline{x} = 8.00$
Attributions	$n = 5$	$n = 6$	$n = 11$
Negative	$x = 2.00$	$\overline{x} = 1.67$	$\overline{x} = 1.81$
Attributions	$n = 5$	$n = 6$	$n = 11$
Female			
Positive	$\overline{x} = 5.33$	$\overline{x} = 9.62$	$\overline{x} = 8.45$
Attributions	$n = 3$	$n = 8$	$n = 11$
Negative	$\overline{x} = 0.67$	$\overline{x} = 1.13$	$\overline{x} = 1.00$
Attributions	$n = 3$	$n = 8$	$n = 11$
Overall			
Positive	$\overline{x} = 5.50$	$\overline{x} = 9.78$	
Attributions	$n = 8$	$n = 14$	
Negative	$\overline{x} = 1.50$	$\overline{x} = 1.36$	
Attributions	$n = 8$	$n = 14$	

is that Anglo students made slightly more negative comments about their old school and more positive comments about Metro than did the Black students.

These differences by sex and race are based on extremely small samples and are not statistically significant. They do suggest the possibility that the alternative school features of Metro made slightly less difference for black students. At the same time, we note that the number of negative attributions by blacks is also less in both pretests and posttests than for Anglos. Thus, it may be that these differences merely reflect a lesser production of words in the interview situation by Black students. Familiarity with the qualitative tone of the interviews suggests that indeed, many of the most verbal and expansive respondents were the white male students.

Rather than demonstrating any major difference between the races and between the sexes in positive response to the Metro environment, the most important feature of these data is the revelation that the general positive response to Metro is found in both sexes and in both black and white students toward the Metro experience.

Let us now examine the choice of categories in the school climate subtopic. The results of this tabulation are presented in Tables 3-7 and 3-8. In Table 3-7, we have tabulated the frequencies with which various categories of positive characterization were used by the three groups on both pretest and posttest. The large number of Residual characterizations (Category XV) includes both responses that could not be fit into the first

TABLE 3-7. Frequency of Use of Fifteen Categories for Describing School Climate.* Positive Attributions

Group	Interview	I. Freedom from School Rules	II. Freedom of Academic Choice	III. Freedom of Expression In Class	IV. Freedom from Student Pressure	V. Academic Program Well Organized	VI. Camaraderie With Other Students	VII. Interest in Academic Program	VIII. Ability to Cope With Academic Program	IX. Feeling of Positive Challenge	X. Feeling of Future Preparation	XI. Logistics and Practicality	XII. Extracurricular Activities	XIII. Personal Relationships with Teachers	XIV. Generally Like School	XV. Residual
Experimental I	Pretest	0	0	0	1	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	35
n = 13	Posttest	5	12	22	7	1	19	14	0	2	13	0	1	10	0	64
Experimental II	Pretest	1	0	2	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	4	1	0	21
n = 9	Posttest	9	6	24	0	0	18	9	0	0	8	0	6	4	0	39
Experimental I and II Combined n = 22	Pretest	1	0	2	1	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	5	2	0	56
	Posttest	14	18	46	7	1	37	23	0	2	21	0	7	14	0	103
Control I	Pretest	0	0	1	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	5
n = 5	Posttest	0	1	3	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	6	0	0	13

*Definitions and explanations of these categories are provided in the text

TABLE 3-8. Frequency of Use of Fifteen Categories for Describing School Climate.* Negative Attributions

Group	Interview	I. Freedom from School Rules	II. Freedom of Academic Choice	III. Freedom of Expression in Class	IV. Freedom from Student Pressure	V. Academic Program Well Organized	VI. Camaraderie With Other Students	VII. Interest in Academic Program	VIII. Ability to Cope With Academic Program	IX. Feeling of Positive Challenge	X. Feeling of Future Preparation	XI. Logistics and Practicality	XII. Extracurricular Activities	XIII. Personal Relationships with Teachers	XIV. Generally Like School	XV. Residual
Experimental I	Pretest	0	10	9	4	1	6	13	0	1	0	0	0	7	0	41
n = 13	Posttest	0	1	1	1	2	2	6	0	1	3	0	1	0	0	11
Experimental II	Pretest	1	5	7	4	0	5	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	29
n = 9	Posttest	0	0	1	0	0	1	3	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	5
Experimental I and II Combined n = 22	Pretest	1	15	16	8	1	11	21	0	1	0	0	0	7	2	73
	Posttest	0	1	2	1	2	3	9	0	2	3	0	2	0	0	16
Control I	Pretest	6	10	2	2	2	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	8
n = 5	Posttest	2	5	2	6	1	8	2	0	0	0	0	3	2	0	18

*Definitions and explanations of these categories are provided in the text

fourteen categories and (primarily) statements that were made in response to leading or clarification questions on the part of the interviewer. They have been excluded both from the analysis of category choice and the preceding analysis of positive and negative attributions.

We will look now at the frequencies of choice of these categories by the subjects, broken down by Experimental and Control groups. There are no important differences between Experimental Group I and Experimental Group II (who differed only in the point at which they entered Metro).

Let us examine the categories of School Climate which showed the largest change between the pre- and post- interviews for the Metro students of both experimental groups combined. These categories all indicated a positive characterization of the Metro school climate.

I. Personal Freedom From School Rules

This category was used in only 1 positive characterization in the pre-Metro interviews but in 14 characterizations in the post Metro interviews. To a large extent, this reflects student response to the degree to which Metro dispensed with hall passes, dress codes, seating arrangements, red tape, etc.

II. Freedom Of Academic Choice

Use of this item as a positive characterization increased from 0 to 18. This change reflected the number of options built into the Metro program at every point. It is interesting to note the total absence of this item in the pre- interviews. This is an indication of just how rigid the students see the curriculum in traditional high schools.

III. Freedom Of Expression In Class

There were 2 positive uses of this item in the pre-interviews of the Metro students, but 46 in the post-, making it by far the most frequently used category for the positive characterization of school climate. Students cited as positive items the ability to express disagreement with the teacher's ideas, to criticize texts, and to express ideas whether controversial or non-controversial which might otherwise have been ignored. The old schools were seen as restrictive in this respect, while Metro opened up previously undreamed of possibilities.

IV. Freedom From Co-Student Pressure And VI. Camaraderie With Other Students

Freedom from Co-Student Pressure received I positive mention in the pretest interview and 7 in the posttest interview. Camaraderie with Other Students received 6 mentions in the pretest and 37 mentions in the post-test, making it the second most frequently used response category. Together they reflect the lack of/either inner city gangs or middle class cliques and conformism in the school and the presence of much positive interaction among Metro students. Themes in student response included supportiveness among students and opportunities for interpersonal communication.

VII. Interest In Class And Academic Content

Positive characterizations using this category increased from 0 to 23. Comments indicate that this change represents a response partly to the more interesting courses offered (including most especially the use of the community as a resource, but by no means confined to it) and partly to the more personalized teaching methods. Greater emphasis on projects carried out by the student and the virtual disappearance of homework done from textbook question lists apparently paid off in terms of student interest.

VII. Interest In The Academic Program

This category showed the second largest change, rising from 0 to 23 mentions from pre- to posttest. Students cited a strong interest in coming to school and named specific learning experiences in which they were heavily involved.

X. Feeling Of Preparation For The Future

This item's use as a positive characterization increased from 0 to 21, revealing a strong favorable response to the outside world oriented aspects of the Metro program. Students making statement codable under this category generally praised some specific skill which the Metro program was giving them, with reference to its later-life usefulness.

XIII. Personal Relationships With Teachers

This dimension was never mentioned positively in the pretest but mentioned 14 times in the posttest. Specific aspects of this category will be discussed in detail later in this chapter when dimensions of student-teacher relationships are analyzed.

The small number of students in the Control I subsample make interpretation of their responses in Table 3-7 less reliable. It is interesting to note however, that the only category mentioned positively more than three times was Extracurricular Activities.

The greatly increased positive response to Metro was also revealed in the decline of negative characterizations in specific categories (see Table 3-8.) The greatest differences were seen in the following items:

II. Freedom Of Academic Choice

In the two Metro experimental groups, this item was used for negative characterizations of the old school a total of 15 times. In the post interviews, the category is only used once for negative characterizations in describing Metro. Evidently the program at Metro allowed so many options that hardly anybody thought of complaining of its limits.

III. Freedom Of Expression In Class

The use of this category for negative characterizations decreased from 16 to 2. The type of comment recorded indicates more of a dissatisfaction with the lack of opportunity to adequately express oneself than a feeling that a traditional school actively suppresses one's ideas. The open, variegated format of the Metro program allowed the student to have opportunities for self-expression lacking in other schools.

IV. Freedom From Co-Student Pressure And VI. Feeling Of Camaraderie With Other Students

Negative uses of these characterizations declined from 8 to 1 and 11 to 3 respectively, reflecting a decline in the extent to which students perceived their fellows as cold or impersonal and threatening. Again, this may be partially due to the sense of unity-in-struggle which was felt by the Metro students during the first year of the program, in which they had not separated into cliques, and were keenly aware of the many threats to their school's existence.

VII. Feeling Of Interest In Academic Program

As a negative characterization this category went down from 21 to 9 probably reflecting a decline in the degree to which lectures, forced discussions, and textbook homework assignments were instructional mainstays. It is interesting to note, however, that the 9 negative characterizations of Metro on this dimension was the highest number of negative characterizations falling into any category for Metro.

XIII. Personal Relationships With Teachers

Complaints about cold impersonal relationships with teachers dropped from seven statements in the pretest to none in the posttest.

A number of categories of school climate were not used frequently by Experimental I and II, either as a positive or negative characterization, in the spontaneous response patterns of the students. These included the following.

V. Feeling of Direction And Organization In The Academic Program

It is interesting that this category was not much used, since one frequent doubt expressed about alternative programs is whether they create anxiety in the student through not giving him enough "structure." This doubt is often expressed by school administrators who are resistant to persuasion that their district should support an alternative education project. Evidently, the group of students who ended up in the Metro program did not feel major qualms about this. Although one black male student stated after a year in Metro that "Here the teachers just let the kids go crazy," his was one of the few such comments. Possibly the small size of Metro and the face-to-face relationships allowed the students to feel security with relatively less structure. It would be interesting to see if more concern about lack of structure were evident in a larger program.

VIII. Feeling Of Ability To Cope With Class And Other Work

There was little evidence in either pre- or post- interviews of anxiety on the topic of coping with the academic work of the program.

IX. Feeling Of Challenge From School

Likewise, few students spontaneously (as opposed to in response to a directed question on whether Metro encouraged creativity) raised the topic of the "challengingness" of the school program, as either a positive or negative characterization in pre- or posttest. Either students were not overtly conscious of the challenge aspect, or it was not very important to them. Again, criticism of alternative education sometimes brings up the point that it might be seen as "mickey mouse" or not sufficiently challenging.

XI. Logistics And Practicality Of The School

Our own intuitive feeling was that the traveling and related problems might be a focus for dissatisfaction about Metro. Evidently, it was not strong enough a "minus" to be prominently reflected in the interviews.

XII. Extracurricular Activities

There was relatively little use of this category by Experimental I and II. We felt the category would perhaps be a major cause of dissatisfaction with Metro because the school without walls aspect and the wide area from which Metro draws students made it difficult to arrange extracurricular activities. However, many activities traditionally reserved for after school were incorporated into the varied Metro course offerings.

In looking at the distribution of Control I responses on negatively valued items in Table 3-8, one should again be cautious because of the small numbers. Categories employed more than 5 times by the Control I students indicated limited freedom of academic choice, negative peer pressure, and a lack of warmth and camaraderie with fellow students.

Let us now look at the total picture presented by this pattern of priorities concerning school climate. Focusing on the combined results for Experimental I and II, there are several categories that are used both in negatively characterizing the Metro students' previous schools and in positively characterizing Metro. In order of total frequency of mention they are Freedom of Expression in Class, Camaraderie with Other Students, Interest In The Academic Program, Freedom Of Academic

Choice, Personal Relationships with Teachers, and Freedom From Co-Student Pressure.

Two characteristics were not mentioned in describing the previous school, but were frequently mentioned in positively characterizing Metro: Feeling of Preparation for the Future and Freedom from School Rules. The students' choices of categories placed strong emphasis on personal freedom and interpersonal relationships with both fellow students and with teachers. However, the difference between the previous school and Metro was also characterized by a higher expressed interest in the classes and academic program and a feeling that the school was preparing the student for the future.

The second major topic content-analyzed in the structured interviews was student-teacher relations. Basically the same procedure was used in coding this material as for school climate. The important exception was that, as will be recalled, the text to be coded for this subtopic was derived from questions and probes concerning the most and least liked teacher. Thus, even if the student, for example, had an overwhelmingly favorable feeling about the teachers at Metro, he was still encouraged to think hard and come up with a teacher he didn't like and give the reasons why. The form of the question had an important bearing on the results, since it obviously would be expected to produce a smaller difference in frequency between positive and negative statements in all subsamples and

and on both pretest and posttest.

Examining the tabulation of mean positive and negative attributions in Tables 3-9 and 3-10, we see that there were indeed no consistent changes from pretest to posttest by any of the three groups, except that Experimental II shows a significant gain in positive attributions from pretest to posttest. Also, there were no significant differences between the gain scores of groups. The form of the question indeed wiped out treatment differences. That there were some strong attitudinal differences between experimental and control subgroups is suggested by other evidence in the student responses. When asked to describe their best-liked Metro teacher, over half the students added spontaneously a statement indicating that most or all of the other Metro teachers were like the one they liked best. However, in the control subgroup, over half the subsample indicated that most or all of their teachers were like their least-liked teacher. Further, as Category XV of Table 3-14 indicates, 11 of the Metro students were unable, despite probing, to name a least-liked Metro teacher. It appears that if both groups had been asked to describe a "typical" teacher, most Metro students describing Metro would have described their best-liked teacher, while control students would have described their least-liked teacher.

As we did with school climate, we pooled the results for Experimental I and II and broke them down by race and sex to see whether

TABLE 3-9. Mean Positive Attributions for the Subtopic Student-Teacher Relations.

	Mean Number of Positive Attributions		
Subsample	Pretest	Posttest	Mean Gain
Experimental I n = 12	$\overline{x}$ = 3.73 S.D. = 2.05	$\overline{x}$ = 4.64 S.D. = 1.55	$\overline{x}$ = +.91 S.D. = 1.89
Experimental II n = 10	$\overline{x}$ = 3.30 S.D. = 2.45	$\overline{x}$ = 6.00 S.D. = 2.83	$\overline{x}$ = +2.70 S.D. = 2.95
Control I n = 5	$\overline{x}$ = 4.80 S.D. = 1.17	$\overline{x}$ = 5.40 S.D. = 1.74	$\overline{x}$ = +.60 S.D. = .93

Notes on two-tailed t-tests of significance

--Pretest to posttest differences are not significant for Experimental Group I at the .05 level.
--Pretest to posttest differences are significant for Experimental Group II at less than the .05 level.
--Pretest to posttest differences are not significant for Control Group I at the .05 level.
--No differences between gain scores are significant.

TABLE 3-10. Mean Negative Attributions for the Subtopic Student-Teacher Relations

	Mean Number of Negative Attributions		
Subsample	Pretest	Posttest	Mean Gain
Experimental I n = 12	$\bar{x}$ = 3.55 S.D. = 1.77	$\bar{x}$ = 2.55 S.D. = 1.78	$\bar{x}$ = -1.00 S.D. = 1.38
Experimental II n = 10	x = 3.60 S.D. = 1.49	x = 3.80 S.D. = 2.15	+.20 S.D. = 2.04
Control I n = 5	x = 3.40 S.D. = 1.02	x = 2.80 S.D. = .75	x = -.60 S.D. = .67

Note on two-tailed t-tests of significance. None of the pretest to posttest difference for specific subsamples or differences between subsample gain scores are significant at the .05 level.

any trends were apparent that might be investigated in future research. Tables 3-11 and 3-12 indicates the results of this analysis. There do not appear to be significant patterns of difference by race or sex discernible in this analysis.

Despite its limited utility as a means for identifying differences between Experimental I, Experimental II, and Control I, the data on positively and negatively valued characteristics of the student teacher relationship provide valuable evidence concerning those qualitative categories that were most important to students. In Tables 3-13 and 3-14 the positive and negative attributions made by the three groups are classified according to fifteen categories for student-teacher relationships that were described earlier in this chapter.

Because of the format of the questions that elicited this information described above, it seems most appropriate to view those categories most frequently mentioned by all three groups combined as being indicators of the saliency of positively and negatively valued teacher characteristics. Thus, based on Table 3-13, the following categories were mentioned most frequently in positive attributions concerning student teacher relations:

I. Dialogue (32 mentions)

II. Non-compartmentalization (30 mentions)

III. Warmth (22 mentions)

XII. Intrinsic Characteristics (19 mentions)

TABLE 3-11. Mean Number of Positive and Negative Attributions Concerning Student-Teacher Relations on the Pretest Subdivided by Race and Sex for Experimental I and II Combined.

Category	Race		
	Black	Anglo	Overall
Male			
Positive Attributes	$\bar{x} = 3.80$ n = 5	$\bar{x} = 4.00$ n = 5	$\bar{x} = 3.90$ n = 10
Negative Attributes	$\bar{x} = 2.80$ n = 5	$\bar{x} = 3.60$ n = 5	$\bar{x} = 3.20$ n = 10
Female			
Positive Attributes	$\bar{x} = 3.80$ n = 5	$\bar{x} = 3.86$ n = 7	$\bar{x} = 3.42$ n = 12
Negative Attributes	$\bar{x} = 3.00$ n = 5	$\bar{x} = 4.43$ n = 7	$\bar{x} = 3.83$ n = 12
Overall			
Positive Attributes	$\bar{x} = 3.30$ n = 10	$\bar{x} = 3.92$ n = 12	
Negative Attributes	$\bar{x} = 2.90$ n = 10	$\bar{x} = 4.08$ n = 12	

TABLE 3-12. Mean Number of Positive and Negative Attributions Conceming Student-Teacher Relations on the Posttest Subdivided by Race and Sex for Experimental I and II Combined.

	Race		
Category	Black	Anglo	Overall
Male			
Positive Attributes	$\bar{x} = 4.20$ n = 5	$\bar{x} = 7.80$ n = 5	$\bar{x} = 6.00$ n = 10
Negative Attributes	$\bar{x} = 1.80$ n = 5	$\bar{x} = 5.00$ n = 5	$\bar{x} = 3.40$ n = 10
Female			
Positive Attributes	$\bar{x} = 4.20$ n = 5	$\bar{x} = 5.57$ n = 7	$\bar{x} = 5.45$ n = 12
Negative Attributes	$\bar{x} = 3.00$ n = 5	$\bar{x} = 2.71$ n = 7	$\bar{x} = 3.09$ n = 12
Overall			
Positive Attributes	$\bar{x} = 4.20$ n = 10	$\bar{x} = 6.50$ n = 12	
Negative Attributes	$\bar{x} = 2.40$ n = 10	$\bar{x} = 3.67$ n = 12	

TABLE 3-13. Frequency of Use of Fifteen Categories for Describing Student-Teacher Relations.* Positive Attributions

Group	Interview	I. Dialogue	II. Non-compartmentalization	III. Warmth	IV. Interestingness and Originality	V. Competence	VI. Direction and Control	VII. Non-Authoritarianism	VIII. Concern for Student Career	IX. Justice	X. Just Enough Work	XI. Helpful and Attentive	XII. Intrinsic Characteristic	XIII. Just Likes or Dislikes	XIV. Residual	XV. No response
Experimental I	Pretest	3	2	5	1	1	0	6	0	1	1	2	3	0	9	1
n = 12	Posttest	8	8	4	3	3	1	1	0	0	0	5	3	0	8	0
Experimental II	Pretest	6	9	6	11	2	0	3	0	0	0	3	3	2	5	2
n = 10	Posttest	13	9	3	7	1	2	1	0	0	0	2	7	3	11	4
Experimental I and II	Pretest	9	11	10	2	3	0	9	0	1	1	5	6	2	14	3
n = 22	Posttest	21	17	7	10	4	3	2	0	0	0	7	10	3	19	4
Control I	Pretest	2	2	2	3	1	4	2	1	0	1	0	2	1	0	2
n = 5	Posttest	0	0	3	0	7	3	2	1	1	0	3	1	0	0	0

*Definitions and explanations of these categories are provided in the text

TABLE 3-14. Frequency of Use of Fifteen Categories for Describing Student-Teacher Relations:* Negative Attributions

Group	Interview	I. Dialogue	II. Non-compartmentalization	III. Warmth	IV. Interestingness and Originality	V. Competence	VI. Direction and Control	VII. Non-Authoritarianism	VIII. Concern for Student Career	IX. Jusice	X. Just Enough Work	XI. Helpful and Attentive	XII. Intrinsic Characteristic	XIII. Just Likes or Dislikes	XIV. Residual	XV. No response
Experimental I	Pretest	4	0	3	2	2	0	4	0	5	3	2	6	0	2	4
n = 12	Posttest	1	0	4	1	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	1	1	7	3
Experimental II	Pretest	2	0	1	5	1	0	19	0	2	1	4	2	0	2	2
n = 10	Posttest	0	1	1	1	0	0	6	0	3	1	3	3	1	2	8
Expermental I and II	Pretest	6	0	4	7	3	0	23	0	7	4	6	8	0	4	6
n = 22	Posttest	1	1	5	2	0	1	6	0	3	3	3	4	2	9	11
Control I	Pretest	2	0	2	3	0	3	7	0	2	0	0	0	0	2	0
n = 5	Posttest	0	0	0	3	0	5	6	0	3	2	0	3	0	2	0

*De[illegible]ons and explanations of these categories are provided in the text

IV. Interestingness and Originality (15 mentions)

V. Competence (15 mentions)

XI. Helpful and Attentive (15 mentions)

As Table 3-14 indicates, the following categories were used most frequently in negative attributions concerning student-teacher relations:

VII. Non-authoritarianism (42 mentions)

IV. Interestingness and Originality (15 mentions)

IX. Justice (15 mentions)

XII. Intrinsic Characteristics (15 mentions)

It is interesting to note that only two categories are mentioned a total of more than 15 times in both the students' positive and negative characterizations of their schools, i.e., Interestingness and Originality, and Intrinsic Characteristics. Students were sensitive both to the presence and absence of these qualities in their teachers. However, other characteristics were mentioned frequently only with respect to negative or positive attributions. Mentioned as negative characteristics then were authoritarianism and injustice. Mentioned as positive characteristics were dialogue, non-compartmentalization, warmth, competence, and helpfulness and attentiveness.

It is interesting to note that the three most frequently mentioned positive characteristics--dialogue, non-compartmentalization, and warmth--

were not mentioned frequently by the Metro students in describing their schools. These appear to be dimensions of the Metro experience that were not seen as possibilities in the conventional school and therefore not previously missed by students. Also, Metro students emphasized the authoritarian nature of their previous teachers, but did not mention the lack of authoritarianism as a positive attribute of their Metro teachers. Conceivably, in the regular public schools general student dissatisfaction with relationships with teachers becomes phrased exclusively in terms of complaints about strictness, fussiness, and other authoritarian characteristics, while the more positive relationships found in the alternative school settings encouraged the student to differentiate other aspects of his role relationship with the teachers (such as "dialogue"). In addition, there is the possibility that in the regular schools, where there is pressure for teachers to "keep their distance" from the students, fussy authoritarian behavior becomes the technique by which the teacher maintains himself in his compartmentalized role and evades real dialogue with the students. These two factors may both be in operation simultaneously.

Reviewing again those categories that were salient to students in these interviews, it becomes apparent, as with the school climate responses, that students placed a strong emphasis on the interpersonal dynamics of their relationships with teachers and freedom and lack of rigid role limitations within the student-teacher relationship. Questions of the teacher's teaching techniques, competence in subject area, etc.

were not highly salient in the students' spontaneous descriptions of liked and disliked teachers.

Reliability Of School Climate And Student-Teacher Coding

There are a number of judgements which our procedure requires that the coder make-- including at least the following: Is an utterance an attributive statement which is appropriate to be coded and counted? Does a statement count as one instance for a frequency tabulation or does it count as several? Is an attributive statement positive or negative? In which category (or categories) does it belong?

In order to assess inter-rater reliability, we carried out a reliability test concerning school climate and teacher-student relationships. A random sample consisting of approximately 20% of all pre-interviews and 20% of all post-interviews of Metro students (Experimental Groups I and II) and of about 50% of all interviews, pre- and post-, of Control Group I students was recoded by a different individual. Exactly the same procedures were used by both coders, but they did not have access to each others' results.

Reliabilty between the two coders was assessed by computation of correlation coefficients between the two ratings, with separate computations for positive or negative attributions and for category choice. The results are shown in Table 3-15.

TABLE 3-15. Inter-rater Reliability Scores for Interview Content Analysis of School Climate and Student-Teacher Relations

Topic		Coefficient of Correlation between Two Coders
School Climate Pretest	Agreement on number of positive attributions	.59
School Climate Pretest	Agreement on number of negative attributions	.59
School Climate Pretest	Agreement on category choice	.81
School Climate Posttest	Agreement on number of positive attributions	.57
School Climate Posttest	Agreement on number of negative attributions	.90
School Climate Posttest	Agreement on category choice	.90
Teacher-student relations Pretest	Agreement on number of positive attributions	.68
Teacher-student relations Pretest	Agreement on number of negative attributions	.73
Student-teacher relations Pretest	Agreement on category choice	.91
Student-teacher relations Posttest	Agreement on number of positive attributions	.95
Student-teacher relations Posttest	Agreement on number of negative attributions	.55
Student-teacher relations Posttest	Agreement on category choice	.88

Use Of The City As A Learning Resource And Self-Image

The interview formate used in this study provided a rich and varied "mine" of material which could take years to exhaust. Additional extensive use was made of the material in preparing case studies presented in Chapter 4. In addition, we attempted to investigate two other topics quantitatively: students' reactions to the use of the city as a resource and changes in students' images of themselves. We attempted to explore these two topics quantitatively because we found, as we began the analysis that we had some significant information on them from both the questionnaire and participant observation data, and we wished to draw data from the interview methodology to compare with it.

Attempts to draw useful quantitative information concerning use of the city as a learning resource from the interview data proved unsuccessful. We were interested in determining whether the Metro students, as compared with the control students, tended to be more familiar with the city, to move around it more extensively, and to make more extensive use of its resources outside of school time. We had asked students to name downtown streets as one index of their familiarity with the city and also had questioned them about the extent of their traveling around the city outside of school time in both pretest and posttest. The question concerning city streets seemed after some reflection to be a superficial index of of familiarity with the city. Further, inspection of the interviews indicated that the question about the extent of students' traveles had not been asked and probed consistently enough for us to conduct any meaningful statistical analysis with this data.

Attempts to derive a quantitative measure of self-images ran into similar difficulties. The attempt to derive this information from a series of responses that were not initially intended for this type of analysis, variability of the quantity of student response, and small sample size caused us to abandon this effort.

The methodological lesson of our attempt to carry out after the fact analysis of topics that turned out to be of interest was not feasible, despite our attempts to cast a wide net in the initial interview.

Methodological Conclusions

We will now attempt to draw together some of the methodological insights we have arrived at through our use of the content analysis of open-ended interviews.

First, some of the negative aspects of the use of the interviews will be reviewed. As Bill (1973) has noted, interviews are time consuming to administer, transcribe and code. Their length and awkwardness makes it very difficult to reach an ideal sample size.

We experienced all of these problems. Locating experimental and control students scattered throughout Chicago and bringing them in for interviews was a major logistical problem. The interview procedure itself took a total of approximately 170 hours of interviewer time. Approximately five hours was needed to transcribe each hour of recorded interview, so that 800 hours of transcription was required. The result was an extremely rich record on a variety of topics, as anyone who has read through several of the interviews can attest. However, when we began to tap the interview richness through quantitative procedures, it became apparent that we could only tap a tiny fraction of the information available even with substantial coding effort. Further, as we defined these few specific topics, we found that our interviews did not always contain the precise type of information that we could analyze quantitatively. Further, after attrition of various kinds had taken its toll, our sample was not large enough to adequately test all the hypotheses we would have liked to test. Another implication of our small sample size was an inability to focus in on groupings of students not anticipated in the original stratification by race and sex. One major focus that emerged from the participant observation, for example, were the six student subgroups described in Chapter 5. These groups had emerged from the participant observation work, and the questionnaire sample size allowed us to ask certain questions about these groups in the computerized treatments of that data (See Chapter 2). However, we did not anticipate the existence of these groups when selecting the interview subsamples, and the subsamples were not large enough to accidentally provide us with an adequate representation of each subgroup. Thus we were unable to say anything quantiative about the subgroups based on the interview content analysis.

A second methodological problem of the interview is the difficulty of maintaining a systematic coding pattern given the give and take, question and answer nature of the text. As mentioned before, in this situation the interview really consists of a mixture of the ideas of the interview subject and the persons who design and carry out the interview. Therefore the relationship between the manifest content of the text and the cognitive structure of the subject is less clear than in a dream or Rorschach protocol. Although this effect cannot be eliminated from the content analysis of interviews, it can be minimized by asking a few simple questions requiring a relatively large amount of talking on the part of the subject rather than by asking many small questions to which the subject can and will give brief answers, if one is anticipating the use of quantitative content analysis. The subject can be asked to tell a story about "X" rather than being asked fifteen questions about it. Such pieces of monologue on the part of the subject could then be subjected to a closer and more sophisticated content analysis, bringing in, for example, such things as the order of appearance of ideas (this is important, but it is largely structured by the interview format in our study), as well as other more complex content analysis techniques. (See de Sola Pool, 1952, for some examples.)

Furthermore, we have found at this point that the interviews we collected were deep mines with low-grade ore, i.e. there is a lot in them, but a huge amount of searching and sifting is required to get it out. A smaller number of questions, perhaps of the type suggested by the preceding paragraph, would have saved a lot of drudgery and also allowed for the use of a larger sample.

An important consideration for future studies would also be a quality control procedure for the interview situation. The testing of hypotheses on some topics, e.g. experience in the city, was badly hampered by the omission of key questions in a number of the interviews. Again this was partially a result of the large number of questions and the resulting complexity of the interview. With a smaller and more select group of questions, it is less likely that any one question will "get lost."

With the wisdom of hindsight, we now feel that we could have saved ourselves considerable trouble by omitting the intermediate step of interview transcription. Content analysis has traditionally been done with transcribed material or a written test, but there is no reason that, given advance planning, a setup could not be arranged wherein the coder would perform coding operations working directly from the tape. Not only would this have saved us much time and trouble, but in addition it would have allowed the coder to take into consideration various paralinguistic cues (e.g., intonations, pauses) which were not present in the transcription. Going one step further in the utilization of paralinguistic cues, the interview could have been placed on video tape, allowing the coder to take into account not only tone of voice, emphasis, but also facial expressions, gestures, body movements.

Another tack could have been taken in the use of interviews that would have eliminated many of the problems stated above. Some questions could have been designed with prestructured and closed options for coding that would have provided simple and immediate quantitative feedback on certain key issues. The student could then have been asked to elaborate on his answers and the results of this elaboration used as examples to give a richer feeling for the nature of student response and to see whether the limited options presented to the student are really being interpreted by him the way the researcher intended.

Either of the alternative approaches--eliciting longer responses more suitable for content analysis or eliciting forced-choice responses with verbal elaboration would require an extensive period of preparation for the use of these techniques that, in our opinion should include extensive participant observation and trial use of questions. It should be pointed out that given the realities of the situation in which the research was begun--a sudden opportunity to study educational programs with random assignment to groups in a school system extremely suspicious of research-- would have been impossible to carry out this sort of preparation even if we had fully recognized its advantages.

The negative aspects of the interviews as we conducted them are therefore largely logistic; unless one can carry out procedures to focus the interview on important topics within the setting in a valid way, the cumbersomeness of the procedure greatly limits its utility. In the concluding discussion of methodology in Chapter 8, we will suggest some ways in which the various methodologies can be combined to give the interviews such focus.

In our opinion, the advantages of the interviews are many and certainly we do not agree with the claim of some social scientists that the same data can be gathered from less ponderous questionnaires which permit a larger sample. Bill, (1973) for example, carried our a study of school climate in Belfast, Northern Ireland, in which both interviews and questionnaires were used to gather similar data, He found little difference between the interview and questionnaire results, concluding that there is little point in using interviews since questionnaires suffice. However, the important thing to note is that Bill used the interviews and questionnaires to obtain the same type of information. In our study, substantially different types of information were sought from the questionnaires than from the interviews.

The first additional insight from the interviews, and from some perspectives the most important, was the "emic" derivation of the coding categories themselves. This qualitative step in the quantitative content analysis allowed us to operate within the frame of reference that it appears the students themselves were using for the ordering of their perceptions of school and teacher. The categories represent the dimensions the students actually use, not those that the researchers might impose upon them from the outside (as we were forced to do in developing the questionnaire). They could only have been conveniently derived by sitting down with students, as we did in these interviews, and allowing them to express their ideas in their own terminology. The potential importance of a concept of this kind might be seen by a comparison of the school climate coding categories with those derived by Buxton (1973) without the preliminary intensive interviewing technique. Here are some of Buxton's paramenters which are grouped into subscales:

Favorable Attitude Toward Teachers

4. I like teachers who keep strict control of the classroom.
13. I think the best teachers are friendly, but at the same time take no nonsense from the class.
19. I think I'm just one more face to teachers most of the time: nobody special.
27. I feel that my teachers know a lot more about their subject than I do, so they can teach me a great deal.
32. I stay away from teachers because they're so bossy.
35. I have been good friends with several of my teachers at one time or another, and I continue to like them.
53. It seems to me that many of my teachers are overly quick to be suspicious of a student.
64. It seems to me that most teachers care more about keeping order and quiet than about whether we learn.
67. Teachers put too much emphasis on learning facts and not enough on what they mean.
73. Most teachers are too old to understand the problems or interests of students.
78. I feel sympathetic with teachers because they have to do so much besides teaching.
92. I admire a teacher who can really take hold of a class and get it to learn.

(Buston, 1973, pages 155-156)

In defense of Buxton's scale, it should be pointed out that it was not given to the same students that we were working with, and that it was not used in a project concerned with alternative education. Nevertheless, it might be useful for the reader to refer back to our own scale of derived categories for the conceptualization of teachers. A number of Buxton's items seem to have some relationship to the concerns our sample of students so elequently verbalized : e.g., question 35, "I have been good friends with my teachers at one time or another, and i continue to like them, " might have something to do with our categories of dialogue and non-compartmentalization. However, the relationship is not quite clear, and is much more authentically expressed from the student's point of view in our interview coding categories.

A second important insight gained from the interview content analysis, which could less easily have been gained from the use of large-sample questionnaires, is the question of priorities of the students. A scale of school climate, for instance, such as those used in our questionnaires or in Buxton's work, assigns approximately equal importance to each item. It will be recalled from the discussion of the results of the school climate and teacher perception sections of the interviews, however, that there was a high degree of variability in the number of times students mentioned any particular category, with many positive mentions of items referring to orderliness and control. Accepting the common assumption in content analysis work that frequency is at least a rough measure of intensity, we are led to conclude that the latter items were much less intensely felt, or had a lower priority, than the former.

We feel that the question of priorities is an extremely important one. Not only does an exploration of priorities give a clearer idea of the student's construction of and emotional reaction to his school environment, but it has importnat implications for change strategies. The enormity of the task of changing our public school systems to better fit the emotional and other needs of students is such that educators and others working for change have to make choices and defer some objectives while intensively pursuing others. From results such as Buxton presents, or from the school climate scale of our questionnaire alone, one would not know where to begin, or what kind of change strategy might appear to students to be nothing more than tinkering with peripheral issues rather than going right to the heart of the matter.

There are other ways of assessing priorities, of course. Within the format of a closed-ended questionnaire, one can ask the subject to number items in descending order of importance. Our experience, and that of others as well, suggests that this latter is a cognitive task to which the average high school student is unaccustomed, one which he approaches awkwardly with much chance for misunderstanding and distortion. Again, in attempting to develop a humanistic and empathic as well as an analytical understanding of the student and his response to the school, we tend to perfer a naturalistic process which allows the student to express himself in his own way.

Finally, and going beyond the question of quantitative content analysis, we find that in general the interviews provided valuable insights which aid in the development of a qualitative understanding of the student as a human individual. The message from our analysis of student teacher relationships in the interviews was that students most want to be understood and related to in this way by their teachers. We feel that researchers, also, have an obligation to seek out research methods which do as little violence as possible to the integrity of the individual human being. This approach has been followed up in the case studies presented in the next chapter, which draw substantially on interview data.

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CHAPTER 4. CASE STUDIES OF EIGHT METRO STUDENTS

Introduction

This chapter presents and analyzes eight case histories of Metro High students, representing a variety of student backgrounds and experiences. The case study of the individual is, of course, an important mainstay in the social and behavioral sciences. In psychology and psychiatry, there has been a long tradition of use of the clinical case history, which finds its origins in (1) the fact that psychologists and psychiatrists have usually had a greater theoretical interest in the individual organism than in the social group and (2) that medical and para-medical practitioners have tended to see the individual as the most important unit for clinical practice. Individual clinical studies provided most of the important early insights of Freud and of the other founders of, and dissidents from, psychoanalysis. Erik Erikson, for example, is at his best when he is illustrating the principles of ego psychology with case studies of historical figures based on available written documentation (1963).

The use of the individual case history, biography or autobiography has also been common in anthropology (see Langness 1965, for a complete discussion). The anthropologist's use of the case study has been variable in its purpose: Some have used it essentially as a historical document, while others have used it to illustrate some principles of social psychological theory at the individual organism level with a cross-cultural slant (for example, see DuBois, 1944). One of the most famous (and controversial) anthropological users of the case study was the late Oscar Lewis, who varied between using the individual and the family as his chief unit of analysis. He phrased the justification for the use of case studies in the following way:

> In studying a culture through the intensive analysis of families we learn what institutions mean to individuals. It helps us get beyond form and structure to the realities of human life, or, to use Malinowski's terms (1922: 17) it puts flesh and blood on the skeleton (Lewis 1959: 17).

A use of individual case histories which is more related to our purpose is that of psychologist Robert L. White. White stresses the time perspective in the understanding of the development of the individual. His life history material is useful in the picture it gives of the processual interrelationship between the individual's self-system, his perception of the world around him, and the way he goes about coping with the various challenges and problems which he faces (White 1963, 1966).

The usefulness of the individual case study approach for this study is threefold. In the first place, in any human social system the individual is an important sub-unit. Individual human beings are also integrated systems, not collections of non-randomly distributed background characteristics, attitudes, behaviors, and need dispositions. To understand how a wider setting (such as Metro High School) affects the individual, one has to look at real individuals as systems. Composite individuals based on an overview of data from various instruments will not do justice to the systemic nature of the individual's responses to his environment. To say that 65% of the students held an opinion is not to describe a functioning human system.

Secondly, although aggregate data from questionnaires and interviews can give an idea of the probable interrelatedness (or lack thereof) of variables, they cannot by themselves give a good idea of the specifics of interrelationships. In an individual case history, and to a lesser extent in the interviews, one can see the student making the logical connections between his background experience and his response to the school.

Finally, we feel that case histories are important in the communication of the results of a study such as this to the general public. Information that is not communicated might as well not exist. Sensitive teachers, administrators and community people do not think in terms of statistical tables when they think about student response to educational innovations: Rather, they think in terms of individuals and their thoughts, feelings and anxieties. By the presentation of case histories to supplement our other data, we are able to provide a body of information which fits readily into the frame of reference of some of the audiences we are most eager to communicate with, "to put flesh and blood on the skeleton."

The use of case history material has its drawbacks, however. Besides such things as the tendency for the writer to read too much into the individual history for the sake of both supporting theory and making a better literary work, the most important problem is the question of representativeness. How do we know that Alvin Judson, for example, is representative of any one at Metro other than

Alvin Judson? This question has been a source of criticism of the methodology of psychoanalysis. (How representative are theoretical constructs based on intensive work with those select few people in the society who choose to undergo psychoanalysis ?) Representativeness has been argued about in anthropology for decades (see, for example, Kluckhohn,1949).

The problem of representativeness has two answers. One is not to expect too much in terms of representativeness. Each individual in a setting is unique, each in a sense is a "deviant." If our task is understanding the interaction between the individual as a system and the school as a system, we have to realize from the outset that both systems (individual and school) are highly variable and multi-faceted and will not present a simple and uniform picture. We can still form insights as to some of the ways school systems can interact with individual backgrounds without claiming that any of our students is "typical" of the whole student body.

A second solution to the representativeness problem is to know something about the group from which your individuals to be studied in depth are taken. We do of course, know a great deal about the "typical" patterns of the Metro High students and thus we are not simply pulling a student out of a hat for individual study without knowing anything about his representativeness. An effort will be made to relate the information presented in these case histories to other types of data presented in this report. This is no panacea, however. Oscar Lewis also gathered extensive data on the Puerto Rican neighborhood from which he took his case histories but nevertheless was bitterly criticized for the unrepresentativeness of his cases (Lewis 1966, Cordasco 1967). However, we are dealing with a small population (around 300) and with case histories designed to represent subgroups we know to be present in that student population. Thus we feel that we have minimized the problem of representativeness.

Specifically, we have tried to select students for the individual case history presentations in such a way as to illustrate the important student subgroups in the school. These subgroups are described in detail elsewhere in the report,* but basically consist of groups of students who interact mostly with each other, come from similar backgrounds and have similar orientations to a number of things in life, expecially school. We have attempted to find at least one male and female student from each of the major subgroups. However, because the student subgroups were not yet identified at the time the questionnaire and interview samples were chosen, there are irregular amounts of data available on each group. Thus we were unable to fill out this paradigm completely. The following is a guide to the subgroup classification of each of the case histories to be presented in this chapter:

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* See the chapter on participant observation for fuller descriptions of these subgroups.

INDIVIDUAL STUDENT (PSEUDONYM)	SUBCULTURE CLASSIFICATION
Delores Jamison	Black School Oriented
Della Jackson	Black School Alienated
Jeremy Lowell	Black School Oriented
Alvin Judson	Transitional from Black School Alienated to Black Youth Culture
Diane Jawarski	White School Oriented
Ellen Kutz	White School Oriented transitional to White Youth Culture
Rick Shea	White School Alienated
Victor Wilson	White Youth Culture

The writing of the individual case histories in their present form was not initially anticipated, but due to the thoroughness of our questionnaire, interview and participant observation data collection techniques, we found that we had adequate data on a number of important areas of the life of the students in this sample. In addition, several of the people involved in the data analysis had personal acquaintance with the students being described. Each student was ideally assigned to one individual who knew him personally and it became the task of that individual to do a complete write-up of the individual case study, using all the available interviews, questionnaires, and other materials. However, due to time limitations it was not possible for each case study to be written by someone who knew the student. For the analysis and write up, each analyst was given a rough guide of important topics to cover. However, there is, of course, still a considerable variety in the approaches which were followed.

We were especially interested in the systemic interrelationship (at the level of the individual student) of background characteristics, the student's perception of himself as coping with school and outside school situations, and his response to the radically different Metro environment. After the eight case histories are presented, we will sum up the substantive and methodological insights gained from the individual case history approach.

Delores ("Mac") Jamison

Delores Jamison ("but most people call me Mac") is a black student who now lives in a middle class, racially changing neighborhood on the far west side of Chicago. Her family's move from a poorer west side community shows their social and economic mobility. Mac had attended six schools before entering Metro in her freshman year. She had also spent summers with her grandmother in Wisconsin.

Mac's father is dead and she lives with her mother and four siblings. She enjoys being with her younger sister, but feels that her three brothers have unfair advantages because they are boys. Mac feels she would rather be a boy, too.

> I'd rather be a boy but not have to do all that work, because I do most of the work in the house and I don't get paid for it, and she [her mother] almost has to beg my brothers to do something in that house.

Furthermore, boys have more mobility and freedom, according to Mac.

> Then I could go more places and I could dress the way I want to and I could say what I want, oh yes, I could ride whatever I wanted to, yes drive a motorcycle. My mother won't let me do that.

The fantasy that being someone else would improve her life and the disagreement with her mother are two threads that run consistently throughout Mac's years at Metro. Mac feels her father wanted her to be a boy (hence the male nickname) so they could work on cars together. She says they used to work on cars together anyway, even though her mother disapproved. "My mother just didn't want me to because she said I would turn into a tomboy helping with the cars."

Over her years at Metro, Mac's relationship with her mother got worse. In the pre-Metro questionnaire, when asked "Do you feel you can talk over your personal problems with your mother?" Mac responded, "Some of them." "Would you like to be the kind of person your mother is?" "In just a few ways." In the later questionnaire, Mac responded that she could talk over none of her personal problems with her mother, that she would not at all want to be the same kind of person.

Further, Mac feels her mother thinks she is dumb.

> She don't really think I'll be anything because I was too slow and I was always quiet so the teachers just gave me a good grade because I was quiet and didn't give them no trouble but that I was the dumbest thing in the class.

Mac also has the feeling that her mother may think she is dumb because she is a girl.

> Interviewer: If your parents tell you something you want to do is too hard for you, why is that?
>
> Mac: 'cause I'm a girl.
>
> Interviewer: 'cause you're a girl, what does that have to do with it?
>
> Mac: Everything, everything, everything.

When asked who of her friends she would trade places with, in both pre and post interviews Mac responded, "Geronda, because she's an only child and she has more freedom."

Mac's dissatisfaction with her life extended to the school she attended before Metro. She very much disliked the school and the teachers. Between September 1968 and June 1969, Mac was absent from Austin High 64 times. Her grades were mostly C's and D's.

School was not an important part of Mac's life while at Austin High--or the lives of her friends. At that time, her highest educational ambition was to finish high school. Evidently the racial tensions of a high school in a changing neighborhood also made Mac unhappy in her former school.

> Because at my school, you know, strange kids they don't like, this boy. They had Martin Luther King's memorial service and they beat up on this white boy. They thought this colored girl was white and they beat up on her.

Many of these aspects of Mac's dissatisfaction changed dramatically during her years at Metro. Her evaluation file shows that in all her courses her attendance was regular and her participation usually excellent. Mac signed up for several ancillary courses, those offered by personnel outside Metro. These included What's News, (her favorite course), Sculpture, Growing Up, Improvisational Theater, and Acting Workshop. In these courses she came into contact with many white "hippie" or radical students, and she came to feel comfortable with many students from different backgrounds.

Mac is a friendly, outgoing student and she has many friends, both black and white. She likes to think of herself as an individual, a little "weird," the kind of person who would walk down the street rather than the sidewalk. At Metro, Mac met many other students who were like her and who appreciated her "weirdness." She seemed more open to contact with students from different races and backgrounds than most black students were.

Although Mac doesn't feel especially close to any of the Metro teachers, she thinks more highly of them than she did of her former teachers. As part of the post-Metro interview, Mac was shown a picture of a traditional classroom and asked to describe the situation she saw.

> Mac: Uh, the teacher's making fun of a student, bawling him out. Making the kid look stupid.
>
> Interviewer: What do you think usually goes on in that class?
>
> Mac: Teacher's a wise guy. Teacher's always trying to make somebody look stupid, when they don't know the answers.
>
> Interviewer: Would that be a class at Metro?
>
> Mac: No.

Mac also came to see teachers as more human and the classroom situation as more of a give and take of knowledge. In the pre-Metro interview she had been asked what she would think of a teacher who would ask a question she didn't know the answer to herself. Mac replied that would be wrong,

> because if she expects you to learn something she ought to know the same thing. She should know what she's talking about.

When asked the same question after her experiences at Metro she replied,

> I would think you wasn't the kind of teacher that would lie to the students but, you know, it's nice to, it's best to, it's nice to work out problems with your students and have to ask right there.
>
> Interviewer: O.K. Do you think teachers should only ask questions they know the answer to?
>
> Mac: No.
>
> Interviewer: Why?
>
> Mac: Because like, you know, she'd be learning something from them, you know.

Not only had Mac's attitudes towards teachers changed, but she had come to understand and accept an important part of the Metro philosophy. She saw teachers and students working together as co-learners, and she felt comfortable in that role.

Mac also came to see herself in the role of an active learner who could use the city as a learning resource, thus fulfilling another part of the Metro goals for students. The following excerpts from pre and post Metro interviews point up this dramatic change in Mac's learning style and attitudes.

In the pre-interview, Mac was asked:

> Interviewer: Suppose a teacher at your old school, without any suggestions, asked your class to do a

> report on the CTA [Chicago Transit Authority]. What are all the possible ways you could go about getting information on the CTA?
>
> Mac: Going to the library and looking into the encyclopedia or go and talk to a bus driver, or uhm... go downtown to the bus terminal.
>
> Interviewer: Which method do you think you would use?
>
> Mac: The books.
>
> Interviewer: The encyclopedia?
>
> Mac: Yes.
>
> Interviewer: Do you think you'd find CTA in the encyclopedia?
>
> Mac: Yes.

When Mac was asked the same question in the post-interview, based on her Metro experiences, she replied,

> Mac: O.K. Well, go to the Merchandise Mart and talk to one of the directors there; two, talk to the bus drivers and find out the problems of it; three, talk to the "L" people.
>
> Interviewer: O.K. Which do you think you'll probably use?
>
> Mac: I'll probably use talking to the bus drivers.
>
> Interviewer: Why?
>
> Mac: Well, I think they have more piece in it than anybody else would.

The switch from book learning (an overly optimistic reliance on the encyclopedia) to direct access to the source of information shows that Mac had really grown and learned something important as a result of her Metro experience. She now had the tools to continue her own learning inquiries after leaving school.

This growth is reflected in the following question asked in both pre and post Metro interviews:

> In the pre-interview, Mac was asked to respond to a hypothetical situation.
>
> Interviewer: If a TV reporter stopped to ask you something for a newscast, why do you think that would be?
>
> Mac: If he just picked me out at random, it would be he was just curious to find out what was on my mind.
>
> Responding to the same question in the later interview:
>
> I guess, I guess because I would look like I know something about it.

This increase in confidence, that she looks like someone knowledgeable, may be the result of two year's maturation. It may also be the result of two year's positive learning experiences at Metro.

Mac truly enjoyed the courses that made use of the city as a learning resource. As mentioned earlier, she took more off site and ancillary courses than most other black middle class Metro students. When asked, "What do you like doing most here at Metro," she replied, "Going out to different places. Because it's more fun going out than staying in." We have seen from previous excerpts that "going out" for Mac was really a learning experience and not escapism from school.

Mac entered Metro with two very strong interests that remained unchanged--nursing and the church. Underlying both interests was the desire to help other people, through medical treatment or counseling. It is evident in interviews and questionnaires that Mac does not have a realistic idea of nursing (despite her placement as a nurse's aide at a local hospital), what training is required, what nurses do that doctors do not. Furthermore, she says that although she wants to be a nurse, she will probably realistically wind up being a secretary. She says going to Metro has not prepared her for either job.

> In the post interview, Mac was asked,
>
> Interviewer: What kind of training and other experience do you need to be a nurse?
>
> Mac: Uh, let's see, I know, Blood Banking [a course she had taken at Metro], um, psychiatrist, you have to take a little psychiatrist, math, chemistry, um, isn't therapy like psychiatrist?
>
> Interviewer: It depends on what kind of therapy. There's physical therapy...
>
> Mac: Well you have to take some kind of therapy. And I guess that's all, I don't know.

Perhaps Metro counselors have not done their best possible job with Mac if, as a junior in high school, she knows so little about the training she will need to pursue her goal.

There may be two sentiments behind Mac's interest in the church. One, religion seems truly an important part of her life. Two, she may hide a self-conscious adolescent sexuality behind her interest in the church.

Mac always expresses her religious beliefs as extremely important to her. She enjoys going to church, being active in the church youth group, being with the younger children after services. In the self-identification sections of both pre and post Metro questionnaires, Mac often describes herself as someone who believes in God, a church member, a helper to other people.

Mac also expresses a self-consciousness about herself in these same self-identifications. She calls herself fat and ugly, someone who should go on a diet.

> In the pre-interview Mac said,
>
> Right now I'm weighing 147 and I should be weighing about 115.
>
> Interviewer: Do you want to change that way?
>
> Mac: Sometimes I say yes and sometimes I say no.
>
> Interviewer: Why?
>
> Mac: Because sometimes you'll be walking down the street and someone will say, "Come here I want to talk to you." And I don't like that.
>
> Interviewer: So you figure that if you're smaller you'll be even more attractive and they'll want to talk to you?
>
> Mac: Right.

In the later interview the interviewer notes to the researchers that Mac seemed self-conscious about her developed figure.

Although Mac is outgoing and cheerful, she often makes references that belie her outward demeanor. She likes dancing, but feels self-conscious. She thinks sex should not be discussed in school. She worries that her own children will someday get pregnant. Although her interest in the church is obviously genuine, her role as "the preacher" may also mask other fears. It seems also fair to say that her interest in religion was downplayed by the Metro staff and did not receive the encouragement that it might have in another setting. The interest was obviously important to her, her family, and her community. Perhaps Metro students and staff did Mac a disservice by neglecting this interest.

In contrast to Mac's serious interest in nursing and the church are her fantasies about how her life might be improved. In addition to the notions mentioned earlier, that she would rather be a boy or an only child, her plans for the future held an element of fantasy. She sees herself taking her own apartment after graduation with eight (black and white) friends from Metro. She would like that apartment to be out of Chicago, preferably out of any urban area. She mentions California or Colorado as possible choices. At other times she mentions New Orleans. Sometimes she says she would like to live in the country so people won't bother her.

This desire to get away from people, so much in contrast to her desire to help people or her desire to be with eight friends in an apartment, points to the tensions and contradictions that underlie Mac's carefree appearance. When asked, in the post interview, what are the best and worst things about Metro, she replied, "people" to both questions.

Early in her Metro career, Mac was asked to draw a picture explaining her feelings. She drew an angel and a devil, labeling the picture "between heaven and hell." She explained the picture by saying:

> Mac: I was between. I was down and I was up and I was in between but I didn't know which way to turn, either that way or that way.
>
> Interviewer: Have you decided which way to turn?
>
> Mac: Oh yes. That way (laughs), but I'm still confused.

Later Mac drew another picture of her life, showing a girl in a fog or cloud, her head surrounded by question marks. She seems to have felt this confusion throughout her Metro career.

Although Mac appeared to be gay and out-going, she seldom looked anyone in the eye while talking to them. She would shift about nervously in ordinary conversations. The interviewer who conducted the post Metro interview noticed that this uneasiness was exaggerated in the interview situation. Mac was reluctant to discuss certain aspects of her life and the interviewer felt she shouldn't probe in these areas.

The interviewer summed up her impression of Mac at that time by saying, "Her emotional tone is sort of light and easy-going, but you can see a storm underneath." The interviewer felt Mac needed help with her emotional problems before she would be able to realize her life goals.

In sum, coming to Metro was a very positive experience for Mac. It dramatically improved a very important aspect of her life, her relationship to school, teachers, and learning. She made new friends at Metro and she did well in her courses. She learned a great deal about the Metro philosophy that will help her in her later life. Yet it must also be said that her vocational aspirations were not realistically discussed or followed up, that the school did not encourage her real interest in the church, and that staff and teachers may have been too ready to accept the easy-going tone and ignore the storm brewing underneath.

Della Jackson

Della Jackson, a black Metro student has lived for ten years in a high rise public housing project on the near south side of Chicago. She considers the project to be safer and in better physical condition than the rest of her neighborhood, but still it is so dangerous in the elevators that she takes the stairs to her apartment.

Della complains that her neighborhood does not provide much for teenagers to do, except "hang around." She visited for a while in the small town of Decatur, Illinois and felt Decatur was also "dead," had no activities for teenagers. Della says she would much rather live in a small town than in her urban neighborhood, if only there were something going on there. When asked where she would ideally like to live, she answered she would want to live in a neighborhood with people of different races where everyone gets along.

In both pre and post Metro interveiws, when asked what kind of a life she would want to be living when she grew up, Della answered she would want to be a housewife with two children, living in a nice house, with a working husband.

Della's father does not live with the family; she thinks he is in Canada. She lives with her mother, two younger brothers, and a sister who has been deaf since birth. Her mother works full-time outside the home. In the pre interview Della said she wanted to finish high school and get a job so she could help her mother.

In both the pre interview and the pre questionnaire, Della showed a great dependence on her mother. In filling out open-ended self-identification questions, she acknowledged this dependence; "I am dependent on. . . my mother." I belong to. . . my mother." In responding to several of the hypothetical conflict or problem solving situations, Della said her mother would help her out or she would ask her mother for answers. For example, "You don't believe a story you read in the newspaper about something that happened. How do you check it out?" "By asking my mother." Della also said she would ask her mother when given the school assignments to learn about the Chicago Transit Authority or find opinions on lowering the voting age.

Over her years at Metro, as evidenced by responses to post interview and questionnaire, Della became less dependent on her mother. For example, she would now call the newspaper to check out a story she did not believe . Several factors could be at work. For one thing, Della's experiences at Metro gave her more self-confidence and independence. But it is also important to know that Della had a baby while at Metro and spent a year at the Family Living Center, a school for unwed mothers. There is very little information available about Della's baby, and this points to a weakness of the research.* Surely this important area of a young girl's life should have been probed by some part of the research.

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* Della's experiences at Metro point to several weaknesses in the research. Of course, it was impossible to predict when selecting the subsample that she would spend a year at another school or that she would be a very quiet student little noticed by the field observers. However, the research procedures did not seem able to deal with the little information that was available. For example, Della did not seem to deal rationally with the questionnaires, answering questions randomly and in ways opposite to known facts. At no time did later interviews follow up on these confusing answers. Nor did later interviews follow up on enigmatic answers to the important self-identification questions in the questionnaires. Perhaps most importantly, no mention was ever made in interviews of her baby and her feelings about the baby.

In all the material available on Della's years at Metro, there are only two explicit references to her baby. One is the participant oberver's notation that he saw Della bring the baby to school one day and bask in the attention she recieved. Another is Della's answer to a post questionnaire fill-in, "I worry most about... my baby." In a possible reference to her feelings about the baby, Della drew a picture to represent her life in June of her junior year. She drew a stick figure (very different from the voluptuous figures she usually drew) with an unhappy or angry expression. Her explanation of the picture was, "When I was younger it was more fun, but when you get older you have more responsibility."

Another very telling sentiment about Della's feelings about the baby and about Metro can be seen in the following excerpt from the post interview:

> Interviewer: What's the most important thing that's happened to you in the last year? (This was the year Della has the baby.)
>
> Della: Last year? The most important? I guess coming to school.
>
> Interviewer: Why would say that?
>
> Della: 'cause my old school was so boring--teachers bore you to death.

Evidently the interviewer did not know that Della had a baby that year or chose not to probe, but this exchange tells us how very special Metro was to Della. While at Metro most of the pictures she drew to express her feelings were smiling girls, and the captions always indicated how happy she was at Metro.

There is little information available on just why Della was so much happier at Metro than she had been at the all girl parochial school she attended before Metro. The answer seems to center around her interest in art and her problems with reading. In the old school, where Della had been in the "basic" or remedial English group, reading was key and art only an elective. At Metro Della was able to enjoy several art classes with ancillary teachers who appreciated her drawing talent and did not demand any reading skills. The pattern is clear in her evaluation file.

Teachers who taught Della in English Lab, Creative Writing, Current Issues, Growing up in the City, People and Psychology describe a student fairly regular in attendance and only fair to average in performance. The Creative Writing teacher's comment is typical, "I don't feel Della understood very much of what we were trying to accomplish in class."

On the other hand, art teachers found Della to be a good performer, regular in attendance, creative and hard working. The film-making evaluation gives a clue to her dichotomy. "She completed at least two film projects, including one intricate animated film. She did not hand in any of the three requested film reviews." Throughout her years at Metro Della didn't learn to feel as at ease with the written word as she did with drawing. Perhaps this can be taken as an indictment of her Metro program but it must also be noted that at the regular school she might not have had the positive experiences in art at all.

Della wears thick glasses and complains about reading long books with small type. However, she never complains about eye strain when drawing or working on film projects. At Metro she was able to express and expand an interest that was truly important to her. She found the time, energy, and eye strength to draw but not to read.

Unfortunately there is little information on Della's relationship with teachers at Metro or her use of the city as a learning resource. This is partially because the taped post-Metro interview is almost inaudible.

In Della's observations about her former school, the parochial school, she describes the teachers as mean and the classes as boring. At Metro she felt most teachers were willing to sit down and talk to her and she found more classes that interested her. Due to her strong interest in art, Della took more off-site and ancillary courses than many of the students in her subgroup. She says in the post questionnaire that she has thought several times about dropping out of school, but there is no indication of why.

Della has a strong and continued desire to be a professional artist, although she never shows any appreciation of what kinds of jobs an artist can have or what training is needed. She says repeatedly, both before and after Metro, that she wants to draw and to be an artist. It is difficult to understand why her experiences at Metro did not give her more of a detailed and realistic idea of her future options as an artist. In the pre questionnaire, Della indicated that she wanted to be an artist and had no second choice of occupations. In the post questionnaire, she says she would like to be an artist but will probably wind up being a housewife . Does she say this because she has not been encouraged in her career plans at Metro? Because she felt in her art courses she didn't have the talent to make a living as an artist?

Because of her baby? This question was never followed up in an interview, so the answer remains conjecture.

It is also difficult to understand Della's self-image. This is partially because, as mentioned earlier, she did not deal well with the written questionnaires. It is also because interviewers did not seem to probe effectively when given enigmatic answers. For example, in the pre interview:

> Interviewer: How would you describe yourself as a person?
>
> Della: I'm bad most of the time, but I also like to help out. I am also evil but don't like to fight. I'm nice sometimes.

The interviewer asks her what she means by bad and is told that Della sometimes refuses to do things she doesn't think are necessary. Several lines later the interviewer goes back to ask,

> Interviewer: Why do you say you're evil sometimes?
>
> Della: My friends bother me and I tell them to leave me alone. My mother is evil too.

End of probe.

In assessing the changes in Della after her years at Metro, there are two important variables to be considered. One, her year at the Family Living Center. Two, her new role as a mother. Obviously her growth and development cannot be traced to Metro alone, but after eighteen months she has a self-confidence and an independence that she did not have on entering Metro. She is more apt to fend for herself than to rely on her mother. She seems to be more of an active learner. She has met students and teachers she likes from different backgrounds. She has had positive experiences in art courses, but has not changed her approach to other areas of learning.

Jeremy Lowell

Jeremy Lowell hates the neighborhood he lives in. He calls it

> glass city . . . 'cause kids have broke so many bottles an' stuff, you know, the grass has turned to glass. Sparkles at night when the lights shine on it.

He lives in a public housing project with his mother, two older brothers and two older sisters. He feels it's terribly crowded.

> I don't like being around all those people, you know, people stacked on top of people.

He aspires to live in the suburbs or "maybe out in the middle of nowhere."

To avoid the dirt and congestion of the project, Jeremy spends a lot of his free time at his grandmother's house, a few blocks away; his sister and brothers often spend their weekends there with him. Jeremy has few acquaintances from the project since he spends so much time away from there; most of his friends are people he has met at public school.

Jeremy feels that the gang problem in his area is better than it is in the surrounding areas.

> There's gangs all around us, but they're not in there. They tried to come in last year, but they didn't . . . it was the kids around the house that tried to keep the gangs from coming in there, cause they said, they don't need no gangs because they do their own disturbing, they don't need no gangs.

Most of his neighbors are black, as he is. His feelings about his race are not altogether positive. He recognizes the discriminatory attitudes that many whites have toward blacks.

> Some people don't want you in their neighborhoods, you know.

If he had a younger brother or sister, he says, he'd try to teach them that "they're not bad or somethin', just 'cause they're a different color." Though his associations with people of different ethnic groups were few before he entered Metro, he had no hostility toward other racial groups, but he recognized that many of them had hostility toward him.

Jeremy has a very close relationship with his mother; he believes that she is fair and open with him and gives him adequate freedom to make decisions for himself. She went to college for a short time; she doesn't work outside the home now. He doesn't know much about his father, but believes he is now living in Canada.

His sister goes to De Paul University, and Jeremy expects she'll finish her education there. Occasionally in an interview, he mentions that he might go to De Paul or some other college, too. Actually, though, he has very specific career ambitions for which he believes college would be unnecessary--being a mechanic and racing-car driver.

Jeremy's introduction to Metro came through an older sister who went there the year before. From what she told him, Jeremy "thought Metro must be pretty good," so he applied to go there in his freshman year. Prior to that, Jeremy had attended the local public school, grades 1 through 8. His feelings about that school were generally favorable. He felt the teachers were quite friendly and concerned about the students, that they encouraged students to defend their ideas and gave them opportunities to be creative.

The only complaint he had with the teachers was their closed-mindedness when it came to new ideas from the students; they tended to regard the text-book as the ultimate authority and weren't interested in having anyone challenge it. A few of the classes dragged. "Science class is like that. (The kids) goof around because it was sort of a dull class and hardly anybody learned anything." Basically, though, he liked school and he and his friends were motivated, "trying to learn something." They were a energetic group, not outstanding academically, but interested in problems of society and in their own futures. None of them planned to drop out of school, and some were considering college.

Although Jeremy didn't excel at athletics, most of his friends were "sports nuts." He generally stayed and played with them even when he didn't especially care to. He took pride in his personal code of conduct, however, and took an individual stance against those activities of his friends that he believed would get them in trouble, for instance, stealing:

> Sometimes they'll be going to the railroad tracks, stealin' stuff off the trains and stuff. I don't be with them when they're doing that.

In listing the traits that best describe him, he includes "honest" ("I try to be as honest as I can,"), "non-violent" ("I don't like to fight.") "average in class" ("I'm not the smartest, but I'm not the dumbest. . . . sort of in between."), and "not a follower." He studies a lot about cars and feels he has a lot of expertise in mechanics ("I know more than anybody about it."). His dream is to be a racing-car driver, like Mario Andrete, and he plans to reach that goal by making enough money as a mechanic so that he can buy his own racing car.

Unlike many students who entered Metro totally dissatisfied with their previous school experience, Jeremy had been fairly content and didn't seek any major changes. One of the biggest differences for him was the exposure to students of different racial and ethnic groups. After six months at Metro, two of his five best friends were white, and he liked this situation. "It's really a good thing, you know, learning what other people are like."

His interests didn't change at all at Metro and, for Jeremy, the relevance of the courses to his career plans remained about the same: low. He tells the interviewer that he and a couple of other kids are trying to get a mechanics class started at Metro for students who want to learn about that sort of thing. None of his other courses, he feels, are particularly helpful as career-preparation.

His academic work is still just about average, too. A few teachers at Metro withheld credit for courses he took during the first cycle, courses where he was often late and turned in only half of the work required. Even his favorite teacher said he needed prodding. Language skills gave him more trouble than some of the more mechanical areas, and he put less effort into language work. Asked, "What are you worst at?" he answered, "Writing reports, man."

Soon after entering Metro he answered a questionnaire about his old school. The multiple-choice answers ranged from very positive to very negative, on a 4-point scale. Of a possible 328 points, Jeremy gave his old school 233, a rating considerably better than average. Responding to the same questionnaire after six months at Metro, he gave this school 300 out of 328 points, a jump from "quite positive" to "very positive." (See the appendix for a fuller description of the point distribution.)

Among the differences he perceived at Metro was the teachers' open-mindedness and readiness to hear new ideas.

> One thing, they don't have any text books ... an' if you disagree with somethin', you know, you an' the teacher have an argument about it, you know, an' see who wins.

And the teachers were more fun. He describes his favorite teacher as someone who "knows how to take a joke."

> You have a pretty good time, an' you get somethin' done at the same time.

Jeremy finds the students a little different from those at his old school, too, and in an interesting way:

> We got a bunch of jokers around here. I think all the other schools sent all the jokers they didn't like, you know, to Metro ... I like when they get together, you know, start crackin' all those jokes.

At his follow-up interview, Jeremy comes across as basically the same kind of person he was when he entered. (It is important to note that he was in the second experimental group, interviewed again only nine months after entering Metro.) The traits that mean most to him begin with "honest," as before and also include "friendly," "neat," ambitious," and "kind." He still considers himself "about average" in intelligence, his primary weakness being in language skills:

> Quite a few (people around here) are better 'rappers' than I am.

He doesn't care too much, though: "I don't ever seem to want to do that." He considers that he knows more about car-racing than anyone else around Metro.

One new area that Metro opened to him is photography. He is acquainted with several students who do photography pretty well, and he plans to possibly get a summer job to make some money, buy a camera, and try his hand at it too.

Jeremy's appearance is generally very neat, and he dresses appropriately for school. He is friendly, though not especially articulate. He is interested in getting an education even though it doesn't relate very closely to his career plans; "I want to learn, you know." "In school you should be tryin' to learn." Asked to name a class that will help him after he leaves Metro, he mentions math, "not getting cheated, you know," (*i. e.*, getting correct change in stores).

For Jeremy the best thing about Metro has probably been his exposure to, and close association with, people of different backgrounds. There is indication that his social skills have improved and that his feeling of self-confidence when he's with other people has increased, as is reflected in the character traits he lists during his second interview. The school experience itself remains basically unchanged in academic content, but he is enjoying the experience more and possibly taking slightly more initiative toward his education than he was before, as is evidenced by his attempts to inaugurate a mechanics course. He still sees his skills lying primarily in the manual rather than language arts, he's comfortable with that situation, and Metro has not changed this orientation.

Attachment

Summary of responses to his schools including the areas of teachers, students, and school program.

Public Grade School

Rating	#responses in category	product of rating X # respo[illegible]
4 (very positive)	15	60
3 (mildly positive)	43	129
2 (mildly negative)	20	40
1 (very negative)	4	4
Total	82	233

Metro High

Rating	# responses in category	product of rating X # responses
4	59	236
3	18	54
2	5	10
1	0	0
Total	82	300

Note: A straight "mildly positive" rating would yield a total score of 246 (82 responses X a rating of "3").
A straight "very positive" rating would yield a total of 328 (82 responses X "4")

Victor Wilson

Victor Wilson is a middle-class white who came to Metro from another public high school in the middle of his freshman year. He lives on the far west side of Chicago in a neighborhood of single-family bungalows, built about 20 to 30 years ago. His family has lived there for 5 years; he spent his first years in Evanston, a suburb. His neighborhood has been changing from a fair number of whites 5 years ago to "about 7% white at present."

> I remember it was white, and everyone started to move out... there are still white people living around the area, and a lot of them are, uh, a lot of them don't like the blacks, and a lot of the blacks don't like the whites, so... strange. And, and nobody likes me.

Vic says he doesn't have any strong dislike for his neighborhood, but he says, "It's a mess, overcrowded, old. But it's not too run-down." He feels he would feel more at home and be better accepted by his neighbors if he lived on the near north side.

Vic is not very much involved in his neighborhood. Although he says he likes it "better than most" neighborhoods, he has few community activities or friends there. He aspires to live where there are more people, especially more people who will accept him as he is.

Vic hasn't seen his birth-father for a long time. His mother has remarried, and Vic lives with her, his step-father, two older brothers, two younger brothers, and a younger sister. He gets along fairly well with his siblings, goes places with his brothers, and experiences some typical squabbling with them. Vic's step-father runs a clothing store, which provides Vic with a ready means of asserting his individuality: "It's kind of ironic that I should run around like a pig." The condition of his clothes is apparently the greatest source of friction between Vic and his father. His mother works full-time. Both she and his step-father want Vic to finish college; he shares their aspiration.

Vic has had access to books since childhood. He boasts that his comic book collection stood at 300 by the age of 5. He has his own TV, and a record player, and he spends a good deal of time listening to music. He has picked up the guitar and plays "just barely."

He states that his religion is Roman Catholic, a factor which "is very unimportant" to him. His racial and ethnic identities were also unimportant to him as he entered Metro, though one and a half years later he felt that it would be "fairly important" for someone trying to learn about him to know what racial group he is part of.

The racial composition of Vic's previous school, Austin High, was unlike that of his neighborhood. He attended a branch for freshmen only where the students were mostly white rather than 60% black and 40% white, as it was at the main building of the high school. He describes the racial situation at his branch of the school as tense, the few blacks were not well-integrated into the school.

Vic himself feels that he has never had any racial problems. Living in a predominantly black neighborhood doesn't trouble him. His step-father is black and, according to Vic, this presents no problems. He seems to get along well with his parents and feels quite close to his mother.

When he was first interviewed, shortly after entering Metro, Vic stated that he felt his mother gave him just about enough freedom. Yet he feels pressures imposed upon him by the adult society all around him. In family decisions, his "parents usually win-- 2 to 1." Apparently he accepts their decisions most of the time, and he feels that they, likewise, tend to respect his wishes. When he travels to the suburbs, he feels the "clean-cut" "suburban normals" staring at him, thinking him "weird" for the individuality reflected in his disheveled appearance.

In responses to a pre-Metro questionnaire, he said that when his peers urge him to do something, he makes up his own mind, feeling relatively uninfluenced by their desires. He seems fairly isolated in his block, and comments that he doesn't "hang around" with any friends, nor does he leave the neighborhood very often.

The style of his interactions with peers was to change quite markedly during his experience at Metro. The attitudes fostered by Vic's former high school, Austin High, were mostly negative. In a questionnaire about his former school, he checked off many negative characteristics of the teachers. These are a few examples:

*teachers are not much concerned with students' feelings

*teachers don't have time to explain things to someone who doesn't understand

*they aren't interested in students' personal feelings

*they don't put enthusiasm into their teaching

Although some teachers let him know that they considered him intelligent, Vic's academic reputation at Austin High was poor. Even in one of his favorite areas, art, Vic was unhappy and dissatisfied. He claims that the art teacher would allow no room for creativity. The students were always required to follow her specifications, and he rebelled. The result was a grade of C.

> I noticed the kids who did it the way she wanted, usually most of 'em got an A. And she would ask me if I'd change something on there, and I said, "No, it wouldn't look good that way." I figured [illegible] was doing the picture, I didn't really want to do the picture just to see how it would look if I did everything that she told me to. I was doing the picture to see... get the best effect. And she didn't like that.

Furthermore, Vic felt that his teachers didn't know him, and certainly didn't care to.

Vic's relationships with peers were also far from ideal. "I don't really have any close friends." Part of the reason for his lack of friends may have been the lethargy he saw in the student body.

In the same questionnaire about Austin High, Vic chose the following responses to characterize his fellow students:

*they don't put much energy into what they do

*they don't read about politics or social issues

*racial relations are poor

*it's dull--so kids goof around.

School was clearly not a focal point for the students' energies. He saw their problem as one, primarily, of relevance.

> What was being taught was something they didn't feel was pertaining to what they wanted to know and needed to know.

In general, Vic disliked most of the teachers and students at his former school.

At the beginning of his experience at Metro, Vic was asked to draw a picture of how he viewed himself, and afterwards to explain its meaning. His picture had two parts, the first, labelled "at times," showed a crowd of people with the explanation, "I'm in there somewhere," "one among many," anonymous. Referring to his former school, he said:

> That's more or less the way they treat you and the way you have to feel... I was made to feel I wasn't anyone special.

The other part, "at other times," showed him much larger than the rest of the crowd, "standing out." Asked to list some traits that described him, he named "shy, at first," a trait in keeping with the first drawing, "then outgoing," in keeping with the second. After overcoming his initial shyness, he felt he would stand out as someone exceptional. He believed in his own intelligence, and in his talent, especially in art.

Vic says that he feels very positive about himself. "I think I'd rather be me than anyone else." Still, he sees himself as someone not working up to his potential. He is very protective of his individualism and he believes that freedom to make individual decisions will solve part of the problem of tapping his potential.

> Students should have all the say. Who knows what you want to learn more than you?
>
> There's something in people that makes them want to learn, and the teachers don't realize this.

Vic proved to be a person who takes the initiative if given the opportunity to do what really excites him.

His initial high school experience of powerlessness may have determined a large part of his feeling of political powerlessness. As he entered Metro, he felt that the average person would not be very effective in influencing government. His personal mobility was limited, too. "I knew how to get downtown and back and that was about it." The feeling of not having much control is reflected in his agreement with the following question from the pre-Metro questionnaire:

> Many times I feel that I have little influence over the things that happen to me.

This response, too, was to change with his experience at Metro.

The pre-Metro questionnaire also asked about career aspirations. At that point, he thought about being an actor, going to acting school in preparation, or possibly going into commercial art, going to art school first. "It's like doing your hobby for a living." His goals and requirement in a job were mainly altruistic and gregarious. He checked the following questionnaire responses:

*He wants to be with people, meet people.

*He wants to help people.

*He puts a very low priority on making money, attaining status, having leisure.

*He wants to create works of art.

Telling why he came to Metro, Vic says, "I liked the idea almost as much as I liked the idea of getting out of my school."

> First I heard a friend telling me they do things like go to banks and stuff around town and that idea seemed attractive... I sort of like the idea of having learning experiences in the city and the downtown area, banks and what-not. And I also knew that I wasn't doing any good. I wasn't getting anything out of my high school there so... even if the idea hadn't attracted me I'd probably have still applied to take the chance that anything being better than what I was doing, anything different being better, couldn't have been worse.

At Metro he became one of the most outgoing students, and one of the most articulate. The "one of the crowd" version of Vic began to wither, and the "standing out" version grew. He mentioned that at Metro he began to feel more confident with people, no longer "afraid of them."

Very early in his career at Metro, a teacher described him as disruptive and obnoxious. As teachers and students got to know one another better, Vic's criticisms of teachers became more constructive, though he continued to be quick to challenge what he considered ridiculous, unfair, or impractical. Some teachers continued to characterize him as disruptive and obnoxious. At times he seemed too quick to disagree with any idea that was not his own.

During the first semester at Metro, Vic became involved in student government. He insisted that the "town meeting" style was not a good one because the group was too large for everyone to be involved. At early meetings, Vic was one of the few students to speak out. He showed a great deal of hostility toward teachers and a distrust of them.

> Teachers don't accept that fact that students don't want government. They said we have to have one.

Yet he soon became involved in the teacher-selection committee, and was the only student to attend the staff meeting on interviewing processes. As time went on, his attitude toward adults changed from, "Can we trust them?" to naming some staff members in his list of five best friends.

Some of the evaluations of Vic in the courses he took were very laudatory, especially courses in the arts, such as Film-making, Story Workshop, Improvisational Theater, Contemporary Art. In such courses his teachers described him as a leader, a person who attended regularly, a strong participant in discussions, insightful.

> Vic was the kind of student we all enjoyed having. From our brief encounter, we felt this small, free-wheeling atmosphere was the kind he learned best in,

said his instructor in Contemporary Art. In the Slide-Tape course, his teacher wrote, "He had a lot to offer the class in the way of sharing his enthusiasm and responding to experiences."

In some courses, like math, he appeared to have much intelligence, "but doesn't use it. He fooled around a lot." His biggest problem academically seemed to be following through on a project. Often, in their evaluations, the teachers themselves assumed the blame for not making the courses interesting enough. Generally, though,Vic's evaluation of their efforts was positive. Even in algebra, where his teacher felt Vic had a good deal of unused potential, Vic said, "I think I'm learning algebraic thinking. I like the course." According to Vic teachers at Metro keep trying-- they don't give up on a student.

One of the factors that may have effected his lack of follow-through was his tendency to clown around. He felt very "free to be himself" with his teachers, free to ask questions, to defend his point of view . Along with that freedom came the tendency to be frivolous, unambitious, to take projects very lightly whenever he wasn't convinced of their importance, and to disrupt the concentration of others in the class.

Vic did take initiative in projects that interested him. He worked to set up an independent reading course, helped with the short-lived student newspaper, wrote many stories for the Story Workshop, and followed up his Improvisational Theater course with a program at Harper Theater, which he attended on his own on Saturdays. He was a leader in his film-making class and made a film that was shown to parents and scheduled for an Illinois Bell workshop.

When a teacher didn't show up for a theater class one day, Vic, who had had more experience with the field than most of the other students, led some exercises. Teachers didn't pressure him, and sometimes he'd get off the subject or turn to foolishness, and at other times he'd produce admirable work. Although his work was erratic, he was certainly producing more than he did at Austin.

At that school Vic had felt he had no close friends, but at Metro he felt "part of the leading crowd." His friends' opinions came to mean more to him at Metro, and he would take their ideas into consideration when making his decisions, often going along with them even when he disagreed. A new social and learning group was opening to him. He was learning, slowly, to show consideration for others along with his need for "individuality."

At Metro Vic has had more contact with ethnic and racial groups other than his own. He feels the racial relations are good at Metro, unlike Austin High. People of various backgrounds get along. "There's little racial tension at Metro." One explanation:

> The kids are almost forced to communicate with one another. If you want to succeed at Metro, you really have to talk to people even if you don't want to at times.

At Metro Vic feels he used his creativity as he didn't have the chance or desire to do before. He sees experience as learning and states, "I experience something new at Metro everyday." A year and a half after he started Metro, Vic answered the question, "What's the best thing about about Metro?"

> You're really using your mind. You're using everything that's there. You use everything you really have, I do. I think most people feel the same way I do. There's not too much about me as a person that's not developed or improved by the total experience at Metro.

After a year and a half at Metro, in the summer following his sophomore year, Vic was interviewed a second time and was asked to complete a questionnaire like [illegible] one he'd filled out at the beginning of Metro. Many contrasts and changes are apparent, especially in his attitudes toward school and teachers. He considers teachers understanding, genuinely concerned about students' feelings, friendly, enthusiastic about what they're teaching. They give students lots of chance to be creative, they encourage discussion about careers, they share laughs with students. The antithesis of Austin High, Metro's classes have discussions that are exciting and have active student participation.

> My other school, my mind was as far detached from school as I could have made it... (At Metro) your life is centered around the school and different experiences you've had.

His view of students has changed a good deal too. Instead of describing them as a lethargic group, reluctantly following a superior's command, he describes Metro students as energetic about what they do, interested in learning for its own sake, open, free to disagree and to make up their own minds.

On the second questionnaire, when he describes qualities that he'd like his career to have, Vic reveals a more realistic sense of his own needs. Before Metro his goals were almost exclusively altruistic. Now he sees his own satisfaction as an important factor. Characteristics of a career that mean more to him now than they did before include the opportunities to:

*use his special abilities

*earn money

*be creative and original

*gain social status and prestige

*have a secure future

*exercise leadership

*have leisure time

*influence the political structure.

Now he says he's good to himself: "I think I do things that will benefit myself." Metro seems to have made him feel better about himself. He had said, "You can't develop a bad opinion of yourself if you help people a lot." Vic still feels it important to be with people and help them, but it's not "extremely important" anymore. Perhaps he has enough other means of self-evaluation now so that he doesn't need this one quite as much anymore.

When he's not talking of his dreams of being a philanthropist endowing all the creative arts, Vic speaks of a career in the arts for himself. "About the most important thing about me is that I'm creative." He defines creativity as "creating something that is a product of you." He thinks he might not stay in any one area of work for a long period. "I'd like to do whatever....I'm interested in different things that I do at different times." Realistically, he admits that he'll have to earn money and stick with some of his interests beyond the pleasure point: "I'll probably center on one of those things I like and just stick with it. Even though I might lose interest in it for a while, just keep doing it." He recognizes that the luxury he has at Metro, the luxury of following his desires from minute to minute, will necessarily be abridged in his adult world.

Metro has given him some very specific insights into jobs. In his Commercials class, he went to an ad agency with his teacher, asked questions and observed what people did there. He tells an interviewer of his interest in a career in comic strip art and he is able to chart a very realistic course for getting work in cartooning.

Considering acting, "Most of my experiences came from Metro, "he mentions the prospect of going to Columbia College and pursuing acting, films, or writing there. Story Workshop was given at Columbia, and he thinks highly of what he has seen there. Vic feels his parents support him and have confidence in him for whatever career he finally chooses. He feels strongly that his career must use his talent and skills, for without using them, making money wouldn't be nearly as enjoyable.

Vic is a self-motivated, enthusiastic high school student. Many of his latent abilities have begun to be used; he feels more powerful, more in control of his own future, and more in control of events in the larger world. Answering the question, "Can the average citizen have an influence in government decisions?" Vic now says, "Yes, by taking an active part in political and social events, people can control world events."

Vic says that the better teachers at Metro don't really teach, they let the students teach themselves. This difference may have provided the challenge that such an intelligent but alienated teen-ager needed. He has changed from feeling "like a face in the crowd" to feeling that he is someone special, someone teachers care about and see as an individual.

> "Metro made me feel different, more of an individual."

In relations with peers, he has begun to see them as interesting individuals too. Vic was shy at first, but at Metro he found the atmosphere of acceptance which was a prerequisite for his active participation.

Throughout his interviews and questionnaires, Vic appears as a person who learns best by doing things actively as opposed to reading or hearing about what someone else did. Metro gave him the opportunity to have myriad experiences and thereby to use some of his untapped potential.

> I probably learn most from my run-ins with people--
> CTA agents, the police, and the general public.

His attitudes toward his family and toward himself, which were basically positive from the start, haven't changed. He is considered, by his teachers, to have done well in almost all his courses at Metro. His contact with other ethnic groups has widened and he feels he has benefited from his experience with this diversity.

Diane Jawarski

Diane Jawarski came to Chicago from Poland with her parents at age five. Her father is a carpenter who completed some college in Poland and her mother is a high school graduate and a photographer. Together, they have worked extremely hard to gain economic stability and to live in a middle to upper-middle class predominantly Jewish neighborhood on Chicago's South Side. Diane describes her parents as traditional in their values and with extremely high expectations for her and her older sister, who is now in college. He mother would like Diane to be a concert pianist and has required her to practice the piano extensively. Her father would like her to be a doctor.

Diane has always performed extremely well in school. When she transferred to Metro, she was in the honors track in one of Chicago's most competitive high schools, where "95% of the kids go to college." She was four years above grade level in reading and 2.5 years above in math, compared to national norms. Her close friends all planned to attend and finish college, as she did. The possiblity of not doing so was, to her almost unthinkable. She and her two closest friends at her previous school had straight A averages and shared an intense dislike for traditional schools:

> Every day more or less the same thing. You come in, you sit down very quietly and wait 'til the teacher comes in to start the lecture for two hours while you're falling asleep or pinching yourself not to. You get homework and, you know, punishment the minute you talk. The same thing day after day. Being bored. I can't do anything about it.

Coupled with Diane's dislike for this educational routine is an intense aversion to the social aspects of her school and neighborhood, which she sees as being dominated by status competition and pettiness. Of her neighbors, she says:

> The main thing, they're Jewish, they're all rich, all snobby, and I dislike them. That's all I can say....They have meetings and they sit around and criticize the people who aren't there.

Her old school, she says, has the reputation of being "the snobbiest school in the city," a reputation that is "very accurate."

The status pressures of her school and community are accentuated by her Polish background in a predominantly Jewish neighborhood. She and her family have no contact with the larger Polish community in Chicago. Her dress and style of speech strongly reflect upper-middle class America. At the time of her entry into Metro, she looked down on other Poles, seeing some truth in the "dumb Pollack" stereotype:

> Polish people sort of have a reputation, which is more or less justified in most cases.

Despite her attempts to dissociate herself from Polish-Americans, she has often felt a subtle or open prejudice against her:

> I was Polish, and uh, this kind of reputation of "Pollack" and so forth... As soon as they find out you're Polish, right away, "Oh, I have some good Polish jokes for you"....He'd say, "You know why Poles have brown shoes?" I'd say, "No," kicking my shoes.

She speaks of these ethnic slurs with great feeling, in marked contrast to her general style of relating to other people. She seldom speaks in groups, and in individual conversation and in her interviews, she speaks softly and with reluctance, choosing each word with care. She is extremely resistent to discuss herself, constantly raising questions about the value of the interview and parting with responses only after the most elaborate probes from the interviewer.

In her questionnaire upon entering Metro, she described herself as "uncertain of who I really am, moody, an introvert sometimes, quiet in crowds, a person, uncertain of what is right and wrong, usually not happy." She handles almost all of a series of hypothetical conflict situations posed to her by indicating that she would withdraw or suffer in silence. She recounts an incident in which she and her sister were threatened and struck by a group of girls on the subway. Although people were standing nearby, she didn't call for help because "I didn't want to impose." Her friends are not close; her friendship group from her neighborhood had almost broken up a few months after entering Metro. She says she spends much of her time outside of school alone in her room.

Behind this withdrawn exterior, Diane is preoccupied with understanding herself and working out a system of values and a life-plan that she can feel comfortable with. On entering Metro, she indicated that the most important advice she could give her children would be "To thine own self be true." On her initial questionnaire, she rates "To have a strong religious faith" and "To develop a philosphy of life" as the most important on a list of possible life accomplishments. She emphasizes distress at the fact that "I constantly change," and she envies a cousin in Poland because her cousin is "terribly sure what she wants, I mean, she's got herself all figured out and she goes by everything accordingly."

A theme that runs through her interviews is the desire to escape to somewhere else, far-away places where life will be more interesting. In her first interview she says:

> Where would I want to live? I don't think I'd like to live in one place. Travel. I like to travel.

Later in the interview, when asked what kind of a life she wants to have, she replies:

Diane:	Interesting. Just very interesting. I'm very restless and I get bored very easily. What kind of life? An interesting life. Nothing more....
Interviewer:	You're planning to go to college. What kind of college do you expect to go to?
Diane:	I don't know. I'd like to go to college in Europe or some foreign country. I'd like to, but I probably won't.
Interviewer:	Why would you choose a foreign college?....
Diane:	Why would I? Oh. it's a lot more fun, you know, you go to another country-- it's always exciting....

Diane feels cut off from her neighborhood, her old school, and her parents and fantasizes about an interesting life somewhere else. She often mentions a desire to be "independent," to not have to count on others to fulfill her needs. She answers almost every question on two sense-of-control scales by attributing success or failure to the striving of the individual rather than to broader social forces.

One of the few times in her first interview when she mentions satisfaction derived from a cooperative effort was when she and fellow students in her old school tried to convince a social studies teacher that the United

States was no longer on the gold standard. Her picture of herself as an intelligent person who does well in school seems by far the most consistently positive aspect of her conception of herself on entering Metro. She is most open to other people when she can demonstrate this competence, and when it is appreciated by others.

Upon entering Metro, as stated earlier, she expressed a strong dislike for her previous school. She described her typical teacher as not really involved and well-grounded in his subject, going through the motions by rote:

> They have their old books for ten years, and they just use them up for ten years. When the ten years are up, they get new ones for the next ten years.

Diane feels that there were many creative students at her old school, but if they wanted to do anything creative they had to do it on their own, outside of school. She described one teacher she liked in this way:

> She never yelled at the kids, and she never talked "at" them.... We would always get into discussions, you know. She would never follow a strict pattern of "today we're going to do so and so." She was, you know, very flexible, and you could always talk with her and she never yelled at people. That always puts me off, when teachers start yelling at me... So she never really, raised her voice, and that was really good. First of all, she was a good teacher. I learned something from her. I think that's really the most important thing.

Diane was observed by a field observer in several contexts, including classes, counseling groups, and informal discussions. Diane almost never talked in these situations unless she was called on to answer a question or she could volunteer a response about an academic question where she was confident of her information. In laboratory classes, she almost always worked hard and consistently. In most lectures and discussions, she appeared attentive.

However, course evaluations and some observations describe her as doing work in some classes in a mechanical way not commensurate with her ability. She used Metro's freedom to cut several classes extensively that she didn't like, although she would never really confront the teacher concerning the reasons for her dissatisfaction. She accumulated credits at a rapid rate, and was regarded as one of the better academic students in the school.

Two incidents are recorded in which she was part of a group discussing sensitive questions of values, race relations, etc. In both discussions of over an hour, she spoke briefly a few times but maintained an intense interest in what was being said.

In reflecting on her Metro experience in her second interview, Diane describes the school in a very positive light. When asked what she would include in a movie about the school she said:

> Showing how informal it is and trying to communicate the sort of freedom and the ease that people have here. And all kind of courses that go on outside of school. And show that they are doing other things than just sitting inside of school. And doing things for the first time.

She says that the best thing about Metro is "being put in situations where I have to do something in a situation that's real not just... out of a book." She has taken extensive advantage of these outside resources classes, which speak to her need to explore and find new and interesting experiences.

She further appreciates the contrast between the status competition at her old school and the general friendliness of Metro students with each other.

However, her closest friends are white and middle class. She feels that relationships with black students are on a live-and-let-live basis, without strong tension but with little close communication.

She speaks extensively about Metro teachers, whom she generally has great admiration for. She pictured teachers in her old school sitting behind a desk going over a book by rote. But she pictures Metro teachers running around frantically trying to make the program work and holding informal discussion groups with students. She sees one of Metro's main strengths as the fact that most students can find one or two teachers to confide in, although she sees the demands of starting the program as presenting a constant drain on teachers that cuts down on time with students. Reflecting her perception of close teacher-student relationships at Metro, she describes her favorite teacher:

> Well, she taught me Spanish and art. She's kind of nutty. Hard to describe her. She's a very interesting person to talk to. Whatever subject you get on she always has something to say, some personal experience that she's gone through related to the subject. She's always got some funny story or something to say.

This teacher fits Diane's specifications for a good teacher:

> They know what they're teaching and not just getting up and talking about something from a book. They really know about their subject, and they can communicate it. I mean, that's a teacher...And being able to respond to different people in the class.

She says that "almost any" Metro teacher exhibits these qualities. In addition, she feels that:

> Most of the teachers, all of the teachers really, think that everyone

> has some potential. There's something that they think that they're interested in. And I can't think of anyone that just rejects someone, that just doesn't try anything with them because he or she thinks that they're incapable. I mean, I just can't think of anyone like that.

When asked what teachers at Metro she doesn't like, Diane describes one who seemed aloof and indifferent and one whose classes were very disorganized in their planning, where people fooled around and talked without much work getting done.

Another aspect of Metro that Diane appreciates is the chance to choose the educational experiences she wants and to take responsibility for her own learning. She could "avoid doing things that I don't like" and that she didn't see any importance in:

> I really can't remember doing any busy work at all. I mean if I felt that if something was not going to help me at all, I didn't do it.

In summing up her Metro experience after one and a half years, Diane stresses these themes of freedom and responsibility:

> All the responsibilities for my education are my own. I have the freedom to do what I want. I'm not forced to do anything. I can voice my opinion. I can go to classes. I can change them if I want. I can pick my own classes, which is very important. I don't have to be programmed into them. And pick the teachers I like to be teaching them. And again, doing things first hand. Not just sitting with a book is very important.

In Diane's case, there appears to have been an excellent fit between her own needs and qualities and the school's strengths. The friendly student body and staff with emphasis on interpersonal communications spoke to her dislike of status-seeking and her need to try to understand herself. The classes in the city responded to her desire for interesting and varied experiences. And the Metro emphasis on personal freedom and responsibility speaks to her own strongly developed sense that the individual must act independently and accept the personal consequences.

In her second interview, Diane reflects some changes that have taken place in her since she entered Metro. In contrast to the generally negative tone of her self-evaluations in the first interview and questionnaire, she describes herself as optimistic, independent, introverted, adventurous, and curious. She says that she has been working on understanding herself and is getting better at it.

She is also more certain about her future occupation and cites this certainty as the most important change that has taken place in her since she entered Metro:

> I know what I want to become more than I did before. And it's still fairly unclear, but it's become a little more crystalized. I'm doing something toward it.

In her original interview, she discussed tentatively the possibility of becoming a commercial artist, a musician, or an archeologist and expressed uncertainty about these possiblities. In her second interview, she is fairly positive that she wants to become an archeologist. She has become involved in some archeology through a Metro class at the Field Museum of Natural History, although the school has not provided her with a full class of archeology.

She is currently writing to museums and universities about the possibility of going on a dig and taking a college program in archeology. A Metro teacher is helping her in these investigations. She is reading a great deal about archeology on her own.

Future occupation is now more central to her value system. She was preoccupied with religion and personal philosophy in a values questionnaire on entering Metro, but she currently cites "to be an authority in my field" and "to contribute to a scientific theory" as the two things essential in her future life. She says "Basically I want to be very good at my profession, the best, or otherwise I won't be it." Having fixed on a goal, she is confident she can attain it: "What might stop me? If I get disinterested in it or did go and get into a dig and find out that I didn't like it."

Another marked change is her attitude toward being Polish. While she rejected Poles and felt great personal pain about Polish jokes on entering Metro, she now states:

> Interviewer: What are the advantages of being Polish?
>
> Diane: I get different viewpoints of life. Which is very good. I can distinguish between what I want more clearly than if I had never known a different sort of life.
>
> Interviewer: What are the disadvantages?
>
> Diane: I really can't see any from this point. When I was smaller, when I had first come here, it was sort of looked down upon.
>
> Interviewer: Your being Polish?
>
> Diane: Yeah, and that bothered me at the time, but I couldn't care less right now.

These changes have, of course, taken place within the basic framework of Diane's introverted personality and her feelings of being cut off from many aspects of her environment. "With groups of people I'm not very outgoing." "I like to be on my own instead of being like tied to my parents or other people." She still expresses a strong desire to go someplace else, to escape her present surroundings:

Diane:	I really hate being where I am. Like in Chicago for instance. And the prospect of going to school here. But like I'm working on some things to go somewhere and do other things instead of being tied down here.
Interviewer:	You mean school as far as Metro.
Diane:	Not Metro. Just getting away from the surroundings altogether. My parents, Chicago.

She says later "I don't believe I'm really close to this country. I don't really feel I belong here."

As in her first interview, she says she hopes to find excitement in another country:

Diane:	What kind of life? ...an exciting one. One that I'll be doing something that I enjoy. And one where I could be traveling. I like to travel.... I hate being in one place for a long time. So, it will be something where I'll be free to move around...I'd like to paint well. If I go into archeology, I'd like to be good at that, that would help. I think I'd like to play the piano very well.
Interviewer:	What kind of neighborhood do you want to live in?
Diane:	A friendly one. Where you can walk down the street and say hello to people, and not have them look me up and down to know if my socks match my dress.

Ellen Kutz

Ellen Kutz lives with her father, mother and brothers in Jefferson Park, a northside Chicago community. This community is almost entirely white middle class, consisting of Irish Catholic and Protestant ethnic groups. She describes the area, with some disdain, as:

> Suburbia. It's very much like the suburbs. It's so perfect....the houses are almost exactly like one another as you go down the blocks and the apartment buildings are old, but they're not too old. Everybody's grass is mowed, everybody's garden is well tended and the bushes are trimmed and the trees are pruned. The leaves are raked up and burned in the streets in the fall. And everybody is just like everybody else - almost.

Both of her parents completed college and seem to have instilled in Ellen a very strong orientation towards school and college. All of Ellen's neighborhood friends regularly attend school, receive grades of A's and B's, and plan to go on to college, as she does. Ellen's social life, previous to her attendance at Metro was centered on her church youth group (Methodist) and Girl Scout troop. She mentioned that she only went out of the neighborhood to attend art shows with her parents.

Her father is an architect and seems to have strongly influenced Ellen's present interest in art. She sees her relationship with her mother as not a very close one, that her mother only encourages her to study and work harder at school and to acquire "perfect housewife" skills at home. She says she relates better to her father, who allows her to work out things for herself. There is very little concern with her siblings. She sees herself as their babysitter.

When Ellen was first interviewed upon entering Metro she was asked to describe herself:

> I'm sort of withdrawn really. That's why I don't know very many people very well because, uh, I really can't get myself to mix in for a very...for a very long period of time. I like to be by myself. I'm sort of off. I can't really be set into one specific category.

She also explained that she did not have many friends her own age:

> I have a tendency to kid them about things and I sort of have the very bad tendency of giving them advice about something. And it's sort of... it gets very, uh,... 'cause I really don't know that many girls my own age. Uh, I know a lot of girls that are younger than I. I can get along with them.

During this interview the trait that Ellen constantly emphasized as quite important to her was her individuality. When the question was posed, "what about yourself would you fight hardest to keep," she answered:

> Um, my individuality because I'm me and really like the commercial says "nobody else like me". And there never will be. And so, however dumb or nutty or crazy I might be I'm just myself and nobody can ever change me.

When probed further about how another person would have to behave to act exactly like her, Ellen said:

> Uh, she's sort of got to follow a semi-disorderly fashion in her way of life and her way of thinking. She's got to sort of contradict people in a way. Gotta dress differently, and she's sort of...people are... un, skirt lines have dropped to midi, she shouldn't wear midi, she wears mini. Or she wears pants when everybody else is wearing skirts. Just got to sort of be an individual. And not really becoming involved in a group or in the entire scene.

At this time Ellen's hobbies were reading, weaving, her various art projects, and the occult. She didn't like sports or physical activities in school but did enjoy riding her bike for long periods of time.

Ellen came to Metro in the middle of her freshman year of high school from a public high school in her neighborhood. There were a number of white ethnic groups represented in her school but very few blacks. All of Ellen's friends were white and were representative of the religious mix of Jefferson Park.

She appraised her former school as a place where the teachers were very authoritarian and not responsive to the needs of the students.

> Interviewer: (Reading from Ellen's answer to a questionnaire.) "There are many students here who teachers think can never learn anything." And you put, "exactly like my school."
>
> Ellen: Uh, it was because, uh, there were very many people who aren't as smart as the other ones in class and they may, uh, be slow or something and the teachers will try an' drill it into them and it just won't work. They have the opinion that, uh, they're just stupid and they can never learn.
>
> Um, they go very much by the text book. If there's somebody who disagrees with what's been written in the text book they just won't pay any attention to them.
>
> Students don't hesitate to speak up to teachers when they think something is wrong but the teachers don't do anything!

The question to which Ellen gave the most heated response was:

> Interviewer: Most of the teachers are not interested in students' personal problems. You put, "exactly like my school."
>
> Ellen: That's right! In fact, they're not interested at all! As long as you do some of your work in class and you say, "Yes, m'am; no, sir; yes, sir" and raise your hand and keep your mouth shut and you sit up high in the air...

Ellen heard about Metro at a school assembly and decided to apply. What initially attracted her to the program was a question asked at the assembly: "How would you like to go to the Art Institute and have an art class?"

> Interviewer: What made you come here?
>
> Ellen: I don't know really, it sounded like a good idea, I mean i figured I couldn't lose anything, it couldn't be any worse than Steinmetz. . . I was getting along alright at Steinmetz. I knew how to . I got A's and B's by being nice to the teachers and all that and I had to be especially nice to the teachers so they wouldn't hold grudges against my little brothers and sister. I didn't like that... They (former Steinmetz friends) called, I kept in touch with them very well.
>
> "Hi, you going back to Steinmetz?" "Not if I can help it."

The Ellen who entered Metro was school-oriented, shy, self-contained and very conscious of her need for individuality. While at Metro Ellen developed into a more outgoing and socially confident person. During a course in Public Speaking, Ellen gave speeches in front of her classmates, critiqued their presentations and gave speeches about Metro to elementary school classes and one college class. Her teacher's assessment was that Ellen did very well and that she herself was proud of the progress she had made while in the class. Ellen evaluated her own progress:

> Are you quiet in classes?
>
> Unhum. (Affirmative) You can just sit, uh, except in Public Speaking. That's the only class that I'm not quiet. It's really beginning to help me a little. I'm talking more and expressing my ideas...

She also took a number of art classes, did excellent work, and was able to use her teachers as resource people to further develop her interests and skills. She was well liked by her teachers, known to like to work independently but able to work well with others.

Ellen found Metro to be a place where student ideas were welcomed, where she could be creative beyond her art classes and where she could improve her personal relationships. She spoke about how she had changed since her first interview more than a year before:

> I don't have the same hang ups I had. I was really hung up about getting to classes. Which unfortunately I've changed. I sort of goofed off a lot this year... got to get back into the grind, start working. Um, I started talking a lot, to more people... sort of come out of my shell, since last year. I'd still be in my shell if I were at Steinmetz.
>
> Uh, you might say I've become a radical. Um, I use to be the "perfect little girl ," very few opinions. Whatever I heard my parents talking about, if they thought it was right I guess I thought it was right too. And I've gotten involved a lot with the draft and things. So, I've changed a lot in that.

Not only had Ellen changed in her ability to talk to others, but she and another student taught a class in macrame which she enjoyed very much.

Ellen was also able to expand her territorial horizons. Shenow felt confident about going downtown and traveling around the city either for her classes or to use city resources. She said that she spent a lot of time with her school friends going to museums and art galleries. In response to problem-solving questions in the two interviews, there was a definite change from depending on her parents to actively solving problems herself or utilizing other people to get needed information and help.

> In the second interview, she replied to the question,
>
> Suppose you wanted to find out the reasons for and against lowering the voting age, what are all the possible ways you can think of to get information?
>
> Well, you could go to a construction site and ask the workers there 'cause most of the construction workers are fairly conservative... you could just interview people like, you know, if you could get in to see the great illustrious mayor, uh, write letters, ask them what they think about... ask senators and people what they think about it.

Although Ellen's friends in Metro were still white school-oriented students, she did say that she spent time talking with some of the black students.

> ... you know the world is not made of little Anglo-Saxon whites. No matter what some of my other friends think, who go to Steinmetz, to Catholic schools.

In addition to Ellen feeling that she was able to improve on her social skills at Metro, another important aspect of Metro for her was the student-teacher relationships, which she had felt were so unsatisfactory at Steinmetz.

She was able to establish good relationships with some of her teachers, * and in general thought that the informal student-teacher relationship was the best thing about Metro.

> Interviewer: Name three ways that Metro is different from your old school.
>
> Ellen: Um, teacher-student relationships, freedom, attending the school, you know, freedom to pick your own classes is what I mean, and um, just the general atmosphere.
>
> It's like the student and the teacher are almost one and the same. Except that the teacher knows just... you know, she...you think she knows more than you do but, you are not sure and the teachers are learning from the students, and the students from them.

Ellen took this concern with the teachers to the point that she actively served on the Teacher Selection Committee which involved reading resumes and interviewing potential teachers for the school.

When questioned about her future, Ellen stated that she was interested in a career either in the ministry or in commercial art. She spent a great deal of time reading the Bible and took a course at Metro called The Source, which was based on the Bible.

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* Ellen's favorite teacher was her **counselor, Jamie**. She spent a great deal of time talking with her about personal problems, for example her shyness. This proved to be very beneficial for her as Jamie was quite interested in interpersonal communication skills and through their personal discussions and courses that Jamie taught in communication skills, Ellen was able to improve her abilities in this area.

When asked about why she chose these two careers she said:

> Art because I have a natural talent and ministry because I think there's a lot of things wrong with the Christian Church as it is. I would like to reform the Church.

She realized that these choices implied not only college but further graduate study and felt confident that she would follow through on the educational requirements. When asked what she would ultimately like to do, she responded that she would like to live on a farm near the coast of England. The appeal of England was that they were very supportive of artists and, unlike the United States, seemed to be working out the problems in their governmental system. She pictured her future life as:

> I really would like to be able to weave my own cloth and make my own clothing, you know, raise enough food so that I can live and my family, if I have one. Just be totally self-reliant.

Alvin Judson

It is very difficult to write a case study of Alvin Judson, for he is a complex chameleon and shows different sides to different observers. An attractive black teenager with a charming smile, he is alternately described as a "con man" or "one of the most gentle kids in Metro." Perhaps we will see in this study that both comments are accurate.

Al was very guarded in both the interviews and the questionnaires and often seemed to be giving the answers expected of him. A more well rounded picture emerges from the addition of the participant observation notes, pointing to the inconsistencies that underlie Al's complex personality.

In the pre-interview, Al said he has lived all his life in the projects on Chicago's west side. He lives now with his mother and five siblings, and it seems that he has never known his father. His relationship with his mother is good. In responding to hypothetical conflict situations in the pre-interview, Al often said his mother would believe in him, stand behind him, and help him out. In answering another hypothetical question about his father, Al seemed to have a loving fantasy of what his father would be like:

> Interviewer: If your father is always offering to help you fix things, why is that?
>
> Al: To show you that he probably loves you that much to try to get your attention and maybe he thinks that you don't give him enough attention.

Later in the same interview, Al answered several questions as if his father lived at home and was very accepting and loving towards him. The post interviewer later remarked of their session, "I would imagine his only strong emotional tone was when he mentioned his father; he didn't have a father."

As can be surmised from Al's real or imagined sense of support and acceptance from his parents, he has a strong and positive self-image. This self-image was to become even stronger over his years at Metro. In the post questionnaire he completes the self-identifications, "Who Am I?" with such phrases as me, the greatest, proud to be me, number one. He says repeatedly, in both pre and post interviews, that he would not want to change places with anyone, that he's very happy being himself. Of course, this pose may be another aspect of his charm and bravado--as always with Al, it is very difficult to know his true feelings. When asked to look at himself objectively, abstractly, he claims not to understand the question. It seems more likely that he is trying to shield his real feelings from the interviewer.

Al has always been popular in his neighborhood and had a lot of friends before he came to Metro. Their nickname for him was "mobster", and he says he got the name from the kind of hat he wears. Most of these friends are alienated from school--they attend but without any enthusiasm.

Al shows a distaste for his neighborhood, particularly for gang-related violence. He says he would like to move to another part of the city where it is more quiet, where black and white families live together.

Al had ambivalent feelings about the school he attended before Metro, a school where you had to have special scores to be accepted. He says it was better than the schools his friends attended but over-crowded and impersonal.

> There was so many kids in the art class, the teachers didn't know our names, and sometimes they would give us work to do and then forget that they had asked us to do it.
>
> Sometimes I saw my counselor but there's so many kids in the school---1,000---and someday you come back to him and he know you and you come back a little later, he can't even remember your name.

The ability to have close relationships with teachers was one of the most positive results of Al's transfer to Metro. In the post interview he said.

> And, you know, teachers at Metro, you could talk to 'em like you do a student. Not, you know, any ole way, but you know you can sit down and talk your problem out with them and stuff like that.

In the pre-interview, Al said he pictured teachers as people who sit behind desks. Later he described Metro teachers as "hanging around", not sitting behind desks. Evidently the removal of this visible barrier between him and the teachers was very important.

When Metro considered expanding to admit more students, Al was among the most vocal protestors. Perhaps he feared a return to the kind of impersonal treatment that he thought was a result of over-crowding at his old school.

Al had a particularly close relationship with Kay, a white female teacher who "almost adopted" him, according to one of the field observers.

> Interviewer: Think of the specific teacher you like most at Metro.

Al: Like the most? Probably it's Kay.

Interviewer: What is it about her? Tell me something about her?

Al: Seems like she understands... she like sits down... like we got a problem or something, she'll sit down and listen to it and try to help or if you get in trouble for some kind of reason and you really didn't do it, she'll try, you know, to help you out. And, uh, just have fun with her, you know, more than I do with other teachers.

Al was also very friendly with Marvin, a white male who taught art and drafting courses. When Kay and Marvin told him they were leaving Metro, Al replied that he might as well leave, too.

In general, Al had more contact with adults than many other black students from similar backgrounds. It is difficult to say whether he was simply conning them (charming them into helping him when he got into trouble, as he describes Kay doing for him), or whether he has really established meaningful relationships with a few adults.

Al was always on the fringes of trouble at Metro. If there was an incident on the elevator, Al was involved but never blamed. If there was a disturbance in the lounge, Al was probably there but didn't appear to be directly involved. He gives a clue to his behavior when he says, describing the trouble his younger brother gets into:

> And see, that made me stand out like I was good, 'cause when I was small I used to do a whole lot of of the things he did, but never got busted doing it. The one thing that he did, he got busted doing it!
>
> Interviewer: You're not good, you're just sly, that's all.

> Al: Right. Something like that. The stuff I do I just get away with it . . . I done it twelve times, something like that, and he get busted every time he do it, you know.

At Metro, Al was very friendly with a student named Pete. Again, when they both did something wrong, Al was never caught. Al seemed to goad Pete into trouble and Pete always suffered the consequences.

> It seems like I'm the lucky one in the group. Everytime something happens, I'm the one that it don't happen to. Like, everytime Pete and me would be together and something happen, he'd be the one. We were running down the stairway, he slipped and fell and broke his glasses, cracked them at least. It was my idea to run down the stairway, he didn't want to do it, but I insisted on going down.

(Later Pete died in a freak automobile accident, and Al was terribly upset. His pranks seemed to lessen after that, but perhaps it was also the influence of maturation.)

Al was suspected of being involved in a series of small thefts around the school, but was never directly implicated. One time a field observer saw him "shaking down" a female student, demanding that she give money "or else." There seemed to be a sinister side to his sly pranks.

On the other hand, Al could be gentle and charming. He seemed to give a clue to his own personality when he says of a positive experience working with small children, "I try to get the kids to know when to be gentle and when to be tough."

A further ambiguity in Al's personality is reflected in the fact that he was among the ten percent of Metro students who researchers could not absolutely categorize in terms of ability, skills, interests, background, attitudes to school, or peer group norms. Although most of the students from his background were classified as School Alienated, Al seemed to genuinely like Metro and to have strong basic academic skills. On the other hand, he was not the eager learner who would be classifed School Oriented. Nor did he espouse the "hippie" or radical values of the black Youth Culture group. Al seemed torn between all three groups.

At one point the black Youth Culture students formed their own alternative counseling group to focus on black awareness. In one of the sessions they practiced meditation. Al was observed on the fringes of the group, neither participating nor willing to return to his own group. The incident symbolizes his peripheral relationship to the observed student categories.

Al could sometimes seem lethargic and alienated and other times very much involved, depending on his personal interest in the activities. When Kay urged him to become a student representative to the principal's gripe session, Al agreed, went to the meeting, and returned to report that "nothing" had gone on. The field observer felt that much had gone on during the gripe session, but that Al was not interested in making the effort to report.

On the other hand, when something involved his two favorite interests and talents -- art and basketball -- nothing seemed to get in his way. He signed up for an independent study course in art, something only a few other students were able to mobilize themselves to do. He showed up at a staff meeting to pressure for more money for the basketball team. He sold donuts in the lounge to raise money for the team. He spoke in favor of money for cheerleaders at an all-school meeting. In the post interview, when asked to list "things you're good at," he listed as second, "getting things I want."

Al's Metro experiences were very positive for him in this regard. He came to feel that he had control over being able to get the things he wanted. A negative side of this sense of control might be the aspect of manipulation involved when Al tried to get what he wanted.

For an example, Al described himself as a good student--neat, intelligent, asking questions, never making trouble, always going to classes. His evaluation file reflects almost as good a picture as he, himself, paints. Yet the field observers saw Al skipping classes, playing cards in the lounge, failing to do homework, missing appointments. It seemed that Al may have charmed some of the teachers into giving him good evaluations. At the end of the first semester, speaking of a course for which he had received credit, Al told the observer: "I don't think I deserved it, but they gave it to me." Later he was observed registering only for courses where he felt comfortable that the teacher would not be too hard on him.

Al appreciated the freedom that Metro gave him--e. g., the freedom to play cards in the lounge without being harassed. Yet perhaps he also sensed that he took advantage of that freedom. He admitted to the post interviewer, a man he knew well at Metro, that since no one was pushing him at Metro, he failed to carry out many of his responsibilities.

In the post interview, Al was asked,

> Interviewer: What's the best thing about Metro?
>
> Al: That you feel free. You don't feel like you all boxed in or something like some cage or something.

There were two aspects to this pleasant feeling of freedom at Metro. One was the ability to do as he wished without anyone "getting on his case." The second was the mobility of the Metro program, the ability to take classes all over the city. Al says this mobile aspect of the Metro program was what first attracted him to the school.

One of the field observers relates that Al had some anxiety about venturing out of his own neighborhood when he first came to Metro. He asked the observer to meet him downtown to show him the way to a class on the south side of the city. The pre interview revealed that he had little sense of how to get around the city. Over his years at Metro, Al became more comfortable moving around the city. Through his classes he met people from different areas and came to know them. He also found out how to follow up his interests in art and architeture through ancillary courses offered by museums and architectural firms.

In his senior year, Al was a member of the Graduation Site Committee, selected to find an inexpensive place to hold the graduation party. The sites under consideration were all over the city, and Al made it a point to visit each site.

Al had very positive feelings about Metro and his experiences. He told the post interviewer that there were no boring classes to put you to sleep at Metro, that he attended the school every day. Through his own observations of Al, the interviewer also knew that although Al attended school, he often did not attend classes but stayed in the halls or the lounge.

Al has a need to think himself as quiet, reliable, and trustworthy, to believe or at least express the kind of image he put forth to interviewers or on questionnaires. He wants to think of himself as "number one," the best in whatever he tries to do.

Field observation shows that Al could, indeed, be number one in many areas. He is bright, attractive, charming. But much of the energy that could have gone into this excellence was channeled instead into pranks, manipulation, getting around the rules. At the present time he is a student at a city community college, doing well and planning to graduate.

Rick Shea

Although his family has moved several times since his birth, Rick Shea has always lived in the same predominantly Irish neighborhood on the southwest side of Chicago, consisting of small apartment buildings sprinkled with a few houses. His father has been the operator of a small and fairly successful rug-cleaning and dyeing company. His mother is a part-time babysitter. His father is Irish and his mother Polish and both are Roman Catholic, but Rick rates his ethnic background as "not at all important" in understanding him.

His closeness to his family at the time of entering Metro is reflected constantly in his interview and questionnaire response. In listing responses to the question "Who Am I," he lists "my parents' son" in second place on a list of ten responses. When asked "Would you like to be the kind of person your father is," he answers "yes, completely," although he says he wants to be like his mother "in just a few ways." Positive references to his mother and father appear throughout the pre-interview.

At a time when most students have only vague or idealized career plans, Ricky states definitely that "my dad cleans rugs and dyes rugs and cleans furniture. I'm going to pick up the family business from him." Because he has already worked extensively with his father, he feels he has acquired the skills necessary to be successful in this work:

> Well, it's been a pretty good business, um, my dad makes quite a bit. And if I. . . I'd be afraid to jump into something else and throw all the cleaning business away, seeing how good it is.

Nevertheless, he and his father are troubled by the possibility that their exclusive dependence on a highly specific skill could make them vulnerable to technical or cultural changes beyond their control. Rick notes that some newer synthetic carpets cannot be dyed, which is the most lucrative part of the business. Later, when Rick considered dropping out of Metro, he recounted his parents' response:

> Well, they thought I was really stupid doing that. They said, "Where are you going to get a job?" And I told them, and they said, "What if they stop making carpets?" I said, "They'll never stop that." Then they says, "The day will come."

According to his pre-interview, Rick spent much of his out of school time in a recreation room that he and his friends had fixed up in the basement of their apartment building where they played cards and pool. Much other time was spent with this group in a nearby park. His circle of friends has been together with minor variations for several years at the time he entered Metro. When he is asked to name his positive qualities, they center around his success in activities within this group, ranging from success in sports to confidence with girls. Few of these friends, he says, think they will attend college.

A negative evaluation of himself that pervades his interviews is his feeling that he is a failure in school, not "a brain." His tested reading skill upon entering Metro was at a fourth grade level. He had been a C and D student all the way through school and was in the lowest track in the high school he attended before coming to Metro. He saw this school as unsympathetic and indifferent. He liked one reading teacher there who "liked everyone" and "never gave us anything hard, and she was very fair in grading." When asked to "think of the specific teacher you liked least," he said, "Oh let me think here now. I got so many of them." ... "All of them say, do the work and shut up." He indicated that his favorite activities at his old school were lunch, gym, and working in the supply room.

He seriously considered dropping out of this school and saw Metro as an alternative to dropping out, a last chance. He had often planned to drop out at sixteen, but said he thought:

> What kind of jobs am I going to get? I ain't going to get nuttin ... What else am I gonna do til I'm old enough to get a job?

At most, he contemplated finishing high school, which he cited in both his questionnaire and interview as his ideal educational goal.

Despite his dislike of his old school, Rick was never a troublemaker. His consistent orientation was to acquiesce, either suffering silently or putting his fate in the hands of authority figures. The following answer is typical of his response to a number of hypothetical conflict situations raised in his pre-interview:

> What if an assistant principal was bawling you out for something you didn't do? What would you do?
>
> I'd explain the situation to him and let him decide whether he thinks I did it or not.

In his pre-interview questionnaire, he was asked to respond to ten questions indicating sense of control or lack of it. In only three did he check the option indicating positive sense of control.

His interviews also reveal considerable difficulty in analyzing his own psychological states and qualities. He often does not answer questions that are aimed at delving into these areas or gives joking or evasive responses. He was asked "If someone was trying to brainwash you, to change you as much as possible from what you are now, what about yourself would you fight hardest to keep the same?" After several clarifications by the interviewer, he responds "my hands," but is unable to give any explanation for his response. In his post-interview, he was asked how good he thought he was at understanding himself, and he replied:

> I think other people understand me more than I do. There's some of the things I do I really don't know why I do them, and, uh, I think other people they know me better than I do.

During his first semester at Metro in spring 1971, Rick became deeply involved in several aspects of the school. He was at the school headquarters virtually every day, although his attendance at classes was irregular (about 60%). He could frequently be seen playing cards in the student lounge, often with black students. In listing his five best friends at Metro at the end of the semester, he listed three black students:

> Most of my friends at Metro are black. I never thought I'd have more black friends than white.

He says the black students seem more friendly and like to have fun, while most white students are too serious.

He developed a positive relationship with several teachers, and, in a mini-interview at the end of the first semester, he said that he felt comfortable in talking with most teachers and especially the principal. He also said that he felt that students should have input into decision-making and that he did have some influence on decisions at Metro.

In his first semester at Metro he participated in courses called Photography, Pre-Algebra Math Lab, Story Workshop, Principles of Electricity, Reading Lab, What's News, and Film-making. Course evaluations from these classes and observation reports of his activities in them paint a consistent picture of his enthusiastic participation in activities that involved doing things and his avoidance of activities involving reading and writing. In Math Lab, for example, he worked enthusiastically with geoboards but avoided his workbook. On one occasion, the math teacher permitted students to wrestle on some mats that were in the university room that was used as the Math Lab. Rick enjoyed this activity tremendously.

His best-liked course during the first semester, and according to his post-interview, his best liked experience during the three semesters under study, was a course in electricity at Illinois Bell Telephone Company. The class used an extensively-equipped training laboratory for Bell personnel. It allowed for much of the specific concrete activity that Rick liked so much. The teacher, who Rick praises extensively in his interviews, had many of the personal qualities that Rick admires in himself and his friends. He was warm direct, and authoritative in his relationship with students, pressing the student hard to do good work. The course culminated in a group project, the construction of a complicated bell and telephone display for a Metro parent program. Rick and several other students who were not active in other academic courses worked enthusiastically on this project. At one class, an observer noted that Rick arrived two hours before classtime with several friends and worked up to and through the class period, virtually without stopping.

The patterns established during the first semester continued in large measure during Rick's second and third semesters at the school. A new element in Rick's experience at Metro was the great amount of time and effort spent with him by his counselor and reading specialist. His counselor was a woman who went to enormous lengths to understand her counselees in all facets of their lives. She made them welcome at her home at any time and took them on trips. Likewise, a reading specialist working with the school singled out students with very low reading skills and expended great effort trying to deal with their skill problems. She reports that Rick made some progress in learning to read, although this is not reflected in his post-test reading scores.

There was no systematic follow-up to the successful experience in "Principles of Electricity," since the structure of the Metro curriculum at that point emphasized the variety of experience offered rather than sequence and follow-up.

During his third and last semester at the school (spring 1972), Rick began to spend far less time at Metro. He describes one important reason for this:

> Interviewer: When did you start thinking about dropping out? You say even before Metro you were thinking about it.
>
> Rick: Well, it was, it was really a family problem. My dad he's a, he's an alcoholic and uh, he, uh, he got sick so we had to put him in a hospital and, uh, that's when . . . it was our busy time and, uh, there had to be somebody to go out and do the work. So, the guy that's been working for my dad for six years, um, he and I went out and did the work. . . That's when, uh, my ma called up Nate (the principal) and explained the whole story to him. My ma called, told him that I wouldn't be able to make it back last uh. . . to finish the year. And then I figured I might as well blow the whole thing . . .
>
> Interviewer: And how did your dad feel about it?
>
> Rick: Well, he knew it was half his fault that I did it. Then he realized that I couldn't be too much. Then all he could say is, more or less, "go back to school and try." And I told him, I, I couldn't do it . . .
>
> Interviewer: Tell me about the specific time you really decided you were going to do it.
>
> Rick: Well, just before school started, in September, My mom was saying, "Go down and register" . . . cause I started getting letters from Metro saying "Come down," "Sign up" stuff like that. And my ma kept telling me, "you'd better go down, go down, go down." I said, "Ah, no, I'm not going to go , I quit."
>
> Interviewer: Do you think you'll finish high school some time?
>
> Rick: Maybe in the service. I don't know.
>
> Interviewer: Would you really consider going back to Metro?
>
> Rick: I would if I was a brain student, but I ain't, so I'll let somebody else take my place.

In the above passage and in other parts of his post-interview, there is a strong indication that Rick's painful family crisis is not the only reason for leaving Metro, that there are some characteristics of his experience at Metro that contributed heavily to his decision to leave. In his post-interview, which was conducted in September after he had dropped out, he assesses the positive and negative characteristics of his Metro experience.

One set of positive impressions are clustered around the strength of interpersonal relationships at Metro, both among the students themselves and between teachers and students. He asked what kinds of things he would show about Metro if he was going to make a film about it:

> Well, I'd show how the students get along together and the teachers and all the good times, and kids playing cards, and, uh, sharing their lunch and stuff like that. Just having a good time.

The above response also contains a theme of "freedom" which he picks up when asked "What is the best thing about going to Metro?:

> Well, the freedom, for one, and not all bunched up like, thirty kids in one room and uh, it's just a whole new environment. You have a lot to choose from, you're not told what you can take and what you can't and uh that's about it.

Another frequent theme is the concern and dedication of Metro teachers.

> Interviewer: When you think of a Metro teacher what kinds of things do you see that person doing?
>
> Rick: Working hard for the good of the school. He or she really doesn't have to do it. I don't think so. It's what you feel and what they want to do. They can just sit around and let the other teachers knock themselves out, but that teacher really wants to see the school come through. They can work at it themselves.

Rick is reluctant to criticize Metro, but when asked to describe the weaknesses of the school, he cites the following as his major reasons for dropping out:

1. The school without walls idea sometimes put classes he wants in inconvenient or dangerous areas of the city.
2. The school " went downhill" after the first semester with a rash of stealing and a lack of the unity among students that he had felt the first semester.

One piece of evidence he cites as indicative of this decline is the fate of the electronics project on which he labored so hard:

> Well, when I was, first year I was here, I went and took that course, electronics at Illinois Bell. And, uh, then at the end of the year, our instructor told us that we were supposed to have our projects completed for the parents thing. So, we worked hard. We worked between periods, free periods and everything on that and it was really rough. He got us at least, it was a couple hundred dollars equipment . . . showing us what to hook up and what to do. He didn't do a thing. He just left it us to us and, we completed it. You saw it. Then, I thought it was really great.

He then brought it back to be displayed at the school:

> When I brought it back, the phones were stolen, they're knocked up. The machinery was taken off of it. I saw it today and, it just made me think: What's going on?

Two additional quotations shed light on Rick's perceptions of Metro. He was asked who he would like to be if he could be anyone in the world. He responded:

> I'd like to be president for a week . . . Sittin up in a chair, telling the world what to do, stuff like that.

> And, uh, think I'd like to be the president of the Board of Education for a day or two. I would like that.
>
> Interviewer: Why would like that?
>
> Rick: Well, for one, I don't know how Metro is getting along with the Board, but I would turn everything over to Metro. I would. I think Metro is fabulous. It's just, it's just not made for me.

In the same interview, he is asked the following:

> Interviewer: Of the things you told me you weren't good at, there are probably some that you don't really care about very much, but what are some things that you're not good at that you'd really like to do better?
>
> Rick: School.
>
> Interviewer: School. O.K. And, um, how would you go about that?
>
> Rick: Well, right now, I guess, I got myself dug pretty deep and I think it's really too late to pull myself out of it. But like people say, it's never too late, but to me I think I really goofed. It's too late to me to make up for it.

In the end, the Metro program was unsuccessful in changing Ricks academic skills or his strongly negative perception of himself as a student. It presented him with no design for his future that could compete with the one laid out for him by his neighborhood and family.

How did he view himself and his future after he left Metro and definitely chose not to return? As he decribes his daily round, it consists of working in the family business, playing pool and cards with his friends in the basement, and working on his car. He sees his positive qualities as being handy with tools, trusted and generous among his friends, and a hard worker. He plans to either continue to work in the family business or join the Navy at eighteen.

Methodological Conclusions

Some of the major difficulties of the case study approach are illustrated by this section of our study, in addition to some problems which could, with further work, be eliminated in the future.

One problem is that we have very limited first-hand data to rely on in these case histories, the bulk of the material we are working with being perceived, reported and no doubt partially edited by the student. This means that information, for example, gathered by participant observation is not necessarily comparable to information gained in the interviews, so although we have participant observation and instrument-gathered data on the experience within Metro, we have only the instrument-gathered data on the old school. That there can be a big difference between what a person says his relationships are like and what they are really like is a social scientific truism, and in the case histories just presented is clearly illustrated by Alvin Judson with his manipulative ploys. We have no way of checking on this information, but in another study this could be corrected by getting participant observation data from the old school before the student transferred. Of course this would not be an easy task.

Another problem is the non-comparability of the different case histories due to different people being in charge of analyzing and writing them up. This difficulty, which was entirely expected, was only partially mitigated by the guidelines prepared in advance. Ideally, such case histories should be written up by the same individual, although this was not possible in the present study.

A third difficulty, which also is one of the entire Metro study, is the relatively short time depth of actual contact with the students. It is hoped that some later follow-up work can help to correct this deficiency.

We have already discussed the major problem of representativeness of the case history subjects, and feel that in the eight students described above we have given a fair sampling of the student body. However, there are a few coincidental things which could incautiously be taken to be typical features of the student body. The most important of them is the number of students in this sample who are or at some time in the past have been in the matricentric family situation: i.e., with fathers who are absent, incapacitated due to alchoholism or replaced. The fatherless family may or may not have been true of the larger Metro student body.

Unlike other aspects of the Metro study, this section has no non-Metro controls. We do not know to what extent the individual students in other schools might show the change in attitudes shown by our eight Metro students, although the results from the interview and questionnaire analysis lead us to suspect that they would show little positive change. A more serious defect in the system of controls is this: Control students were drawn from the same pool of individuals showing initial interest in the Metro program. Ideally we would have also had a control group of students who had never shown any interest in the alternative school. Our analysis of the case histories has shown how these students were being frustrated by the regular schools, but we do not know for sure whether there are a large number of students in the traditional schools who are well attuned to functioning in their authoritarian environment. This problem can only be remedied by further research in the regular schools.

Finally, there were possibly tendencies on the part of the authors of this chapter of the report to empathize and over-identify with certain of the students at the expense of others. Specifically, the problem arises with the "Youth Culture" students (black and white) who come out in our case histories sounding more articulate, aware of their own abilities and feelings, and realistic in their orientation toward the future. These evaluations may well ring true and yet, it is probably no coincidence that these students are the ones who correspond most closely in attitudes and life-style to the people doing the study. Of course, some of the quantitative data, though not immune to subjective interpretation itself, allows for reinforcement of the information and thus can serve as a partial check on the danger of subjectivity in the qualitative interpretation. The degree to which data from the case histories does or does not coincide with material from the other methodologies will be presented in the conclusions of the report.

Substantive Conclusions

Let us now try to summarize the insights gained from the individual case histories. To do so, we will look principally at a number of variables on which adequate information is available for each student: self-image, perception of and response to Metro, and "coping strategy," (the inventory of techniques the student has at his disposal for mediating his relationship with his environment). The pattern of coping strategies of a student is a mediating factor between his perception of himself and his perception of the environment. The individual who sees himself as strong and good and the environment as infinitely malleable will have a different set of strategies from the student who sees himself as weak and feeble and the environment as powerful and threatening. In the case studies we are analyzing, the environment for the most part means the school environment.

In looking at the background characteristics of the students and the way they perceive their families, we see a considerable variation but overall the impression is one of problems and insecurity. This could, of course, be coincidental with this specific sample. However, it is still interesting the number of people in this group who have something in their personal background which probably leads them to doubt their own worth. It is unclear whether this represents a general feature of modern urban adolescents, a characteristic of the minority of students who self-selected themselves for the pool of students from which the Metro student body was chosen, or is a coincidental feature of the cases we chose for intensive study.

The effects of the background problems in the individual student's self-image depend partially on the specific source of alienation. Victor Wilson and Diane Jawarski feel themselves isolated and frustrated by their peer group relationships in their home neighborhoods. Rick Shea has a father incapacited by alchoholism who nevertheless is his most important source of role identification. Delores Jamison has severe problems with her relationship with her mother. Few have a really secure family background. Even Jeremy Lowell, whose mother is the source of considerable personal strength, has only a vague idea of the whereabouts of his father.

The upshot of this background situation is that although there is a wide variation in initial self-image, the insecurity and negative self-evaluation level in this group is high, and tends to be reflected in a high fantasy level. Della Jackson describes both herself and her mother as "evil." Rick Shea has an image of himself as an immutably poor student. Alvin Judson masks his uncertainties with bravado.

Again, with few exceptions, the students see the old school as frustrating, threatening and bad. Even Jeremy Lowell, whose idea of his old school is most positive, finds it rather boring. For the most part, the authoritarian, restricted environment of the old school, instead of providing structure for people who have feelings of insecurity about structuring their own lives, only makes them feel more trapped and unable to cope. Rick Shea writes off school almost entirely, feeling that the only really important thing is to follow his father's trade.

In this he is a perfect example of the "turned off" or alienated white working class student. Judson sees the school as a maze of unnecessary obstacles where the student has to find his way around in order to survive. Jawarski is contemptuous of the lack of freedom for intellectual exploration and the generally oppressive intellectual atmosphere of her school, as are Ellen Kutz and Victor Wilson, the latter being especially frustrated by the idea of the unchangeability of the school. Della Jackson is unable to cope with the demands of the old school in terms of reading skills. All in all, those students with a low self-image seem to have their feelings of helplessness and of being overpowered increased and reinforced by the traditional format, while those who have a higher self-image are frustrated by their unfulfillable desire to change the situation.

The ways the students cope with this situation are also revealed in the case studies. In some of the students, exemplified by Alvin Judson, manipulativeness becomes the coping strategy for getting around the unreasonableness and unresponsiveness of the school environment. Diane Jawarski sometimes escapes into fantasy, at other times takes pride in her intellectual superiority to the teachers and in her moral superiority to her cliquish schoolmates. Ellen Kutz and Victor Wilson rebel against the stifling atmosphere with a high degree of expressiveness and individualism, the former in the progress developing a doubt about her own worth and the latter forming a strong hostility to his teachers. Della Jackson and Delores Jamison simply seem to have given up on trying to cope with the old school, as has Rick Shea, who takes refuge in his orientation toward taking up his father's craft work.

Emotional response to Metro is uniformly positive. All the students, like most in our interview samples, seem to express a strong exhilaration in being able to breathe, **metaphorically speaking.** In addition, one sees positive differences in the happiness and self-evaluation of individual students. This is obvious in the case of Diane Jawarski, once taken out of the stultifying atmosphere of the old school, but also in Ellen Kutz and others. Hostility to school and teachers also decreases: this is highly prominent in the comments of Victor Wilson who now begins to list teachers as his personal friends where before they were collectively "the enemy." Indeed, the improved relationship with teachers stands out strikingly in the data. Finally, the number of interests which the students as a group develop also increase after exposure to Metro.

One negative note, however, is sounded when we look at the question of coping strategies. Here, the specific strategy that a particular student chooses does not seem to change in most cases. If Alvin Judson was manipulative in the old setting, one might have hoped that Metro would have reoriented him into a more direct, open interaction style. Instead, the manipulative coping strategy has continued into the Metro setting, with the difference that in Metro there are more close human relationships which he can exploit to practical advantage.

Diane Jawarski still remains the intellectual, although this is now a matter of enthusiasm rather than defensiveness. Victor Wilson and Ellen Kutz were characterised by a tendency toward expressive rebelliousness in the old school, and have continued this pattern in a less hostile and more fulfilled way at Metro. Rick Shea, rather than gaining a higher estimation of the usefulness of his own intellectual abilities in coping, continues his old pattern by eventually leaving school to do what he has always talked about doing--namely to take up his father's trade to support the family. This happens in spite of his clear recognition of the positive nature of the Metro experience for him. In his case, a very strong factor in making up his mind seems to have been immediate economic necessity, something an alternative program like Metro can do little about.

Finally, although Delores Jamison finds many things to do at Metro that are more personally rewarding than what she was doing at the regular school, the degree of preparation for a realistic career choice seems to be quite low. What is involved in becoming a nurse, for example, seems to be very vaguely established in her mind by the time of the second interview, although some of this impression may be due to lack of communicative ability on her part. If students are to be oriented toward better coping through getting them involved in the choice of realistic vocational roles, it would seem essential that they develop, as part of their coping mechanism, a clear idea of what these roles entail. Thus, even if this student is coping now at a higher level than she was in the old school, we still must wonder how she will deal with the realities of life when she gets ou of school. There is a hint of the same problem in Della Jackson's profile.

Thus the case histories illustrate and support some of the conclusions based on our other methodologies, especially concerning school climate. Students' image of school is greatly improved. Perhaps even more gratifying is that for most of the students in the case histories, the possibility of a rewarding dialogue with teachers is established for the first time. Teachers can even be friends--a sign that the compartmentalization of the teacher role from the role of fellow human being is also broken down. Students' self-image is also improved, in a variety of different ways depending on the specific background of the student.

The feeling that they are capable of coping also seems to be considerably improved for most of the students in the case histories. The specific strategies which students choose for coping, however, seem to carry over to a great extent from the patterns established in the former settings.

One question which can be raised about the substantive changes revealed by the case histories is, of course, whether a longer lapse of time would reveal more or different changes. One might, for instance, ask whether after three years of Metro exposure (rather than just one) some of the initial exhilaration of the students which is reflected in their positive comments about the teachers and school might have worked off, that is, if the sharp contrast with the old school lead students to overlook things about Metro which might later seem to them to be flaws. On the other hand, it is just as possible that over a longer time period the positive attitude toward school and teachers would become even greater. It would also be interesting to know what the longer exposure to Metro does to self-image and sense of coping. Finally, there is the question of the specific coping strategies used by the students and their success or failure. Has Metro given these eight students a new inventory of behavior which will lead them to a more rewarding life than that which they would have otherwise have had? These questions, of course, can only be answered by further longitudinal research.

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CHAPTER 5. MINI-INTERVIEWS

As the first semester progressed, the research staff felt the need for research techniques that could be carried out quickly enough to be useful in formative evaluation yet would provide some quantitative measure of student or staff opinion based on a statistical sample. The topics they wished to study quickly included "hot issues" that continually arose in the school. Dr. Stephen Wilson, the participant observer, was also looking for a quantitative approach to cross-check and enrich some of his key observations. Preliminary inspection of written responses to short essay items on the pretest research questionnaire indicated that students would not answer such questions thoroughly. The research team also doubted that multiple choice questionnaire items could elicit sufficiently rich and valid indicators of student and staff opinion to satisfy the need. Therefore, Steve Wilson developed and tried out a short interview format that he called the "mini-interview." A second participant observer, Marlin Gilbert, also conducted some of these mini-interviews.

As it was developed and used at Metro, the mini-interview had several key features. First, it consisted of four of five short questions, often related to current "hot" or critical issues in the school. These questions were asked of either the entire student population or a stratified random sample of students in interviews of 5-10 minutes each that were usually carried out informally in the student lounge. The interviewer asked the questions, took notes on the responses, and later transcribed the session as completely as possible from his notes. The complete set of responses were then analyzed. In a first pass through the responses, the interviewer developed coding categories. In a second pass, he coded the responses into those categories, noting several individual answers that seemed to him to represent the range of responses in a given category. The interviewer then wrote up an analysis of the responses, employing the quantitative breakdown and the examples. These write-ups were distributed to staff and discussed in staff meetings or became the basis for more elaborate workshops with staff on the issues raised.

Below, we present the analysis of three sets of mini-interviews. A final section both summarizes the substantive information gained about Metro from these interviews and analyzes some further issues concerning the usefulness of the technique. See the chapter on a comparison of research methods for a fuller discussion of the role of the mini-interviews in our multiple method approach.

June 1970 Student Interviews

These interviews were carried out by the participant observer, Steve Wilson, with 110 of the 140 students in the Metro program at that time. The 30 students not interviewed were students who did not show up regularly at the school headquarters. Thus, their perceptions may well have differed substantially from the 110 students interviewed. Here are the questions that were posed and the analysis of responses. The analysis sometimes also refers to the participant observation. It will be noted in the pages to follow that some responses are analyzed more fully than others. This is largely because students were reluctant to elaborate on certain issues, such as teachers disliked or negative aspects of the Metro program.

Question 1: For you, what is the most important difference between Metro and the school you went to before?

Nature of Response	Number of times mentioned
1. Freedom to talk to teachers	36
2. Moving around the city	21
3. Freedom to do what you want; smoke, eat when you want	20
4. Independent thought, freedom to say what you want	18
5. Friendly atmosphere, good race relations	17
6. Relevance, good courses	9
7. Freedom to make decisions	7
8. Good teachers	2

Since this question allowed a free response, the topics brought up indicate something about the students' perceptions of the most salient differences between their previous schools and Metro. Below the types of responses grouped into each category are discussed.

1. Freedom to talk to teachers: There were two dimensions to this response. One theme concerned informality--it was important that relationships between students and teachers were free-flowing. Many saw the first name basis between teachers and students as a symbol of this openness. They described their old schools as generally having very rigid and structured ways for students and teachers to relate. They saw Metro as

moving toward more genuine relations--teachers treat students as people and students can treat them as people, too.

"Can talk to teachers, couldn't at old school."

"Can get fresh with teachers."

"Students closer to teachers."

"Teacher more on your level--able to relate better."

"Teachers aren't considered animals."

"At the old school everyone afraid to talk to the teachers--here they're like persons."

This theme reflected more than just acting friendly. Based on participant observation, it was a real opening up by teachers to reveal aspects of their ideas, their outside lives, and their families. Students relished the counseling groups and classes that met at teachers' homes. Staff also had more opportunity to learn about students in free impromptu discussions. Often these discussions were about personal concerns, but frequently they were about issues that might be classified as academic -- *e.g.*, political events, movies, books, styles and philosophies of life. In the observations, these conversations seemed more animated than many in-class teaching discussions. Yet they were momentary and fragmented. It seems possible that they could be employed in a more systematic way to suggest directions of future projects with specific students.

The other dimension of freedom to talk with teachers was the openness of Metro teachers to discussion and criticism, the feeling that Metro teachers were willing to hear comments about their teaching or about what the class was doing. They described the old teachers as closed to this kind of expression--even to the extent of using the threat of suspension, hitting the student, or sending him to the office.

> "Freedom of learning--talk with teachers--tell your own ideas on learning. Old school just sit down and do what's told you."
>
> "Old school, tell them you don't like the way the class is run--you get suspended."
>
> "Power! Power to complain."
>
> "Got a right to say what's wrong--old school you'd get sent home."

Implicit in this power to complain was a faith that teachers would not only be open to complaints but would also act on them effectively. However, complaints were often voiced as vague dissatisfactions, which told the teacher little. Even when the problem was fairly simple, moreover, overworked teachers did not always have the time to act on the complaint. Further, students didn't always deal directly with the teacher with whom they were dissatisfied, but aired their problems with another teacher. It was especially difficult for some students to confront outside resource teachers with whom they lacked an initial basis of friendship.

The two aspects of the changed student-teacher relationships at Metro, friendship and freedom to complain, developed in different time frames. Friendship came early in the first semester, but critical expression appeared only after about three months. Just as the teacher/friend was reluctant to be critical of students, so the student/friend was reluctant to be critical of his/her friend the teacher.

2. Moving around the city: These responses dealt primarily with not being forced

to sit in a classroom. Students liked being on the move, mostly as something to break up the day.

"Don't have to sit in class all day."

"Better than old school--less classrooms ."

"Going different places for classes--not same routine every day."

"Traveling around--not stuck in one building."

"Ain't sitting around--doing stuff."

"Get to Art Institute anytime you want."

While some students described the educational benefits of moving around the city, most emphasized movement for its own sake.

3. Freedom to do what you want: Student responses dealt with the freedom to make minor daily decisions, a right they saw as severely limited at the old schools. It was the right to eat, go to the bathroom, or go for a walk when you wanted. It was the absence of passes, I.D.'s, and constant harrassment from school officials concerning rules of personal conduct.

"Here you can sit and watch TV in your free time."

"Not so ruley; don't say you have to do this and that."

"Can talk, chew gum."

"More freedom here--had to wait till they told me for lunch period. Here I go when I'm hungry. Old school I had to ask to get a typewriter--here I just do it."

"Can wear what you want."

"They used to put us in jail if we walked in the halls without an I.D. You needed a written slip to go to the john."

4. Independent thought: This item represents the freedom to speak one's mind. Students saw Metro as encouraging individual expression.

"Can speak your piece here."

"Nobody tells you to shut up if you don't agree."

"Power makes you feel good--you're not afraid of what the teacher can do against you."

"Accepted here for what I am."

"Lot more freedom--try to do things your own way."

"Say something in class and you won't get silenced."

5. Friendly atmosphere, good race relations: Students saw Metro as considerably more friendly than many of their original schools. This response encompasses both freedom from physical threat and a positive warmth and mutual concern among students. Many students mentioned the lack of overt racial conflict as an important aspect of Metro's friendliness.

"Everybody likes each other--white, black."

"Ain't race riots—all close friends."

"Don't have confusion, fighting, tensions."

"Race relations different--it's like having another family."

"Walk down a hall at the old school, you're afraid someone will throw a blade or jump on you--not at Metro."

Students expressed some anxiety that with the expansion of the school, it would lose this atmosphere. In addition, comments on racial harmony emphasized tolerance--a live-

and-let-live attitude. This is somewhat distant from the goal of people learning from each other's lifestyles and establishing close friendships across racial lines. Observations indicated that most informal times were still spent with students of the same race.

6. Relevance, good courses: Students mentioning this theme referred to the fact that courses were interesting and not the same old cut-and-dried textbook courses.

> "Here the teachers make sure they know what's going on."
>
> "They try new things--not stuck with textbooks."
>
> "There was all blah-blah boring lectures and writing and memorizing. Here it's doing stuff. Here you can apply. It's stuff you can use now and later. The old school stuff I never use."
>
> "Teachers don't sit down and do the lesson they've been doing for 10 years."

7. Freedom to make decisions: This set of responses usually focused on the wide choice of courses available. It sometimes also referred to student power in institutional decision-making.

> "More courses to choose from here."
>
> "They give you 10 subjects to think about."
>
> "Classes -- I had a choice of what I wanted."
>
> "You have say so, you run it."
>
> "Student power -- whatever you say means something."

Negative responses: There were a few negative responses that perhaps should be given careful attention since Metro students obviously were pleased with their school and reluctant to criticize any weaknesses they saw. One student said that the difference here was that she had fewer "real close" friends, that while she had lots of casual friends at Metro, she didn't feel as intimate with them. Another girl left Metro for this reason during the first semester. Another student gave the following response:

> "Not much difference--still run by the Board of Ed."

> "I like it here because there's more time for me; I'm outside a lot. The curriculum's not great-- the school's not doing its job yet. I have lots of free time here, that's why I don't wait for the weekend." (I then asked how the Board of Ed. influenced Metro.) "They give the money. They'll shut us down if they don't like what we do."

Another student:

> "I still come here 9 to 3. The physical structure is different; classes are outside. Discipline is lax, gives you enough rope to hang yourself, but they don't warn you what will happen in the end. (On the question about whether students had any power.) Personally I don't think so. They're given the power to do what the teachers don't care about. Like you can vote on two choices but not bring up a third. If we voted on something they didn't like at the all-school meeting we'd have to do it again. For a sample, they say you can't go on the 12th floor and then have you vote on it. That's phony!!"

Question 2. Do you think that students have much say or power in what goes on here? Probes: In what kinds of things? What do you think the limits are? Have you ever used your power to change something or influence some decision? Why or why not?

The proposal for Metro suggested that students be given a significant role in all kinds of decisions, from their personal academic program to institutional policy. We sought to tap their perceptions of their power in the school after one semester. Again, one has to be wary of the sample. The 30 who weren't interviewed were mostly students who didn't spend much time at the school because they were not involved in the program. Their opinions might be significantly different from the others. Of the 106 students who responded to this question, 93 said they thought students had considerable say and power. 10 said they didn't think so, and 3 said they didn't know.

While this first breakdown of results seems to strongly support Metro's success in beginning to achieve a priority objective, additional analysis reveals the specific character of this opinion. First, 15 of the students who felt they had considerable power saw it as potential power. They said that students had used their power very little as yet, but that it was there if they ever got around to using it. They felt that students didn't actually exercise power because they were too disorganized or too apathetic. This view was consistent with our observations of faltering patterns of student interest and involvement during the first semester.

Further, students were about evenly split in assessing whether they had ever actually exercised any power. 46 said they had, 47 that they hadn't, and 13 made indeterminate responses. Of those that said they hadn't used their power, 22 said they didn't use it because they never had to. As one student put it, "It would be silly for me to get involved: every time the staff makes a decision, it's the right one. Another reason students gave for not becoming involved was the amount of energy required. One student put it this way, "Teachers are paid to do that stuff and as long as they do the right things, I'm going to leave it to them."

Of the 46 students who said they had used their power, 17 volunteered recollections of ineffective attempts. These students were mostly still positive about their potential power. They balanced their one failure against their generally favorable view of the state of Metro.

The mini-interviews also suggested that students do not envision their power in the active modification mode that was an ideal for staff members, but rather in a passive adjustment mode. Several students said they saw their biggest power as being able not to go to a class they didn't like. They didn't talk about being able to work to change the class. A related theme of student response was that they saw their power as the freedom to talk with teachers or to complain rather than actively working to shape decisions. Others talked about their power to choose from diverse course offerings or being able to change courses once they started.

In the course of their responses some students talked about factors that limited their exercise of power. Several students cited a lack of knowledge of what was going on, of when important decisions would be made, as hindering their participation. A few also mentioned the lack of materials and assistance to help them carry out their ideas as a problem.

The student responses to this question raise an issue for the Metro staff: are staff satisfied with the level of participation revealed by these responses, both in terms of its short-term implications for the functioning of Metro and its long-term implications for the development of skills that will be useful to students after they leave? For more background on the question of student power, see Chapter 6, Section F, Institutional Decision-Making.

Question 3: Do you like counseling groups or think they're useful? Why? Would you vote to keep them?

This question was spurred by considerable controversy about counseling groups during the first semester and a strong effort by one group of students to have them abolished or made voluntary. 85 students said they would vote to keep counseling groups and 21 would vote to get rid of them. Many of those who voted for counseling groups still indicated that they disliked them; there seemed to be an underlying commitment to the ideal of the counseling groups even if the current reality was not satisfactory. 13 students spontaneously expressed the view that the groups haven't been good but the idea was worth saving. Specifying one thing they would change about them, 15 said it would be better if the periods were shortened or the groups met only once a week.

Students offered several opinions on the best part of the counseling group. 26 said they liked it when the group did things--camping, field trips, picnics, etc. 14 said the best part of the groups were the good discussions. 15 said they wanted to retain counseling groups because they provided the student's major communication link with the school. This diversity of opinion reflects an underlying dilemma we frequently observed in counseling group sessions. Students constantly disagreed about how the time should be spent, so that the idea for a trip that 8 students accepted enthusiastically brought groans from 5 others. The background diversity of the student body placed great strains on an attempt to build a cohesive group from 20 students who came from all over Chicago.

Despite the problems with counseling groups that students voiced in the mini-interviews, it is striking that over 80% of the students would vote to keep them. The subjective impressions of the research team prior to the interviews was that there was much less support for continuing the groups. This discrepancy could indicate either or both of the following patterns: (1) students who were extremely conspicuous to staff because of their active involvement in decision-making spoke strongly against the groups and generated the impression that they represented most students and (2) students in the mini-interview were reluctant to criticize a key part of the school program when they were generally satisfied with the school, even though their day-to-day behavior contradicted their stated opinions.

October 1970, Interviews

Fall 1970, was a time of considerable turmoil at Metro. 200 new students had come into the school , and Metro was supposed to move into new headquarters space on the second, third, and fourth floors of a downtown office building. However, the space had not been remodeled by the time the school opened. So the school was housed temporarily in the upper floors of this building, which hadn't been used for years and were totally unsuited for a school. To add to the strain in this situation, the staff had planned the previous summer to institute a "core course" program, an interdisciplinary course that involved setting up many individual student placements in the city. The new team-taught course placed added strains on staff energies.

It was after the first month in make-shift quarters that a sample of 16 "old students" and 16 "new students," each stratified by race and sex, was identified randomly and interviewed. With this much smaller sample, detailed quantitative breakdowns were less informative, and so the analysis generally revealed several major themes in student perceptions without allowing us to assess which was more frequent.

The old students were asked the following questions:

Question 1. How do you feel that Metro has changed since last year?

It was telling that despite the tendency of students to speak positively of Metro in the interviews at the end of the previous school year, the responses were now overwhelmingly negative. Responses were divided about equally between five themes that were mentioned by two or more students:

1. Confusion: "Nothing but confusion with no headquarters."
   "More crowded--too many people."

2. Unfriendly: "Not together like last year. Everybody used to like each other. Now they're in little cliques, and they talk to each other."

   "Not as close as we used to be--too many people like strangers."

   "The mood has changed. People are cordial, but not like last year. They're not as loose."

3. New students weaken school: "We had everything settled last year, now it's all upset."

   "Last year, we never had the to-do about broken windows and stolen tool bags."

   "The situation has depreciated in terms of cooperation and understanding with these new students."

   "Everyone is concerned about the new students. They both want them and don't want them."

4. Physical set-up of headquarters: "We got walls. Nobody knows what's going on--we used to know."

   "Last year there was just a floor. Now there's separate rooms. Not very close. Don't meet the people in these rooms."

   "It's a little different. I like more privacy like we got. People aren't always walking by."

5. Fewer outside courses: "Not so much traveling."

   "No outside classes. I'm sick of this building."

Question 2: In what ways do you feel different from the new kids as a result of your being at Metro since the beginning?

The responses of the old students emphasized two differences: a greater sense of responsibility to the school on the part of old students and a belief that the old students knew the ropes. About responsibility to the school:

> "We went through that bit with all-school meetings already. We're already responsible."
>
> "We feel closer to the school. We have a stronger feeling about its succeeding."
>
> "We care. They have to realize that they have to rule themselves."
>
> "We've got to show new students how not to make problems."

About knowing the ropes:

> "I know all the teachers and how much I can get away with."
>
> "The old kids know each other. They're less confused."
>
> "I know what's good or bad. New students have to find out for themselves."
>
> "Old students know teachers' names. New students seem to be catching on pretty fast."

One student said there was no difference between old and new students.

Question 3: What do you think of the core course idea?

At this time, students were about evenly split between positive and negative opinions, but even those who started with positive statements often qualified them:

> "I like the idea of being able to go out and work. We should have had it last year."
>
> "Really like it. Got into a big discussion with a guy where I work."
>
> "I like it. We learn to communicate better with each other."
>
> "I like it but we're not doing enough. It takes too long to get a placement."
>
> "It's OK. I don't really feel we're getting into the community though."
>
> "It's bad, but I want to see if it will work out. Activities are phony, too unplanned."

"Too much time. I don't see how projects relate to everyday life. I'd get more out of three courses."

"Haven't gotten placed yet. It's terrible."

"It's a Metro within a Metro. We don't need it, it's too confusing."

At the same time, a subsample of students who had just entered Metro were asked a slightly different set of questions:

Question 1: What kinds of things have you picked up from watching or talking to old Metro students?

There was no clear pattern or grouping in these responses. They include a variety of judgments about Metro and tips about how it works. At least within the format of the mini-interview, most responses are consistent with the norms for student behavior that were emphasized by the staff and those students most active in school decision-making:

1. Students enjoy Metro much more than their old schools. (3)
2. Students can express themselves freely and not fear reprisals. (2)
3. Students should go to class. (2)
4. Metro was better or more fun last year. (2)
5. Students are friendly. (1)
6. Students take their work seriously. (1)
7. The teachers are good. (1)
8. Metro has enemies in the school system that want to get rid of it. (1)
9. Fill out your schedule so there are no free periods. (1)
10. The school is in a new space this year. (1)
11. Don't drink here. (1)

12. There's not too much work here. (1)

13. Lunches are expensive. (1)

14. Where to eat. (1)

15. What you do reflects on everybody. (1)

16. Didn't learn anything special. (3)

Question 2: How is this school different from your old school?

The responses to these questions reflect the themes that are contained in the mini-interviews from the previous spring. In order of frequency, the following were emphasized:

1. Closer relationships with teachers and absence of student-teacher conflict. (9)
2. Fewer rules and more freedom. (8)
3. Students get along better; lack of violence. (6)
4. Can move around and learn in the city. (6)
5. Freedom to choose your own classes. (4)
6. Other responses. (6)

The three most frequent responses have an interesting common pattern. They combine an emphasis on the positive qualities of Metro and the negative qualities of the old school that the students "escaped." In speaking of closer student-teacher relationships, the primary emphasis is on the positive aspects of Metro's closer student-teacher relationships ("More warm personal contact. It's informal. You can talk to the teachers"). In discussing freedom, students either mention "more freedom" without further clarification or mention the petty rules of the old school that they have escaped. ("It doesn't have a lot of rules you really don't need"). In discussing student-student relationships, there is a strikingly consistent emphasis on the escape from physical violence and intimidation:

> "There was a lot of violence in the old school. (Gangs fighting each other.) This is the nicest school I've ever been to."
>
> "There were gangs in the old school. Latin Kings. Latin Queens. I was terrified."
>
> "Students don't get rolled in the halls or outside the building."
>
> "Our principal left and we were out of school a whole week in January. People got killed, and we had all kind of trouble. We didn't know who to turn to."
>
> "Here students ask you your name--the kids at the old school they just asked you for a dime or for a fight."

Question 3: Why did you choose to come to Metro?

The responses can be classified as follows:

1. Negative characteristics of old school. (6)
2. Needed a change; like to try new things. (4)
3. Liked idea of going different places. (3)
4. Teacher advised me to go. (2)
5. Thought I'd learn more. (1)

The striking thing about the responses is that not one person stated reasons for coming to Metro based on a fully-developed rationale for how the school could benefit him or her. Even those students who mentioned an aspect of Metro they found attractive (e.g., going different places) emphasized movement and variety for its own sake rather than specific educational benefits they hoped to obtain. This emphasis on either leaving a previous unsatisfactory situation or moving toward something that might be different or more stimulating perhaps seems quite natural and predictable. Yet the staff often acted on the premise that Metro students had made a much more deliberate choice in coming to Metro, that they had consciously bought into the highly-developed Metro educational philosophy.

Question 4: What staff member do you like best? Why? Which one do you like least? Why?

When asked which teachers they liked, students gave the following types of reasons for liking particular teachers:

1. He/she is like a friend, a member of the family. (4)
2. Like them all. No further elaboration. (4)
3. Just like him/her. No further elaboration. (3)
4. Doesn't holler; even-tempered. (2)
5. Cares about you. (1)
6. Understands your problems. (1)
7. Gives straight answers. (1)
8. Is young. (1)

As in other questions concerning positively and negatively valued qualities of teachers, it is the way that a teacher relates interpersonally (rather than academic competence) that is emphasized almost exclusively. The teacher who is liked is one who relates to the student openly and as a friend, rather than in the conventional teacher-student role.

When asked who they disliked and why, seven students said they liked all Metro teachers, that there were none they disliked, even with the interviewer probing the response. Of students who named a person they liked least, negative qualities cited included "looks down on us," "talks too much," "is too busy," "just don't like him."

January 1971, Interviews

In January 1971, a stratified random subsample of four black males, four white males, four black females, and four white females was chosen. All had entered Metro in September 1970. 14 of these 16 were successfully interviewed. The questions chosen were based on issues that were being widely discussed in the school at that time: The quality of two of the major settings in which teachers worked with students, core courses and counseling groups; why students cut class; whether Metro students were dividing into cliques and what their nature was; and whether students were able to get courses they wanted in the registration process.

Question 1: How do you like core? Which one are you in? What parts of it have you liked and which parts have you disliked? Why? Would you like to have it changed? In what ways?

The core course had been implemented in the first ten-week cycle during the fall of 1970. It was an attempt to offer a broad area of learning that cut across disciplines and to provide students with opportunities to carry out personalized placements and projects within this broad area. The series of questions asked generated a number of positive and negative evaluative statements about the core course experience. Students liked the following aspects of core:

1. Specific outside placements or individual activities. (6)
2. Going to interesting places to learn things. (4)

3. Discussions where experiences in individual placements were shared. (1)

Students disliked the following aspects of core:

1. Lack of sufficient planning by teachers before the core started. (6)
2. A specific activity that the core group did. (3)
3. Boring meetings; too much talking. (2)
4. Transportation problems. (2)
5. Focus was too broad. (1)
6. Too much working alone. (1)

Together these responses form a fairly uniform picture of the strengths and weaknesses of core as perceived by students. Students liked best those activities in which they had a specific placement or project that was tied to their personal interest or had a specific experience in the city that they felt they learned from.

> "I was in Paula's. We were making a newspaper, and I liked that."
>
> "I had a court situation and it was very interesting."
>
> "I just started my job assignment yesterday... I wanted to be a teacher's aide, so I saw Jack. I started yesterday. Kindergarten through fifth."
>
> "What I like most is learning to be a secretary. That's my placement."

In contrast to responses to earlier mini-interviews, students focused on the specific things they had learned rather than on the general novelty of moving around the city.

Negative aspects of core centered on the lack of prior planning and development of core placements by teachers, which resulted in long aimless discussions or unfocused activities in the city.

> "I think the idea of it is stupid. You're supposed to get involved in things and you don't. We just sit around and talk."

"What I don't like is the boring evaluation meetings."

"We couldn't find cameras for the movie. No tape recorders or typewriters."

"Needs to be organized a little better. To tell ahead of time what you're going to do and where you're going."

Of the 14 students interviewed, eight were judged to be strongly positive about core, three strongly negative, and three mixed in their reactions. Again, the key to a strong positive reaction to core was the students' participation in a placement or project in which they felt they had learned or accomplished something specific.

Question 2: What do you think about counseling groups? What do you like or dislike?

As with the core course, these questions generated a number of positive and negative characteristics of the counseling groups as perceived by the students. The positive characteristics were as follows:

1. Activities and trips outside school. (3)
2. It unifies the students. (3)
3. A chance to discuss school problems. (2)
4. Discussions about personal issues. (2)
5. Use of group process exercises. (1)
6. There is an interesting student in the group. (1)

The aspects of counseling group that students disliked were as follows:

1. Long discussions that accomplish nothing. (7)
2. Groups that are too diverse and can't agree to do one thing. (2)
3. Forced to attend in order to receive the week's travel tokens. (2)

4. Teachers lack skills to make it work. (2)

5. Don't like activities that the group chooses. (2)

6. Not enough outside activities. (1)

Each student response was rated for its overall evaluation of the counseling group experience:

Strongly positive. (3)

Some good points and some bad points. (3)

Strongly negative. (8)

This set of responses was consistent with the analysis of counseling group derived from the participant observation at this point.* Overall, they illustrate the variety of expectations people had for the group and the contradictory positions people held about its strengths and weaknesses. Some students liked the trips and activities, while others liked discussions of school or personal issues. Groups were often observed at loggerheads in deciding what to do. The most consistent negative statement was that the groups spent too much time in long discussions that students didn't feel accomplished much. The word "boring" appears often in the responses.

In the mini-interview six months earlier, 80% of students had voted to keep counseling group. While this question was not asked specifically in January, these interviews indicate that the sentiment had shifted toward abolishing counseling groups. Over half of the students expressed a strongly negative opinion about them, and several said spontaneously the groups should be abolished. To put the role of counseling groups in a larger perspective, see Chapter 6 on participant observation, expecially the sections "Course Choice" and "Classroom Planning."

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* See Chapter 9 on comparison of research methods, for a fuller description of the results of using a multiple method approach.

Question 3: Do any of your friends cut regularly? What do they cut? Why do you think they cut those courses?

Students seemed less open in disc[illegible]his question, perhaps because it suggested behavior that ran counter to Metro's stress on keeping commitments made to learning units, especially those involving outside volunteer teachers. Several probes were sometimes required to elicit information, and the information offered was sometimes still vague. The reasons offered by students can be classified as follows:

1. Class is boring; same routine every day. (5)
2. Don't like the subject. (4)
3. Travel problems. (2)
4. Students lazy. (2)
5. Don't like the teacher. (1)
6. Never gave the class a chance. (1)
7. Don't know. (3)

The students' generally sparse answers make further analysis difficult. 12 of 15 reasons attribute the problem to the class, while three attribute it to the student.

Substantive Conclusions

Summarized briefly, the generalizations concerning Metro supported by the three sets of mini-interviews are as follows:

June 1970, interviews

1. The aspect of Metro most valued by students in comparison with their previous schools was the freedom to talk with teachers, which had two facets--the teachers' allowing personal concerns to be discussed freely and the teachers' openness to criticism.

2. The second aspect of Metro valued by students was the freedom to move around the city, not to be tied to a classroom all day. It was personal freedom rather than educational freedom that was most often mentioned.

3. Other aspects of Metro that were valued were individual freedom in small personal decisions (eating, smoking, walking around the room, etc.), opportunity to express yourself freely, and the friendly relationships among students.

4. Most students felt they had considerable decision-making power; however, this power was most often seen as the power to complain or opt out rather than the power to work actively to change things.

5. Over 80% of students felt that counseling groups should be retained and had potential, although many expressed dissatisfaction with the way they were presently functioning. Students were split concerning which parts of counseling group were most valuable.

September 1970 interviews

1. Old students who were asked how Metro had changed consistently mentioned negatively valued changes that included confusion, unfriendliness, a bad physical set-up, and problems attributed to new students. This negative feeling was related partially to the totally inadequate headquarters space the school had to occupy temporarily while their new headquarters were being finished.

2. Opinions were about evenly split on the value of the core course that had just begun.

3. New students asked to compare Metro to their old school generally cited the same aspects of Metro mentioned in June 1970 by the old students: closer relationships with teachers, lack of petty rules and more freedom; better student-student relationships; freedom to move around the city. Many responses had a two-part division: the absence of negative qualities of old school (e.g., lack of physical violence) and the presence of positive qualities at Metro (e.g., closer student-student relationships).

4. Few students had come to Metro based on a full understanding of the school's philosophy and curriculum. Most frequent reasons were escape from negative characteristics of their old school, looking for a change or new experience.

5. Students reported they liked teachers who were like a friend--i.e., who doesn't yell, cares about you, understands your problems. Students were reluctant to admit that there were Metro teachers they didn't like, but, when pressed, they cited a teacher who looks down on us, talks too much, is too busy.

January 1971, interviews

1. Most students were still positive about the core course. Those aspects that they judged valuable were individual placements or experiences that tied in with their personal interests. They disliked unplanned discussions and sessions that weren't specifically prepared for by the teachers.

2. Sentiment had shifted from June 1970, so that over half the students were strongly negative about counseling groups and only about 20% strongly positive. There was still disagreement about which aspects of the counseling groups were most valuable, activities outside school or discussions. Students expressed special dislike for long rambling discussions.

3. Students reported that they cut classes that were boring or in a subject they disliked. Students seemed reluctant to discuss this subject since it ran counter to a strong organizational value that cutting was a bad thing.

Several patterns become apparent in comparing the interviews done at different points in time. First in the first two mini-interviews, students gave consistent responses concerning those aspects of Metro they valued. Second, the opinions of counseling group shifted from "it has faults, but the idea is good," to in June 1970,"it's not working, let's get rid of it", in January 1971. The opinions concerning the core course were mixed in both

September 1970, and January 1971. Further patterns over time in student responses will be discussed in Chapter 8 when the mini-interview results are compared with information gathered through other methods.

Methodological Conclusions

In general, the mini-interview format proved to be useful for gathering valid information quickly enough to be fed back to program participants while issues were still relevant. It was further useful as a cross check on participant observation, either confirming impressions gained through observation or generating conflicts that spurred further interviewing and observation. Below, we discuss several specific aspects of the mini-interview approach that appear to us especially useful.

Strengths Of Mini-Interviews

First, the technique allowed us to explore several issues with considerable sensitivity, revealing shades of student opinion, as with the analyses of the differences students saw between Metro and their old schools and the students' conceptions of their power within the Metro program. This sensitivity was maximized in the initial interviews with over 100 respondants, where clear quantitative differences in type of response emerged. It was also apparent, however, in several of the responses to questions with smaller samples, e.g., in highlighting the dual character of positively valued characteristics of Metro--the absence of certain negative features of the old school and the presence of positive features particular to the Metro program.

Second, the richness and specificity of information gathered through the mini-interview technique allowed us to isolate specific characteristics of student perceptions, not apparent to staff, that have highly provocative and immediate implications for program planning. Examples of such useful points from these mini-interviews are the importance of the personal freedom (rather than educational aspects of moving around the city) that students valued in the first semester of the program, the ways in which the students' dominant perception of their power (i.e., to complain and opt out) differed from the teachers' notion of what it should really be, the extent to which students came to Metro as an escape from a previous school they disliked or with a vague sense of trying something new rather than with a well-developed commitment to the Metro educational model, and the aspects of core course that students either liked or disliked. Methods for feeding such information back to teachers in a useful way will be discussed later.

Third, mini-interviews often underscored the diversity and shades of opinion on a subject, such as the range of opinions about the positive features of counseling group in June 1970. Emphasizing this variation is useful in the feedback to staff and students, since it undercuts the notion held by some staff members of monolithic student opinion and brings out views of less verbal subgroups that might not be obvious to staff.

Fourth, the mini-interview is helpful in pinpointing changes or continuities over time, such as the shift in opinion regarding counseling group, and the consistency of opinion concerning differences between Metro and the old school as expressed by Experimental I in spring 1970 and by Experimental II in fall 1970. The existence of shifts in opinion over time underscores the danger of considering Metro or any similar school in its formative stages as a stable "treatment" or regarding evidence gathered at one point in time as reflecting consistent qualities of the program.

Our mini-interview research, along with the results of participant observation, suggest a model for change in opinion at Metro. Based on our evidence from both mini-interviews and participant observation, we can distinguish roughly three levels of beliefs operating at Metro:

1. The official ideology, which reflects the original pronouncements of the school's founders about what it should be like. This position would most often be presented to visitors who came to the school. For example, "counseling group is a place where students from all the different backgrounds get together to share their experience, to discuss personal problems, and to think about what they're learning - to put it all together."

2. The operating ideal shared within the school, which reflected the dominant norms that staff and the most active students felt should define student belief and behavior. On some topics, these norms were clearly defined (*e.g.*, concerning the responsibility of students to attend outside resource classes they had signed up for). On others, they were either quite varied or in flux (*e.g.*, on whether the core course was a good idea). The dominant norm concerning counseling groups was that they were a good idea, but needed work to make them better.

3. The norms of subgroups, the beliefs of individuals, deviant norms. These were likely to be the strongest determinant of immediate behavior in the absence of some figure who would remind students of the operating ideal. Thus, some students would cut a class consistently because they thought it was boring, unless the school ideal was brought directly to bear on them (*e.g.*, by a counselor calling the student and inquiring why he wasn't attending a certain class). An example of an individual belief about counseling groups would be, "They're a drag. I cut whenever I can."

Several points should be made about the way these norms operated at Metro that will clarify the types of beliefs tapped by the mini-interview. First, there was a fair amount of consistency between the first level (the official ideology) and the second level (the operating ideal) -- much more than one would typically find in a school. However, in some areas the two levels began to diverge (*e.g.*, between the ideology concerning counseling group and what the staff felt was feasible), generating considerable anxiety.

There was also much more consistency between the subgroup norms and personal beliefs than is usually the case within a school. Here again, though, one can observe both disparities between levels and shifts over time in which subgroup norms and individual beliefs diverged more and more from the operating or dominant ideal.

With respect to these levels, the mini-interview seems most effec[illegible] in accurately tapping subgroup norms and individual beliefs that are within the bounds of [illegible] ideal. In many cases the dominant norms at a given point allow for great diversity of opinion. However, if a person holds a belief that is outside the bounds of this operating ideal, he will probably not express it in a mini-interview, shading his opinion to move within the bounds of the majority norms. When subgroup values and individual beliefs deviate from the operating ideal, they can be picked up primarily through participant observation of student behavior in situations where the subgroup norm or individual belief is free to operate or in interactions between subgroup members or between members of different subgroups who have high levels of personal trust in each other.

Using this model to describe patterns of change in the school, one sees situations develop over time in which experience causes individual beliefs and subgroup norms to deviate further and further from the dominant norms. At some point, this shift causes a widening of the boundaries of acceptable belief within the operating ideal and ultimately may cause a basic change in it. The mini-interview picks up these shifts in the operating ideal. Thus, students in June,1970,said they liked counseling group when questioned in the mini-interview, although subgroup and individual behavior was starting to be seriously at variance with this belief (as reflected in participant observation). By January 1971, most students were openly critical of counseling group in the mini-interview (reflecting a new dominant norm) although they might continue to express the older norm or even the original official ideology in some situations. (e.g., talks with visitors or outside evaluators). The necessity to tap all three levels of norm and belief at any given point in time to understand the complexity of the change process at Metro again underscores the value of using multiple methods, and suggests the value of the mini-interview within such a multiple method research strategy.

Reflections On Method

In using a mini-interview format, there are several methodological considerations that are suggested by our experience at Metro. First, the use of larger samples or attempts to tap the whole population allow for much greater depth of interpretation than is possible with samples of sixteen. Within these smaller samples, meaningful quantitative breakdowns of types of response were not possible and no conclusions could be drawn about race/sex subgroup differences within the sample, as we had originally hoped. Second, both mini-interviewers observed marked differences in response between students they knew from their participant observation and other activities in the school and those they didn't know. For the students they knew, mini-interviews were a natural extension of the informal interviewing they were always doing. For the students they didn't know it was a much more formal and stilted interaction, where the student was much more likely to mouth the official ideology. This pattern of behavior suggests that the mini-interviewer must be someone who is known and trusted to some degree by students, raising the possibility that teachers or students might be effective mini-interviewers within their own subgroups if properly trained. Third, we carried out some informal tests of the reliability of the categorization and coding of mini-interviews, although nothing rigorous has been done. It was our strong impression that these categorization and coding processes could be carried out with a high degree of inter-rater reliability by persons familiar with the school. A more rigorous test of this impression is needed, as is the application of some appropriate statistical tests to the categorizations. It should be emphasized however, that the use of rigorous category development and coding procedures, as employed for example with our structured interviews (see Chapter 3), would rob the mini-interview technique of the speed and simplicity that are among its major virtues.

Another desirable approach in using mini-interviews that became apparent to us in fall 1970 was to interview panels of students periodically so that we could better assess shifts in opinion over time. We chose to interview students in the subsample that had also been intensively interviewed in a long structured format when they entered Metro. Unfortunately, lack of time in spring 1971 precluded the completion of a second round of mini-interviews with the same students that would have allowed us to assess changes over time. We still regard this approach as extremely desirable. However, because we did use the mini-interview with the subsample once in fall 1970, we were able to incorporate mini-interview results into case studies of individuals in the subsample as presented in Chapter 4.

Use In Feedback

Finally, we had some experience with attempts to feed mini-interview results back to staff and, in other subsequent evaluation projects, to involve staff and students in all aspects of mini-interview data collection and analysis. The following comments summarize this experience:

1. Neither writing up the results of mini-interviews and distributing them nor formal presentations in which results are explained to staff have much effect on people's behavior. It is only when mini-interview feedback is incorporated into long-term training and assistance strategies that it becomes a useful contributor to change.
2. Using students and staff to interview members of their own subgroups within the school (with training) is both a means to collect valid information and a means for involving them in doing something with the results.
3. It is useful for staff and students to develop coding categories based on direct contact with the data, but not to do the time-consuming coding of responses. By the time they have worked out the categories, coding becomes mere drudgery, taking them away from other tasks.

Elsewhere, we have analyzed in detail our use of mini-interviews and participant observation in formative evaluations of alternative high schools in Cleveland, Ohio; Chicago, and St. Paul, Minnesota. These reports are "New School's First Year: An Evaluative Report," mimeographed, CNS, 1974; "St. Mary Center for Learning: A Report to the Staff," mimeographed, CNS, 1972; and "Career Study Center: A Formative Evaluation," mimeographed, CNS, 1971; all available from CNS.

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A MULTI-METHOD STUDY OF THE DEVELOPMENT AND EFFECTS OF AN ALTERNATIVE HIGH SCHOOL LEARNING ENVIRONMENT

Center for New Schools*
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CHAPTER 6. PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION

Participant observation was an important part of the research techniques used to study Metro. One full time and one part time participant observer joined the school community during its first year and a half of existence. A detailed description of the research technique they used appears in Section A. They studied a wide variety of topics. Some of these analyses are completed and are presented in this document. Some are still in the process of analysis and cannot be included here. During the course of the study some of the participant observation data was converted into formative feedback and used for on-going program development.

This chapter includes the following sections: *

A. Rationale & Methods of Participant Observation

A presentation of the rationale for participant observation and a brief description of the research activities involved.

B. You Can Talk to the Teachers

An analysis of the attempt to create an atmosphere of informal teacher-student relations.

C. Why It Worked

An analysis of the organizational supports for informal teacher-student relations.

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* These sections were written such that they could each stand independently. The continuity may therefore seem somewhat fragmented. Also Metro is called City High in some of the sections.

D. Course Choice

An analysis of individual student decision-making as reflected in the process of choosing among the possible learning activities.

E. Planning at Classroom Level

An analysis of joint teacher-student planning in the design of individual courses.

F. Institutional Decision-Making

An analysis of the attempt to have students take a role in institutional decision-making.

G. City as a Resource

An analysis of the school's attempt to use the city as a site and resource for learning.

The material in these papers which is set off in an indented fashion is of two kinds. 1) quotes from Metro City High participants and 2) summary observations on patterns observed. These are intended as illustrations and not as proof.

A. RATIONALE & METHODS OF PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION

Introduction

There is a growing interest in the use of anthropological* (also called qualitative, phenomenological, or ethnographic) techniques in educational research. The backgrounds of many traditional educational researchers, however, contain no training in or experience with this kind of research. Because ethnographic methodology differs significantly from the research approaches more commonly used in education, those who are unfamiliar with it may misunderstand its rationale, its data collection processes, and the nature of its findings. Consequently, they might not be able to use it where appropriate or to make judgements about the quality of research plans or reports. The ways ethnographic approaches differ from other approaches are essential to understand because they represent fundamentally different claims about the nature of human behavior and the best ways of coming to understand it. We propose, therefore, in this section to review the differences between this kind of research and the techniques more familiar to educational researchers by explaining the rationale behind its use and by discussing some of the processes by which this research is conducted.

"Ethnographic" techniques may sound more appropriate for studies of foreign lands or exotic tribes than for our own schools. Until recently, in fact, most of these kinds of studies were conducted outside American society or within minority subcultures. As the next subsections explain , however, this kind of approach can provide data just as valuable for mainstream American schools as for those in other cultures.

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* Anthropologists, of course, use a variety of research techniques including those that are quite familiar to educational researchers. In the context of this paper, however, "anthropological" usually means some variety of participant observation, long considered basic to anthropological research. In this section we use the term anthropological research to mean participant observation.

There are indications that the use of ethnographic techniques for studying American schools is growing. The National Institute of Education (NIE, 1973) is encouraging this kind of approach, and many researchers involved in the evaluation of educational programs and in the processes of innovation are finding these approaches useful (CNS, 1972; CNS, 1974 b; Smith, 1974; and Nelson, Lundin, & Gianotta, 1974). Several general studies of schools have been completed or are in progress: Cuisick (1974) on student life in a high school; CNS (1974 c) on student-teacher relations in alternative schools; Jackson (1968) on life in elementary classrooms; Ianni _et al._ (1973) on comparisons among various kinds of high schools; Smith & Geoffrey (1969) on life in an inner city classroom; Smith & Keith (1971) on the events surrounding the establishment of an innovative elementary school; Wolcott (1973) on the day to day realities of an administrator; and Wilson (1972) on the culture of an alternative high school without walls.

Our purpose here is not to report on the substantive findings of these kinds of studies. For that the reader is urged to consult other sources (for example, Sindell, 1969; Ianni & Storey, 1973; Spindler, 1963; Wax, Gearing, & Diamond, 1973; and the _Council on Anthropology and Education [CAE] Quarterly_). Our purpose is to present as clearly as possible, in terms understandable to non-anthropologists, a review of the methodology as it relates to educational research.

Rationale

Ethnographic techniques are part of a research tradition that has been developed over many years by anthropologists and community-study sociologists. These researchers have found these methods useful for gathering certain important kinds of data, and some have even claimed that these anthropological techniques may gather information that is impossible to obtain by other methods. Social scientists within all traditions, however, could benefit from understanding the rationale underlying this methodology. It is based on two sets of hypotheses about human behavior — 1) the naturalistic-ecological hypothesis and 2) the qualitative-phenomenological hypothesis. These two fundamental hypotheses accepted together provide a strong rationale for participant observation research. We proceed by reviewing several independent strands of research and theory that have given rise to each of these hypotheses.

Naturalistic-ecological perspective

Many social scientists believe that human behavior is significantly influenced by the settings in which it occurs. They, therefore, believe that it is essential to study psychological events in natural settings, and they claim that settings generate regularities in behavior that often transcend differences among individuals. Over the years, extensive research has been conducted which demonstrates the importance of the influence of the setting and the often divergent findings which result when the same phenomenon is studied in the laboratory and and in the field. (For a fuller discussion of this research and rationale see Barker, 1968 and Willems and Rausch, 1969.) Ecological psychologists claim that if one hopes to generalize research findings to the everyday world where most human events occur, then the research must be conducted in settings similar to those the researchers hope to generalize about, where those same forces that will one day act are not interrupted. The ethologists (for example Hess, 1962) have noted similar problems with much research on animals. The typical laboratory or zoo distorts animals' behavior into patterns that have little to do with how they behave in natural settings.

How does the setting influence people in it? Barker writes of forces generated both by the physical arrangements of the settings and by internalized notions in people's minds about what is expected and allowed. Significantly, a second tradition of social science has arrived independently at the same point of emphasizing the importance of the internalized notions generated in settings. Sociologists studying organizations assert the importance of the traditions, roles, values, and norms that are part of life in organizations. Much behavior in organizations is influenced by the participants' awareness of these mental states and by pressures generated by others influenced by these states (see March, 1965). Though organizational theorists might not necessarily claim that research must be conducted in the field, they do recognize many of the forces that the ecological psychologists see as important.

Schools are organizations and hence exert many powerful forces on participant behavior. For example, for a discussion of teacher roles and traditions, see Lortie, 1973; for a discussion of norms, see Dreeban, 1968; for a discussion of other pressures in these settings, see Jackson, 1968 and Sarason, 1971. Realizing that these pressures exist, the ecological psychologist would warn that if one wants ultimately to generalize research finding to schools, then he best conduct his research within school settings where all these forces are intact. The inability of classical learning theories to say very much that is meaningful about everyday classroom learning can be explained in part by the absence of these school/organizational forces in the research laboratories where the theories were developed.

The same kind of realization about the importance of context for research has been arrived at in a third independent tradition of research. Social psychologists realized that their experiments were often picking up influences other than what they were focusing on. They then discovered that the experimental situation — for example, the questionnaire, the interview, the laboratory — was a unique setting of its own with its own dynamics and influences on behavior. Rosenthal and Rosnow in Artifact in Behavioral Research (1969) review the findings of extensive research undertaken to determine the nature of these influences. For instance, the role of being a research subject in social science research often includes the following influences on behavior: a suspiciousness of the intent of the research, a sense of the behavior that is either appropriate or expected, a special interpersonal relationship with the experimentor, and a desire to be evaluated positively. All these forces can shape behavior in a way that is extraneous to the focus of the research. A person filling out a questionnaire, responding to an interview, or behaving in an experiment — even though he is trying to be genuine — may not be able to provide accurate information about his usual behavior in real, complex settings. One area in which this shortcoming has been especially frustrating is attitude research. Consistently, people's responses on questionnaires and in interviews have not provided adequate information about their observed actions (Deutscher, 1965).

Several reactions are possible to these realizations about artifact in research. The researchers who wrote the different chapters in the Rosenthal and Rosnow volume have attempted to find ways to monitor and control these influences in their research. Cook and Selltiz (1964) in their multiple indicator approach provide another way to attempt to monitor extraneous forces. The most common method used to overcome these difficulties of artifact is studying the phenomenon naturalistically and unobtrusively (see Webb, et al., 1966).

Under the conditions of naturalistic observation the behavior studied is subject to the influences of the natural setting rather than the specialized influences of research settings.

Many researchers will have no trouble accepting the preceding rationale. Observation is deeply ingrained in the American educational research tradition, and the only demand that the ecological hypothesis makes is that behavior be studied in the field. The rest of standard technique is left intact — for example, deriving explicit *a priori* hypotheses, defining operational categories of observation, developing objective methods of data gathering, and conducting appropriate statistical analyses. The next section discusses a part of the rationale behind anthropological techniques that challenges these.

Qualitative-phenomenological hypothesis

Much of American social science strives toward the natural science model of objectivity. Phenomenology, a tradition of social science which has thrived in Europe but been largely neglected in educational research in the United States, offers an alternative view of objectivity and methods appropriate for studying human behavior. Those who work within this tradition assert that the social scientist *cannot understand human behavior without understanding the framework within which the subjects interpret their thoughts, feelings and actions*. They point out that the natural science approach to objectivity requires the researcher to impose *a priori* limitation on the data, an act which makes it difficult to discover the perspectives of the subjects. (See Kocklemass, 1967; Bantock, 1965; and Broadbeck, 1968.)

The ramifications of this position are far ranging: The traditional stance of objective outsider so favored by social scientists and the usual research procedures are deemed inadequate for gathering information which takes these participant perspectives into account. Moreover, the customary deductive activities of framing hypotheses and defining categories *a priori* and of analyzing within prespecified frameworks are seen as inappropriate. Because these notions may be difficult to understand, we will explain them in more detail.

Typically, researchers try to find strategies which minimize the role of subjectivity. They try to standardize the interpretations which they (or anyone else) attribute to data perceived by their senses — for instance, by deriving a scheme for coding behaviors observed in a classroom. Theoretically, a coding scheme and a framework for interpreting observed behaviors can be developed and communicated such that anyone with exposure to the scheme and some training will interpret the behaviors in approximately the same way. This method is seen as guaranteeing objectivity.

The phenomenologist points out that the adoption of this particular framework for interpreting and coding behavior is arbitrary. Any number of meaning systems could be selected. In fact, the most important frameworks to understand might be those of the subjects, rather than the researchers. The objective social scientist in standardizing the interpretation may have destroyed some of the most valuable data he had. Severyn Bruyn has expressed this view:

> The traditional empiricist considers himself (as a scientist) to be the primary source of knowledge, and trusts his own senses and logic more than he would trust that of his subjects. The participant observer, on the other hand, considers the interpretations of his subjects to have first importance.... By taking the role of his subjects he re-creates in his own imagination and experience the thoughts and feelings which are in the minds of those he studies. (1966, p. 12)

To know merely the fact that feelings, thoughts, or actions exist is not enough without also knowing the framework within which these behaviors fit. The social scientist must come to understand how all those who are involved interpret behavior in addition to the way he as scientist interprets it from his "objective outside" perspective. Moreover, since the subjects cannot always articulate their perspectives, the researcher must find ways to cultivate awareness of the latent meanings without becoming oversocialized and unaware as most participants may be. He must develop a dynamic tension between his subjective role of participant and his role of observer so that he is neither one entirely.

The necessity of abandoning traditional deductive processes, such as a priori hypothesis generation, follows as a consequence to this general approach to understanding human behavior. Because the quantitative researcher is restricted within his own perspective, he risks being concerned about irrelevant variables. Glaser and Strauss (1967) describe a careful method by which social scientists can ground their theory and research in the reality they are studying. They use the tension between participant data and observer analysis to constantly refine their theory. Traditional research analysis framed without this on-going awareness can seem forced to fit the theory guiding the research. Formal theory should enter only after the researcher has become convinced of its relevance. Glaser and Strauss describe the advantages of their open approach over a pre-structured study.

> The consequence (of the traditional approach) is often a forcing of data as well as a neglect of relevant concepts and hypothesis that may emerge.... Our approach, allowing substantive concepts and hypotheses to emerge first, on their own, enables the analyst to ascertain which, if any, existing formal theory may help him generate his substantive theories. He can then be more objective and less theoretically biased. (1967, p. 34)

No one, of course, enters a situation as a true tabula rasa. Language is itself a limiting factor which provides one set of conceptual tools and screens out others. Similarly, the previous experiences of the scientist influence his observation and thought. In fact, traditional empirical scientific method has sought to extrapolate along these lines by asking the researcher to be most explicit and rigorous in the formulation of the perspective underlying the research. There is room in the realms of research, however, for other more inductive approaches where the role of the preformed hypothesis and circumscribed data gathering techniques are reduced to a minimum.

Those who work within the anthropological tradition cultivate the skill of suspending (the phenomenologists call it "bracketing") their preconceptions. They study prior research and theory as much as the traditional researcher, but they then purposely suspend this knowledge until their experience with the research setting suggests its relevance.

An example will perhaps illustrate this somewhat elusive concept of meaning and perspective which the qualitative approaches see as so important. Let us assume, for the sake of this illustration, that a traditional researcher is interested in studying inter-student aggression in the classroom -- perhaps to determine the relation of its occurrence to some aspects of teacher activities or some set of student characteristics. To determine frequency of various kinds of aggression, the researcher sets up categories and trains observers to be sensitive, reliable recorders of these aggressive events. The researcher simultaneously finds ways to record and measure other variables of interest.

Let us assume that "student hits other student" is one of these categories of aggression. Those who have been observer/coders in the classrooms are aware intuitively that not every "student hits other student" event is commensurate. The objective tradition and training leads a person to put these reservations aside (or to make limited inferences) and report the "facts."

The participant observer is not willing to sacrifice all this information about the subtle differences between similar hitting events. In fact, he feels that understanding these differences is crucial and much of his research is specifically aimed at gaining this information. Moreover, the danger exists even in quantitative systematic observation that the failure to understand the meanings of hitting events may result in miscoding, under or over estimation of relationships, or total neglect of powerful concepts and hypotheses related to the researcher's interests.

The participant observer systematically works to be aware of the meanings of events. For example, in relation to the hitting example above, he would be aware of the following participant perspectives and know which were relevant in the situation he was studying:

> How do the various participants (the hitter, person being hit, onlookers, teacher) perceive the event?
> Do they even see it as aggression?
> Do the hitter and person being hit concur on the meaning?

It could, for example, not be an act of aggression:

> It could be an act of affection as in a game of exchange.
> It could be part of subcultural norms. (In some black subcultures, pre-adolescent and adolescent males hit each other on the arm and the shoulder as playful demonstration of strength rather than as a specific act of aggression.)
> It could be an attempt to get the teacher's attention or to disrupt class order rather than being aimed at the person being hit.

Even if it is aggression, there are many critical differences among events that it is important to understand.

> The event could be an initiatory first act or it could be a retribution for previous acts of aggression not necessarily linked immediately in space, time, or kind.
> The event could be part of a personal relationship between the two students involved or it could be part of a larger interpersonal network of relations -- for example, intergroup hostility.

There are critical aspects of human behavior to understand. The anthropologist learns of some of these perspectives by hearing participants express them in the flow of events. To learn of others, he must ask the participants questions and become acquainted with "emic" (actor-relevant) categories which are rarely expressed. Some of what we are calling perspectives or meanings, however, may not even be conscious for the participants and no participant could spontaneously articulate them. The participant-observer's day-to-day observation of the full range of activities and his status of outsider-insider put him in a unique position to understand these forces on behaviour and to articulate them.

This brief discussion has certainly not exhausted all the possible meanings of this particular action. Any setting where human beings act is full of behaviours which have their similarly rich sets of possible meanings. Although it is impossible for any individual to comprehend all of meanings in any setting, a researcher using anthropological techniques can be aware of most of them and be able to use them in understanding and explaining human behaviour.

We have briefly explained, then, the two sets of hypotheses underlying the rationale for participant observation research. (1) Human behavior is complexly influenced by the context in which it occurs. Any research plan which takes the actors out of the naturalistic setting may negate those forces and hence obscure its own understanding. (2) Human behavior often has more meaning than its observable "facts." A researcher seeking to understand behavior must find ways to learn the manifest and latent meanings for the participants as well as understanding the behavior from the objective outside perspective.

Because these hypotheses taken together fundamentally challenge the way that much traditional educational research is conducted, they will undoubtedly raise many questions and protests. Such debate can only be beneficial if it leads researchers of all persuasions to question their basic assumptions about human behavior and ways of understanding it.

Research Process

Understanding the actual processes involved in this kind of research is as important as understanding the rationale. Ethnographic research is much like quantitative research in that it has a long tradition within which investigators have been working to refine and develop effective and appropriate research methods. It is important that the non-ethnographic researcher understand the methods that have evolved out of this tradition.

Educational researchers who are unfamiliar with the anthropological research tradition often see this kind of research as synonymous with "journalistic reporting" and "anecdotal" or "impressionistic" story telling. Their expectation is that someone enters a setting, looks around for a time, talks to some people, and writes up his impressions. They speculate that any person in the setting could produce the same insights by writing up their recollections. They don't see this as real research and fear a lack of objectivity. This section will attempt to bridge the serious gap between ethnographic and non-ethnographic researchers by familiarizing those who have had little experience with this kind of research with the actual research procedures involved.

As explained in the section describing the rationale, the underlying principle guiding this kind of research is the assumption that individuals have meaning structures which determine much of their behavior. The research seeks to discover what these meaning structures are, how they develop, and how they influence behaviour, in as comprehensive and objective fashion as possible. For the sake of analysis, the ethnographic research process will be divided up into a series of issues: entry and establishment of researcher role; data collection procedures; objectivity; and analysis of data.

Entry and establishment of role

As explained in the rationale, ethnography is based on the assumption that what people say and do is consciously and unconsciously shaped by the social situation. The ethnographer is sensitive to the way he enters a setting and carefully establishes a role that facilitates collection of information. He must make decisions about how involved he will become in community activities (Gold, 1958) because he knows his activities will influence the ways people react to him. He monitors the way his entry into the community is initiated both officially and unofficially because he knows this will influence how people see him. (Vidich, 1955; Geer, 1964; Kahn & Mann, 1952.) He tries not to be identified with any particular group in the setting. Moreover, throughout the study he monitors the views participants have of him -- for instance, by noting carefully the difference between what people say and do with each other (either in his presence or as reported to him) and what they say and do when alone with him (Becker, 1961). Most importantly, the participants must come to trust and value the observer enough that they are willing to share intimate thoughts with him and answer his endless questions (Bruyn, 1966). The outsider occasionally coming in and talking to people does not have this opportunity to systematically cultivate and monitor a role that facilitates collection of all kinds and levels of information.

To offer a concrete example, we will briefly consider how a participant observer might have gone about cultivating his role in the study of student aggression and the hitting episode considered previously. The researcher would be careful about the way he entered the situation and came to be perceived - for example, he would work methodically to avoid being indentified as the member of any particular subgroup: Did the teachers consider him someone the principal had sent? Did they feel he would be sympathetic toward the teacher point of view? If there were factions of teachers, did the observer get identified with any one of them? Similarly, did the student consider him to be a teacher-like person? Did particular groups of students see him as an ingrouper or outgrouper? The group identity of the observer is important not only because the participants might consciously withhold information from someone with the wrong identification (for example, students not talking about plans for "getting" certain classmates in front of a teacher-like person), but also because the participants might unconsciously color what they said and did (for example, students not talking about hitting games in front of a teacher-like person who they felt would consider them silly).

In every ethnographic study we have conducted in high schools, students have expressed their concern about the researcher's identity. In one alternative school, an assembly was held to introduce the observer and to answer questions about the research. One student asked from the audience, "Are you a teacher or a student?" Later events demonstrated that this was an important concern. The observer tried to explain his unique status of belonging to no one group. This explanation was not fully accepted or understood at that time. During the next several weeks, the observer spent much energy establishing this role and finally was accepted as being in neither group as illustrated by student willingness to discuss issues that were taboo in front of teachers.

Data collection

Also key in understanding ethnographic research is a realization of what constitutes data and what are the customary methods of obtaining it. This kind of anthropological inquiry seeks to discover the meaning structures of the participants in whatever forms they are expressed. Hence, this research is multimodal and all of the following are relevant kinds of data:

1. Form and content of verbal interaction between participants

2. Form and content of verbal interaction with the researcher

3. Non-verbal behaviour

4. Patterns of action and non-action

5. Traces, archival records, artifacts, documents

The essential tasks for the anthropological researcher are learning what data will be necessary to answer his questions and getting access to that information. The previous section illustrated how the researcher works on interpersonal access by becoming someone with whom participants are willing and eager to share information and reactions. Even as these problems are being solved, however, the ethnographer must constantly make decisions about where to be, what kind of data to collect, and whom to talk to. Unlike prestructured research designs, the information that is gathered and the theories that emerge must be used to direct subsequent data collection.

The researcher must learn the formal and informal psychic schedules and geographies of the participants (Bruyn, 1966). He must become aware of all the behaviour settings in the community and their important characteristics (Barker & Gump, 1964). He works to become part of the various communication networks that daily orient participants about where and when significant events are likely to occur. The researcher develops sampling procedures that reflect the research goals. When in these situations, the researcher makes calculated decisions about what kind of data to collect and whether or not he should engage in active field interviewing (probing rather than relying on naturalistic observation).

Also important is the choice of whom to talk to. The researcher becomes aware of various persons' roles in the community and the personal matrix through which they filter information.

The methodological literature (Dean, Eichorn, Dean, 1967; Dean & White, 1958; Argyris, 1952) is rich with discussions of the bases for making these decisions about who is an appropriate respondent or informant for various purposes. Again, decisions about who is talked to are made in terms of emerging theory and previously gathered information.

Much of the information gathered by participant observation is similar to that which can be gathered by other methods -- for instance, systematic observation and structured interviewing. The participant observer has more lattitude in that he is not limited to prespecified places and times. He can interview and observe in many situations not usually available to other researchers. He also has an advantage in his ability to monitor the rapport he has built with interviewees and to gain access to confidential information.

In other ways, the data gathered by participant observation is significantly different than that gathered by other methods. The researcher links the information he gathers by various methods together in a way that is nearly impossible with other approaches, and he has access to some unique kinds of information. For instance, he compares the following: (1) what a subject says in response to his question; (2) what the person says to other people; (3) what the person says in various situations; (4) what he says at various times; (5) what he actually does; (6) various non-verbal signals about the matter (for example, body postures); and (7) what those who are significant to the person feel, say, and do about the matter. Furthermore, the participant observer in interviewing knows much about the persons or incidents referred to in the answers to his questions. Finally, the participant observer cultivates an empathetic understanding with the participants that is nearly impossible with other quantitative methods. The researcher shares the daily life with participants and systematically works to understand their feelings and reactions. (It is important to note that there are also disadvantages in the use of participant observations - for instance, the difficulty of obtaining a picture of the complete distribution of attitudes in a large community.

A full discussion of these relative merits however, is out of place in this article and more information is available in other places - for instance, CNS, 1974 f.)

Ethnographic inquiry is a systematic research process just like the quantitative approaches more familiar to educational researchers. Anthropologists do not just sit around and talk to people as some mistaken views suggest. As this brief section has demonstrated, they methodically plan the forms of data they will collect, the settings in which they will gather the data, the participants with whom they will interact, and the questions they will ask. Anthropologists also try to take advantage of serendipity by being open to new information, but they do so in a calculated fashion -- for instance, seeking out places that are likely to present this new information.

To illustrate, we will describe the data collection that would be part of the study of the hitting event discussed previously. The participant observer would use his flexibility and his special acceptance by the community to discover where he would find relevant information. He might make all the following moves:

> He would be present when these events were likely to occur. He would note verbal and non-verbal behaviour related to the event. (For instance, the reactions of the student being hit, the teacher, and bystander students.)
>
> He would discover where and when students were likely to discuss the event and he would be present. (For instance, in the halls or at recess.)
>
> He would be present where and when teachers discussed the event. (For instance, in the teachers' lounge.)
>
> He would work to become the kind of person the participants wanted to share their reactions with. (For instance, the teacher volunteering her reaction to the researcher.)
>
> To inform emergent theory, he would ask people questions which would help him refine and develop the theory.

> He would build up the history of involvement that would enable him to relate any new bit of information to previously gathered information. (For instance, he would consider a teacher's comment about the hitting event in terms of the following: the teacher's relationship to the people being talked to, previous comments anyone in this group had made about similar events, the event as actually witnessed by the observer, similar events observed previously, similar situations where these events did not occur, and student thoughts about the event.)

These and similar strategies help the researcher to accumulate the understanding of human action that is sought by ethnography.

Objectivity

Because the qualitative researcher does not use familar quantitative methods of standardizing subjects' expressions or researchers' observations, those not aquainted with participant observation fear that the data will be polluted with the observer's subjective bias. However, well executed ethnographic research is as "objective" as other kinds of research. To explain this assertion, we must refer back to the qualitative-phenomenological hypothesis about human behavior discussed previously. Human actions have more meaning than just the concrete facts of who, what, where, and when that an outsider can observe; they have more meanings than even the responses subjects could give when being introspective (for instance, in an interview or attitude scale marking). The ethnographer strives to uncover these meanings.

He uses the techniques we have described to be in touch with a wide range of participant experiences. He makes sure his sampling is representative (Bruyn, 1966) and that data is interpreted in terms of the situation where it was gathered (Becker, 1958). In order to understand these hidden or unexpressed meanings, the researcher must learn to systematically empathize with the participants. He must synthesize the various experiences of participants to comprehend the subtleties of their actions, thoughts, and feelings. Sometimes he uses his own reactions, which he has cultivated by undergoing the same experiences as participants, to understand the reactions of those he is studying. Use of these techniques may lead other scientists to fear subjectivity.

The assumption about human behavior that these meanings exist and that understanding them requires involvement in the participants' perspectives, calls for such techniques as empathy and non-standardized observation. There are, however, important differences between the subjectivity of the participants and that of the researcher who is careful never to abandon himself to these perspectives. The discipline of the research tradition calls for him to constantly monitor and test his reactions. In addition to systematically taking the perspective of the subjects, he also views actions from the perspective of the outsider. Also, all the participants in a setting rarely share a monolithic perspective. By systematically seeking to understand actions from the different perspectives of various groups of participants, the researcher avoids getting caught in any one outlook (Vidich, 1955; Wilson, 1972). He is able to view behaviour simultaneously from all perspectives. These tensions in point of view -- between outsider and insider and between groups of insiders -- keep the careful researcher from lapsing into the feared subjectivity.

A concrete example from the study of the hitting event will illustrate this kind of objectivity. The participant observer would understand the same act from the perspectives of all involved:

Teacher:	(For example, he would comprehend fully the teacher's anger at these students, the fear of losing control, and the determination to change their future behaviour.)
Students Involved:	(For example, he might understand their perceptions of the hitting event as a game, their lack of intention to disrupt the class, and their confusion about the teacher's reaction.)

Bystander Students: (He would know which students saw the hitting as a game, which saw it as a challenge to the teacher, and which saw it some other way -- for instance, as a specific act of aggression.)

It is important to explain how this disciplined subjectivity is "objective". One operational definition of "objectivity" in science is the assertion that any independent scientists viewing the same reality with the same techniques would gather similar data. The same claim could be made about participant observation if an important qualification is made. In discussing the qualitative hypothesis, we have explained that "any" observer would not be expected to arrive at the same data because not every observer would know the various participant perspectives. If, however, the phrase "any independent scientist using the same techniques" was interpreted to mean that each scientist took the pains we have described to become acquainted with the participant meanings, then "objectivity" could be claimed. Each scientist who applied this disciplined research method might indeed be expected to gather similar data.*

Analysis of data

A final area that it is important to understand is how ethnographers analyze their data and develop theory. Some ethnographic research is very similar to traditional educational research in its deductive use and development of theory. Other kinds of ethnographic research, however, are much more inductive.

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* This view of objectivity, of course, represents an ideal. Anthropologists are currently debating about how objective participant observers can be even within the rigorous tradition. The danger exists that, as in quantitative research, the same data can be interpreted differently. See Robert Redfield's book Tepotzlan and Oscar Lewis' book Life in a Mexican Village: Tepotzlan Revisited, on their various interpretations of life in the same village. Participant observation, however, is no less intrinsically objective than other research methods.

The anthropologist seeks to understand the meanings of the participants and hence seeks to be careful not to have his interpretations prematurely over-structured by theory or previous research. Furthermore, he is perhaps more ready than other kinds of researchers to accept the possible uniqueness of the various settings, groups, organizations, etc., that he studies.

Seeking theory grounded in the reality of participants does not mean a disregard for previous work. In fact, the researcher must become thoroughly acquainted with related research and theory so that he can use it whenever it is helpful for explaining events. Similarly, he contributes to development of knowledge by pointing out corroboration and contradiction of his findings with the findings of other researchers. Moreover, he uses previous research and theory to select the setting he is studying and to inform the initial focus of his information gathering.

The development of grounded theory is not haphazard. The researcher constantly tests his emerging hypotheses against the reality he is observing daily. Unlike the usual prestructured research designs, participant observation includes a constant necessity for testing theory against real data. For more description of this constant comparative method, the reader is urged to consult Glaser & Strauss (1967). Becker (1961) points out that the search for negative evidence is another way that participant observers refine and test their theories. Because of his awareness of the setting, the researcher knows what situations are likely to provide discordant information. He enters these situations to confront this possibly negative evidence, probes to find out why the theory cannot account for what is observed, and gradually develops his theory. It makes sense, then, to think of participant observation as a series of studies which follow each other daily and build on each other in a cybernetic fashion.

Summary

We have briefly described the ethnographic rationale and research process and we believe this basic understanding is necessary for nonethnographic researchers to be able to think about these kinds of studies. More elaborate considerations of this methodology are available in the following sources: Adams & Priess, 1960; Bruyn, 1966; Filstead, 1970; Glaser & Strauss, 1967; McCall & Simmons, 1969; Naroll & Cohen, 1969; Scott, 1965; Schatzman & Strauss, 1973.

The ethnographic researcher works systematically to gather data and develop theory just as other educational researchers do. His methodology is rigorous and objective, not casual and impressionistic. This article is meant to serve as an introduction to a viable tradition which has remained alien to educational researchers for too long.

Understanding the basic facts about ethnographic research discussed in this article should serve to remove an area of non-communication between researchers in each of these traditions. When non-ethnographic researchers are confronted with work within the anthropological tradition, they often balk and want detailed descriptions of basic research activities. This kind of request can be unfair and unrealistic.

The quantitative researcher is not asked customarily to describe the basic details of his research procedures. For instance, someone saying that he is going to use a forced-choice attitude scale methodology is not asked to spell out each time what is involved in developing that kind of scale, in administering it, in punching computer cards, in reading printout, in applying a certain statistical analysis, etc. His statement that he is going to use that particular methodology is short hand for the fact that he is going to go through the accepted techniques. Similarly, an anthropologically oriented researcher saying that he is going to use participant observation has made a short hand statement about commonly accepted techniques he is going to use. The qualitative researcher has the right to expect that other researchers will respect his integrity and that they will make themselves familiar with the basics of his methodology.

There are certainly questions that can be raised about the variations in the quality of participant observation studies just as there are variations in studies using quantitative methodologies. Detailed descriptions of research activities, however, are not what is needed.

The questions that are appropriate to ask are not easily answered within a journal article format. A complete history of the research project would almost be required -- an undertaking that would necessitate as much space as the discussion of the substantive findings. We will illustrate, however, some important considerations by briefly outlining the questions ethnographers may ask about each other's work.

The qualitative research enterprise depends on the ability of the researcher to make himself a sensitive research instrument by transcending his own perspective and becoming acquainted with the perspectives of those he is studying. In a fundamental way it is impossible to know to what degree this was accomplished in any particular study without being in the field. The answers to the following kinds of questions, however, give the fellow scientist some basis on which to judge the work. Our list of questions is adopted from those used by Naroll (1967) in judging cross-cultural studies.

The first set of questions probes the researcher's ability to move beyond his own perspectives. A reviewer thus needs to know what were the researcher's original points of views. (Unfortunately, he must rely primarily on researcher's self reports.)

> What was the researcher's role in the setting?
>   (eg., teacher, administrator, researcher?)
> What was his training and background?
> What was his previous experience in the field?
> What were his theoretical orientations about
>   relevant issues?

What were his personal feelings about the topic?
What was the purpose of the field study?
Who supported the study?
Why was the particular setting chosen?
To what extent did he become a participant?

There are important qualities to note about these questions. Their answers provide only tentative guidelines by which to judge the research rather than firm bases. For instance, a researcher's previous experience as an administrator or with a certain theoretical orientation does not necessarily mean that he is locked into those perspectives and that his research can be discounted as being biased by those points of view.

The second set of questions probe the effectiveness of the researcher in coming to understand the perspectives of the participants.

How long was the researcher in the setting?
How regularly was he there?
Where did he spend most of his time?
With whom did he spend most of his time?
How well did he understand the language of the participants?
How was he perceived by various groups of participants?
Which members of the community were his informants?
Was there systematic variance in his understanding of the perspectives of various groups?
What were the differences in information gathered by various methods?
What were the levels of confidence the researcher placed in various conclusions?
What was some of the negative evidence?

It is important to realize that a full discussion of these issues is impossible within the length limitations of the usual vehicles of communication. Within monographs and books ethnographers do usually discuss these issues in appendices. What is customarily done in shorter formats, however, is a compromise. The researcher offers a brief history of the research involvement, a discussion of some of the major issues in conducting the research, a discussion of particularly problematic conclusions, and an attempt to provide field data within the text adequate for readers to make independent judgements.

Ethnography is not just a new fad; rather it is part of a long respected research tradition that for various historical reasons has remained outside the mainstream of educational research. Similarly, it is not a static tradition and researchers are constantly working to refine the methods. For instance, investigators are examining ways in which qualitative and quantitative approaches can supplement each other (CNS, 1974f), the ways teams of qualitative researchers can be used to guarantee multiple perspectives, and the ways qualitative approaches can be used in evaluative research (CNS, forthcoming). Educational research will be considerably enriched as qualitative and quantitative researchers learn to integrate their approaches.

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B. YOU CAN TALK TO THE TEACHERS

Theoretical Background: A Shift In Norms

One of the most important characteristics of schools as organizations is the nature of the relationships between teachers and students. Waller (1932) noted a tendency for teachers and students to form into warring subcultures with variant goals. Bidwell describes these tendencies.

> ...relations of students and staff center on conflict and mutual hostility. This forms the teaching staff in the school into a tightly knit "fighting group" struggling to maintain order and motivation through the use of official and adult authority, mixed with efforts to penetrate the students' groups with personal warmth of responsiveness. The students are also formed into a "fighting group" that attempts to preserve its own way of life and to deflect or assimilate the demands of teachers.(1965, pg. 980)

Bidwell notes that the hostilities and low level of involvement in formal school activities which are associated with division into subcultures do not show the whole picture. Schools also have the pressure of close, daily interaction pushing to decrease this distance between teachers and students. Thus two contradictory pressures work simultaneously to shape teacher-student interactions. One pushes toward acceptance of the organizationally defined barriers between members of these two groups; the other pushes toward breaking down the barriers and encouraging closeness. This situation is unstable.

Most schools struggle on with this uneasy mixture of distance and nearness. City High and schools like it, however, made the decision to radically alter the traditional assumptions in teacher-student relations and to resolve the tension inherent in the conflicting pressures. They attempted to build organizations that would have norms that encouraged breaking down the barriers between teachers and students.

In order to understand the attempt at reducing the distance between teachers and students, it is important to understand the nature of that distance. Sociologists such as Bidwell (1965) and Dreebin (1968) point out that distance is a fundamental characteristic of modern complex organizations and that it is often functional. They make reference to the concepts of universalism and specificity in explaining the origins of this distance.

Universalism is a norm which requires people to interact with each other in terms of their organizational roles and of objective assessments of their behavior rather than in terms of personal characteristics or personal relationships. The form of interaction is circumscribed by the rules and traditions of the organization. Specificity is a norm which requires people within the organizational context to limit their interest in each other only to organizationally relevant characteristics. Together these norms contribute to making organizational interaction different from interaction between friends. Sociologists point out that these norms help to guarantee the instrumental orientation of organizations by emphasizing objective bases of behavior, excluding irrelevant personal characteristics, and promoting fairness in interactions. It is these norms, of course, which also create the feeling of distance, formality and impersonalness which are often attributed to organizational interactions.

Alternative schools such as City High decided that these norms created undesireable barriers between teachers and students. They tried to deemphasize the importance of universalism and specificity. They encouraged informality, and relationships not limited by the traditional forms appropriate for teacher-student interactions. The teachers at the alternative schools tried to create for themselves new roles which integrated the roles of friend, adult, and teacher. There was much confusion in establishing this new kind of relationship. There are costs involved in abandoning the old roles. The next section describes how the norms were changed and what behaviors resulted. The section after that discusses some of the effects of the changes, including the confusion. A forthcoming paper will discuss the structural and programatic qualities of City High as an organization which supported the creation of the new norms.

In challenging the norm of universalism, teachers did not try to treat every student the same. Assignments, standards of performance, teaching interactions, etc. were all varied in accordance with what the teacher and student knew (or thought they knew) of each other as individuals. For instance, they took into consideration interests, personalities, backgrounds, and the nature of the relationship between them. The organizational symbols of these differential categories of teacher and student--forms of address, content of speech, patterns of dress--were all deemphasized. Organizational status as teacher or student was still important in determining how organizational members of similar or complementary statuses would treat each other, but not so overwhelmingly as in traditional schools. Personal characteristics vied in importance with organizational characteristics.

Specificity, also called compartmentalization, was another aspect of the traditional formality of teacher-student relations which was changed. Typically, teachers and students in regular schools interact primarily about organizationally relevant matters. Non-classroom concerns such as social life and family problems occasionally are discussed but there is a constant pressure to get back to "business." Dreebin describes this specificity.

> On leaving the elementary school and proceding through the departmentalized secondary levels, pupils form associations with teachers who have a progressively narrowing and specialized

> interest in them...the resources of the school far exceed those of the family in providing the social basis for the establishment of relationships in which only narrow segments of personality are invested. (1968, pg. 79)

At City High teachers and students were not limited to "school" matters. Rather, almost anything that was important to a person was considered relevant.* The "segment of personality" became very wide. Taboos on what teachers and students could say to each other were lifted. The relative absence of these limitations on content of interaction and the lack of a strict differential in forms of interaction discussed previously often made it difficult for outside visitors to distinguish teachers from students by any signs except the physical ones of age.

The kinds of personal interactions observed at City High are rare but not unknown in regular schools. Occasionally in conventional schools friendships are established between teachers and students in which they react to each other's personal characteristics and in which they share non school related concerns. In fact, depending on specific students and teachers, the relationship can fall almost anywhere along the continuum of formality ranging from strict formality to friendly formality to older friend to intimate friend. The norms of an institution, however, tend to pressure individuals to form relationships within a certain limited interval of the continuum and to negatively sanction those who deviate foo far. For instance in regular schools colleagues will rarely apply negative sanctions to the fellow teacher who adopts a strictly formal stance whereas they may indeed reproach the teacher who they feel is trying to get too intimate with students. Students are similarly likely to pressure the student who tries to become too close with teachers.

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* As with any friendship relationship, the actual topics of discussion were subject to negotiation. Age and background differences between teachers and students meant that not every student and every teacher could discuss their most important interests with each other.

City High relationships differed in two respects: (1) Although just as in the regular schools there were variations in how close and informal various teachers and students wanted to be, the norms governing these relationships were shifted toward approving more intimacy. For example, no City High teacher would feel negatively sanctioned for establishing close relationships with students although a teacher might be pressured if he adopted a strict, formal stance. (2) The situations appropriate for closeness and informality were expanded at City High. In regular schools closeness was most likely expressed in after school or activity situations. At City High these qualities of relationships were present throughout the day, in and out of class.

These dimensions of formality and closeness are not the only characteristics of teacher-student relationships that might be looked at. In fact, most past studies have investigated other qualities such as leadership style, forms of teacher talk, etc. The results of this body of classroom observation research have been disappointing, however, in their failure to demonstrate reliable relationships between varieties of teacher behavior styles and outcomes (Rosenshine and Furst, 1973). The results have been ambiguous, possibly because there has been relatively little variation among the classrooms they studied in terms of the fundamental role expectations of how organizational members should interact. In spite of all the other variations, the behavior of teachers and students in all of these classrooms is guided by the same limitations restricting intimacy and the allowed forms of interaction.

Even in a school where the norms have shifted to encourage intimacy, of course, there are still important differences among teachers. Within the context of informal and personal relationships, some teachers will teach or influence students more than others. Future research will look at these differences.

Similarly, a shift in these norms does not necessarily affect other qualities of the relationships. Even within the new relationships, for example, many students maintained a dependency stance toward teachers. This paper concentrates, however, on the prominent differences in relationships between this kind of school and regular schools, differences which result from the shift in norms we have described. As later sections show, these changes themselves had profound effects on life in the school in spite of individual differences among teachers.

Findings: Nature Of The Differences

Teacher access: the most important difference

Field observation and field interviews as well as quantitatively analyzed interviews given after the first semester, revealed that City High by and large succeeded in promoting the new teacher-student relations it sought and in changing the norms governing these interactions. Students saw their relationships with teachers at City High as being radically different from their relationships with teachers in the traditional schools. They saw teachers at City High as being much more friendly and approachable than teachers at the old school. They had the feeling of "dialog" with teachers (See Schienfield, 1973). This difference was especially important to adolescents, who place so much importance on the realm of interpersonal functioning. (See Remmers, H. & Radler, D. The American Teenager.) This paper contends that the perceived difference might not necessarily derive from greater warmth of the teachers or their desire to be friendly but rather from a difference in the norms about what was appropriate content and form of teacher-student relationships.

In an attempt to understand the distribution of these attitudes, the research team conducted a mini-interview of City High students at the end of the first semester. In this technique, which was more structured than the usual field interviews, all students who showed up at the school headquarters during a two week period (106 out of a possible 134) were asked a series of six questions. (For more details about the mini-interview see Wilson, 1972, Chapter 8.)

One mini-interview question was "For you, what's the most important difference between City High and your old school ?"

Response	Frequency
Freedom to talk to teachers	36
City as a learning device, free to move about	21
Freedom to do what you want--smoke between class, eat what you want, etc.	20
Independent thought, can say what you want	18
Friendly atmosphere	17
Relevance, good courses	9
Freedom to make decisions	7
Good teaching--help me learn things	2

(The frequencies add up to more than 106 because some students mentioned more than one kind of response.)

Significantly, the most frequent response was freedom to talk to teachers. Students felt that in their old schools there were barriers--they were not free to relate to their teachers in all the ways they wanted. The "independent thought" and the "friendly atmosphere" responses also deal with student-teacher relations. Students felt the teachers at City High were more willing to hear their opinions and that the general atmosphere was more friendly. The "freedom to do what you want" also indirectly reflected on teacher-student relations. Students felt that teachers at City High did not interfere with non-classroom activities in the same way that teachers did at the old school. Even the "City as a learning device" responses often concentrated on the freedom to come and go informally as the most desirable aspect of that difference. This difference was based on the students' perceptions of teachers as more friends than monitors.

City High's innovation was multifaceted. Many types of experimental classes were introduced. The staff sought to create educational experiences that students would think relevant to their personal interests. The institutions of the city were used as educational resources. Students were invited to join in running the institution. Out of all these changes, however, students indicated in free response the changes in student-teacher relations (and the norms governing these relations) were most important.

Below is a sample of the responses to the mini-interview question summarized in the previous table. These reactions have been selected because they give some idea of the limits on traditional ways students and teachers interact. Many of the students had indicated in field interviews during the year that they liked the teachers at the old schools but there were always barriers.

> "You can talk to teachers; you couldn't at the old school."
>
> "The students are closer to the teachers."
>
> "The teachers are more on your level--they're able to relate better."
>
> "The teachers aren't considered animals."
>
> "At the old school everyone was afraid to talk to the teachers--here they're like (sic) persons."
>
> "They're not up on a pedestal--they're people."
>
> "I trust them because I don't think of them as teachers."
>
> "If I had to say, 'yes sir', 'no sir', and not joke, I wouldn't."

There is a danger of misinterpreting these changes. There were still differences between the teacher and student roles. For instance, students generally refused to assume class planning and discipline functions. (For more details see CNS, 1972a.) Also, not every student felt comfortable with every teacher. Some students even held back on their relationships with teachers with the same restraint that was typical in the regular schools.* Most students, however, had at least one teacher with whom they were close. Furthermore, since the organizational categorization of people was played down, students could have confidence that their friendship links would insure that their special teachers would intervene for them with other teachers and not betray confidences. In regular schools the organizationally defined categories are usually so strong that teachers and students must express primary loyalty to their own groups.

Specificity: we can talk about anything

Up to this point the shift in norms has been discussed only in general terms. This section presents a more detailed description so that the reader can understand what the new norms actually meant to the participants. Not "being up on a pedestal" in part meant that City High teachers did not limit the content of interactions with students. Students and teachers could and did get involved together on such topics as teaching technique, school-administration problems, teacher personal life, student personal life, student relations with other adults, and non class related current events and academic matters.

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* This restraint had several different origins. For some students it was born of a distrust for teachers or a reluctance to abandon familiar patterns. As the year progressed, these students generally got over their reluctance. For other students, however, this restraint was a consequence of a strong value learned at home or in their communities that required respect for elders and reserve in interaction with them. These norms learned at home were in direct conflict with the norms City High was trying to establish and were a source of discomfort to both students and teachers.

Students were allowed and often encouraged to voice their reactions to teachers' methods. The norms prohibiting this content in old schools were often so strong that students said they had feared punitive action if they brought these issues up. Even though City High encouraged this expression, it took a long time for students to unlearn the old norms. (For more details, see Wilson, 1972). The discussions about methods sometimes took the form of emotional expressions and sometimes the form of abstract, reasoned conversation about the teaching-learning process.

> (Student to teacher) "When are your classes going to quit being so boring!"

> A teacher in a counseling group was encouraging students to talk about their neighborhoods. One sceptical student asked the teacher if he was trying to analyze them by the way they responded. The teacher then explained his rationale for the discussion.

In a related area, the logistics and administrative details of running a school are usually considered inappropriate material for staff to share with students. In traditional schools students are shielded from disagreements among faculty about educational policy and from concern about administrative problems. Typically students find out about these matters from the informal grapevine, but rarely are they legitimate topics for teacher-student discussions. At City High the staff felt free to share the school concerns with students.

> Two students saw a teacher working on requisitions of scientific apparatus for the next year. They stopped to kibbitz and asked the teacher what he was doing. He explained the requisition process--who had to approve the forms, how much money there was to work with, and what kind of educational policy influenced the decisions. He asked if they wanted to help and they joined him in looking through the catalogs.

> In staff meetings the faculty had been debating the merits of counseling group as a procedure. A teacher discussed the varying faculty positions with a group of students.

Under the new norms, teacher and student personal lives become valid topics of discussion. They felt free to discuss with each other issues which were customarily defined as extraneous to their official relations in schools--for instance, family, friends, sex, economic matters, personal habits, hobbies, aspirations, etc. Students said they enjoyed learning about teachers as people.

> A teacher joked with a group of students about a paycheck and what he and his family were going to do with it. Students asked to see the check and he passed it around.

> A teacher was talking to students about her boyfriend in California--what he was like, when she was going to see him...

> Several students were discussing troubles they had with their parents about how they kept their rooms. The teacher told of his father's upset reaction to his first apartment.

Teachers found that students also felt more comfortable discussing their personal concerns. The following samples illustrate the wide ranging nature of these topics.

> A teacher told the observer that a female student had told her that she was pregnant and had sought advice.

> Students had many conversations with teachers about future jobs and professions they were considering.

> A student told a teacher about a hitch-hiking trip he was planning to Arizona. They then discussed how to stay out of trouble with the police and what to see in Arizona.

A special area of these personal concerns was student relations with other adults. Students often wanted the trusted adults at City High to intervene for them with other adults.

> Many teachers helped students get summer jobs.

> Teachers sometimes contacted parents if students were having family problems.

> Students occasionally asked teachers to aid them with their dealings with the police and the courts.

The freedom to talk to each other about what was on their minds extended to non-personal matters, also. Students and teachers conversed about topics in and out of the teacher's specialty, e.g. current events, movies--in a way that teachers only talk to each other in traditional schools.

> A teacher and three students discussed witches and voodoo as it was practiced in their neighborhood.

> A student came up to the teachers desk and saw The Source lying on her desk. They then discussed questions about the book.

> Teachers and students were constantly discussing politics, sports, the weather, etc.

Forms of relationships

In addition to the limitations on what content was appropriate between organizational members, there are often expectations about how persons from various categories will behave in relationships with each other. These restraints on behaviors serve as symbolic recognitions of the role differences and emphasize the limited nature of their relationship. These standardized ways of relating to others are characterized as formality. At City High the necessity and wisdom of these norms were questioned.

For example, in most schools students are expected to modify the way they act when in classes or when face to face with school staff. They are usually expected not to act as they do in the informal subcultures. At City High student behavior was largely the same with or without teachers present.

The previous section has described how students in regular schools were expected to censor what topics they brought up and how City High changed those norms so that almost no topic was off limits. Also students have been traditionally expected to address teachers and other staff by their last name with mister or miss in front. Staff, on the other hand, have more latitude in what they can call students. At City High these symbolic differentials were abandoned and everyone was called by his/her first name. Students in regular schools have also been expected to change the language they used, urged to avoid the use of curse words, slang and dialect and generally to strive toward the middle class language of the school. Recently there has been much debate about the educational advisability of denying the students the right to speak in their native dialects and styles--for instance, black English (See Labov, 1970). At City High there were few explicit expectations about language behavior. Student language in class and in front of staff did not differ much from the language used in the subculture.

The use of time is also often formalized in organizations. Schedules regulate the actions of organizational members--especially contacts between persons in different role positions. In school settings, students and teachers are expected to present themselves regularly for formal activities at specified times and stay for specified periods. At City High time was much more flexible. Although there were still specific time periods designated for organizational activities, the rigidity of these time demands was modified.

School activities were not rigid in their starting and ending times. Within time periods people were also somewhat free to structure their time as they wished--for example, taking breaks and varying their concentration on various tasks. Although cutting classes was frowned on, students were free to work out independent timing arrangements for teacher contacts.

> (Student to a visitor) "Our teachers aren't up-tight. There aren't any bells or anything. We run on human time. I guess its like college."

> Students in French class worked individually and in small groups among which the teachers circulated. During the period all students got up at various times to leave the room without asking the teacher. They stayed away for 5 to 10 minutes talking to friends, going into the lounge, getting drinks, etc.

Informal time also meant that the City High day was not segmented like it was in traditional schools where students and teachers see each other primarily at specified times in limited situations. At City High, because of the norms supporting access and the existence of free time and open spacial arrangements (for more details, see CNS, 1974 d.)teachers and students had contact all day in many contexts as well as outside of school.

> Informal gatherings of students and teachers during free time and breaks were a frequent daily occurrence at City High.

Teachers and students often met after school and on weekends at teachers' homes or at meeting places at the community.

The ritualistic relationships of staff and students in regular schools demands a certain kind of demeanor. There are expectations about how people will conduct themselves based on their organizational roles--how they move about the school, how they sit and stand, what use they make of materials and fixtures and the tone of their actions generally. Students are expected to be somewhat business-like, to restrain emotional and physical expression, and to adopt somewhat formal postures when with teachers. At City High the tone of people's actions with people in complementary roles was little different than the tone with people in the same role.

> (Descriptions of postures in a Social Studies course--typical of other situations) The teacher and three students sit on the floor with backs to the wall. Two students are sitting on the floor and two lie on the floor. Four sit on chairs. One sits backwards on the chair, two stand, and one sits on the window seat.
>
> Teachers and students ate anywhere and any time they wanted.
>
> Students were free to use most materials and equipment as they wanted. They used telephones and typewriters and looked at books and equipment lying around on teachers' desks.

Not only students' actions are shaped by the traditional expectations. In the old schools staff, too, were not entirely free to act as they might or as they would with friends. They also would sometimes like to act zany, to sit and move in a variety of ways, and to share with students personal and intellectual matters not related to the courses. At City High there was a symmetry in the modification of norms. All the new norms of informaility and nonspecificity previously discussed affected staff behavior as well as students.

In fact, the atmosphere extended to non-teaching staff also. Secretaries, paraprofessionals, and even the policeman, all of whom in regular schools are part of the distant, official, adult world had personal, informal relationships with students.

> During free time teachers and students often played games with each other--for example, Scrabble, three dimensional checkers.
>
> Teachers and students often asked each other to give messages to friends.
>
> A girl student was practical joking by shooting a water gun at people. She shot the assistant principal. He later got the gun and shot her.

We are not stating that student behaviors with persons of the same role was identical with their behavior with persons of the complementary roles. Part of the differences in behavior came from the gaps in age and interests. Many times individuals sought out their peers for intimacy--for example, teachers were not likely to get excited about adolescent social exploration nor did students fully comprehend the problems of running a family. Individuals did not enter fully into the subcultures of the group--for instance, teachers remained outside of student status hierarchies.

Other differences arose as a result of organizational positions. Teachers had more obligations than students to be responsible for the use of time and materials, to give direction to activities, to be available as resources, and generally to make the organization go. There were still role differences but a clear attempt was made to circumscribe the effects of these differences. People were not limited to interacting with each other only in terms of their role positions nor only about organizationally relevant issues.

This section has delineated what the partial abandonment of the norms of universalism and specificity meant for the ways teachers and students could interact. The repertoire of appropriate content and forms of interaction was expanded to include forms and content previously restricted to friendship relations.

The next section discusses some of the ramifications of these changes. The new kinds of relationships had beneficial effects on both teachers and students and seemed to be serving educational purposes. Some saw these new relationships as one of the most significant accomplishments of the alternative schools. At the same time, however, problems developed. The definition of the alternative school teacher role in negative terms as someone who was more open with students than traditional teachers was not sufficient. The teachers at City High were struggling to integrate their roles of friend, adult, counselor, and teacher within this context. Many conflicts arose as they tried to be true to all these felt obligations, and the changes were not uniformly positive. Pressures that were frequent at the regular schools were indeed relieved, but new pressures were created.

Findings: Effects Of The Changes

Increased information and hopes

One of the most comprehensive effects of the new relationships was an increase in the flow of information. Students in regular schools do not share many kinds of thoughts with most of their teachers. In part this reluctance stems from the instrumental emphasis in the formal organization. Teachers and students sense many topics to be inappropriate to the "business" of the classroom and the school.

This exchange of formerly taboo topics increased the possibility for the school to address several important developmental concerns of adolescents--for example, sexual, vocational, and ideological identy (See Havighurst, 1952). Before teachers could help students with these concerns, the school had to allow them to become legitimate topics of conversation. The freedom of communication at City High meant that conversations between teachers and students entered these realms of values and aspirations more often. They knew more about each others' lives outside of the school and about their gut reaction to issues than their counterparts in the regular schools.

This flow of information was not all positive, however. In regular schools, because these concerns are rarely shared, students have few hopes that teachers can or will help them. At City High, on the other hand, students began to have unreal expectations that teachers would be able to help them with the thorny problems of adolescence. Some increased their dependency on teachers. These personal problems, of course, are more difficult to solve than the restricted academic questions of regular schools.

> (Student to teacher) "S--, you've got to help me. I'm having parent problems again. I just can't go on living there..."

Teachers confronted a related danger. In regular schools teachers who wanted close relations with students could always complain that the organizational norms did not let people approach each other. At City High because these norms were changed, teachers had almost as much access to most students as they wanted and they hoped that they would be able to help students in significant ways. They had much success. Nonetheless, they were unable to solve some of the complex problems brought up or to influence some students. The City High teachers were thus subject to much frustration that did not exist for regular school teachers, who could have little hope of becoming involved with students about these difficult issues.

> (Teacher to observer) "I don't know what we can do for S--. He's got so many problems--at home and with the court. We just can't give up on him."

City High was never as successful in this area of helping students as it hoped to be. Like many alternative schools, it had planned to involve both parents and communities directly in school activities. Because of the amount of work involved in just getting the school going, however, the staff was never able to develop programs to accomplish these goals. (See Wilson, 1972 and CNS, 1973c.)

Although individual teachers would intervene for individual students with various agencies, the school never found a way to systematically work with community agencies. Similarly, although individual teachers would intervene with individual parents, again there was not a systematic method developed for working with parents. Furthermore, the staff never dealt with the problem of working out a consistent orientation toward parents and their values.

These expanded teacher-student relationships created another problem. Teachers realized that their traditional teacher training had not equipped them with needed counseling skills. City High attempted to help teachers learn these skills by bringing in consultants, but the consultants did not solve the problems. Part of the staff's real difficulty in addressing student problems may have stemmed not so much from lack of counseling skills as from their lack of experience with the diverse backgrounds of students. Some of the staff felt insecure when trying to help students with problems that were alien to their own experiences. It was clear that the failure of teacher training institutions to include both counseling skills and exposure to various backgrounds in their programs would be a persistent problem facing alternative schools. (Some analysts would disagree that such training would help teachers to counsel students from backgrounds radically different from their own. They urge that the staffs of these schools be diversified so that teachers will have the resources from their own experiences to work with students from various backgrounds.)

Some staff members had reservations about the intensity of staff involvement in counseling. They were afraid that these committments, which sometimes included teacher activity outside of school, were overambitious. They were also wary that the concentration on severe problems would shortchange the great majority of relatively normal students. They doubted that the staff could provide the kind of help that some more troubled students needed.

> (Staff member to observer) "I'm not sure R-- (White, female teacher) is helping T--(Black student). One thing Black males don't need is some woman trying to take care of them."

Increased fatigue

The formal and functionally specific relationships of specialized organizations, such as typical secondary schools, offer certain kinds of protection for organizational members. There are limits on the timing, spacing, and nature of interactions. There are controls on the intensity. Although the expansion of these limits at City High was a source of professional and personal fulfillment for many individuals, it was also a source of factigue and an emotional drain on teachers.

Rather than having the highly predictable schedules characteristic of regular schools, City High teachers had to be ready for any kind of interaction at any time. The predictable aspects of the program--classes and counseling groups--were only a small part of their contacts with students.

In addition to not being limited in time, contacts were not limited in space. Another paper (CNS, 1974d) describes the actions taken by City High staff to create an "open" climate (spacially and socially) where all organizational members had access to each other and there were few "off limits" areas. Norms promoting open access required both students and teachers to sacrifice some privacy. Teachers found that some organizational activities required specialized space and that they sometimes wanted to withdraw from the informal friend-counselor role so that they could pursue other functions.

> (Teacher at staff meeting) We've got to find someplace for the teachers to work. I like talking to students, but yesterday afternoon I was trying to make some things for the City Planning courses and kids kept on coming up wanting to rap."

On weekends some teachers' homes became populated with students.

At the end of the observation period, teachers and students were developing sensitivities to each other's desires to be alone or to work. Similarly, many areas around the school were becoming informally differentiated for certain kinds of activities--for instance, noisy socializing became infrequent in the work area.

Another cause of teacher fatigue was the expansion of the nature of interactions. Just as openness allowed these interactions to be positive, it also allowed them to be negative. In the formal situation of regular schools, negative affect can be expressed towards a teacher, but at City High students were comfortable with expressing this negative affect in far more personal ways. They reacted as friend to friend, rather than as student to teacher--for example, making fun of a teacher's physical traits or reacting in an extreme way to some personal advice. This tendency was especially wearing for the teachers because of the highly ambivalent feelings of adolescents towards adults--quickly fluctuating between love and hate. (See Erikson, 1968)

This increased exposure for teachers had dramatic consequences. Although the faculties of these alternative schools have been usually positive about their teaching experiences, there has been a high level of turnover. Almost the entire original staff of City High had left in 3 years. Teachers feel that they were "burned out" by the intensity of personal and organizational demands.

The traditions of teaching have not developed any of the safeguards of the other professions that enter into the intense world of personality--e.g. social work and mental health. Teachers are not routinely trained for the kinds of interaction that developed in the City High atmosphere. Indeed, it may be that the traditional organizational patterns of high school which exclude these relationships have evolved to protect their staffs from the fatigue that has been described. (It is important to realize that these personal teacher-student relations reduce certain kinds of emotional drain. Teachers at this kind of school did not experience the fatigue that comes from the constant need to formally control and discipline students. Teachers did not come home feeling like they had done battle all day.)

Many alternative schools place a high value on these personal teacher-student relations. It will be important to watch how they cope with the potential for exhaustion--by evolving new norms to regulate the new interactions or by giving up some of the new scope of relationships. The "burning out" phenomenon is complex and cannot be fully treated there. The new intensity of interactions with students does not totally explain it. The nature of the teachers' committment to the school as well as their unique personal qualities may also be important. See CNS, 1973c and Smith & Keith, 1971 for more discussions of "burning out".

Clinging to the traditional roles

Other kinds of problems accompanied the introduction of these new norms of friendly informality. Not all students were eager to accept the changes. The traditional role structures had been well learned by some students. In fact, they had incorporated these expectations into their definitions of school (See Wilson, 1972). They were reluctant to give up the clear knowledge of limitations inherent in the traditional roles for the unpredictability of the new roles.

Various subgroups of students differed on how well they accepted the new role of friend-counselor for teachers. Students from minority and lower economic backgrounds who had a history of being alienated from school were wary of the new friendly relations. They were disconcerted by the possible inappropriateness of their usual reactions of withdrawal and rebelliousness. During the early periods of the school they were constantly testing teachers. When the teachers did not respond in a way they expected, they doubted the teachers' sincerity.

Gradually, some of these students began to accept friendly personal relations with a few teachers. Nevertheless they also clung to the old role definitions because they served important functions for them.

> A school alienated student was talking to the observer about a teacher he was friendly with. When the conversation turned to class cutting, the observer asked the student why he didn't talk it over with his friend-teacher. Student: "No matter how friendly, a teacher's still a teacher."

The school oriented students who came from upwardly mobile, lower middle class families, had slightly different problems with the new roles. These students were used to relating to teachers with respect and restraint. They seemed to desire the distance--for instance, ritualistic forms of address that separate teachers and students in the traditional schools. They saw this distance as a symbol of the teacher's status as gatekeeper to mobility. They were at first upset with the informal, personal relationships that characterized many City High classes.

Most of these students gradually grew comfortable with the new student teacher relationships and accepted the new roles. In fact some of these students became the closest friends to teachers after they learned that their mobility was not going to be threatened by the informal relationships. A few, however, never accepted the new norms.

> A majority of the students who transferred out of City High after the first semester were from the school oriented group. These students indicated in informal interviews that they left because the school was not structured enough and they

feared they could not realize their occupational goals. Parents often had important roles in these decisions.

The school alienated and the school oriented students clung to a corollary aspect of the traditional teacher role. Going along with the idea that teachers should be formal and somewhat distant in class was the expectation that they should be more friendly and informal in activities. The City High staff was not keen on continuing the activities and wanted to eradicate this distinction. In part they feared anything that resembled the old schools. They hoped that student teacher relations throughout the day would be characterized by warmth that was often restricted to activities in the traditional schools. Some students seemed confused when relations with teachers in City High classes resembled their relations with teachers in regular school activities. They pushed for the continuation of traditional activity structures at City High partially in hopes of reestablishing these distinctions which they had learned so well. For evidence bearing on this issue and for discussions of other reasons students sought to continue activities, see Wilson, 1972.

Conflicting loyalties

Teachers also had trouble working out these new roles. In the traditional school situation where there is an attempt to maintain a formal distance between students and teachers, there are clear expectations about what kinds of obligations individuals have to members of their own groups--for instance, certain kinds of information are not to be shared with members of the other group.

City High deemphasized the formal distance inherent in student and teacher roles. The role of friend began to compete in importance with the organizational role of teacher/student. The obligations which were once clear became ambiguous. For instance students shared information with City High teachers they would not have shared with teachers in the regular schools. Teachers who learned of these issues in the regular schools would have had a strong obligation to inform other teachers or officials. At City High, on the other hand, the obligation to their student-friend vied in importance with their obligation to other teachers and to their official roles.

> One student out of a group who were joking with a teacher-friend mentioned that she was going to copy out of the encyclopedia to fulfill another teacher's assignment. The observer noted a momentary expression of distress in this teacher's face. The teacher made a joking comment about the other teachers having to read an awful lot of encyclopedia-text. The obligation to these students in this context precluded any more probing on this point.

Situations such as this one illustrate how the obligations of friend, adult and teacher often conflicted. Some members of the staff felt that other teachers leaned too far in the direction of friend. They thought that their colleagues showed too little of the adult and teacher and that they did not introduce enough mature guidance and authority when it was needed. The City High staff had constant difficulty in finding a viable integration of all these roles in a way that did not sacrifice too much of either friend or teacher.

Changes in teaching techniques

Teachers at City High discovered that the open relationships with the students interfered with some traditional teaching techniques. Within the context of formal relationships teachers at traditional schools can count on either compliance with or rebellion to their directives. At City High there was a third alternative. Students felt comfortable enough with teachers to question every request and to try to negotiate desired changes. Positively, these developments showed that students were learning to deal functionally with adults. Negatively, this lack of complacency introduced difficulties for teachers.

For example, teachers were hampered in inquiry teaching strategies. Teachers sometimes ask students to do things that the students do not like or do not understand with the intention of leading them to insight. In regular schools, the teachers can generally count on the students to go along with them. At City High students demanded to know the reasons and debated the proposed actions. Teachers, of course, could not expose the reasons without ruining the impact of the technique. Generally, they got students to trust them and to go along with the procedures but they had to spend much more energy than their counterparts in the regular schools who get compliance because of their organizational positions.

City High teachers found themselves caught between their roles of teacher and friend. Teachers can demand. Friends usually do not tell each other what to do except in the spirit of suggestion. City High teachers did not want to make formal commands and yet they did sometimes want to direct student action more than a friend would. The resolution was an uneasy arrangement with teachers proposing and students negotiating.

This confusion and compromise between official and friend caused even more widespread upheaval in traditional teaching techniques. The expectations associated with the usual teacher role make it quite appropriate for teachers to try to control such things as quality of work and attendance. These familiar teacher actions are perhaps the most illustrative of the universalistic norms which underlie traditional teacher-student relations. City High teachers found that their friendships with students and their interest in the particularistic details of each student's life made it difficult for them to demand work or attendance in an absolute manner with universal standards. For instance, a friend does not easily withold credit from a friend, complain about the quality of work or throw him out of class because of non-attendance. Students expected the norms of informality and friendship to prevail in and out of class. They wanted to control the definition of teacher-student relations.

> (Student to observer) "C-- (teacher) is really an O.K. guy when you are talking to him at his desk. When he gets in class, he goes way out. He tries to act like a regular teacher. He'd be an alright teacher somewhere else, but not at City High."

An important aspect of this teacher's "way outness" was his attempt to enforce strict standards of work and attendance. One of the major struggles of alternative schools is to find ways for teachers to prod students to live up to standards of work and attendance without giving up the informality and friendship. The new student-teacher relationships precluded the old, formal ways of enforcing these standards.

A strange turnabout at City High further illustrates the abondonment of the norms of universalism in teacher-student relations. In traditional high schools the most formal relationships occur in academic classes. Relationships with activity sponsors and coaches, on the other hand, tend to be more global and particularistic. At City High the situation was reversed. Almost every classroom teacher-student relationship had the friendly, personal aura usually reserved for activities. Teachers acting in the role of activity sponsors, however, sometimes found the informality frustrating.

> (Teacher, who was also a coach, to observer) "I've discovered something--you can't coach a team according to the City High philosophy."

Not coaching "according to the City High philosophy" meant that the teacher, as coach, could not accept the usual patterns of particularistic variation and negotiation for each student. Although the friendliness remained, those running activities often felt the need to be stricter than they were in classes in setting universalistic standards of attendance and performance.

The new importance of personal relations

In regular schools the closeness of student-teacher interactions was restricted, but the norms of universalism required interactions to be equally distant for all students. There were favorites and enemies, but aside from these few exceptions, most students felt they had almost as much access to the teacher as any other student.

City High expanded the possible range of interaction. Because this expansion included personal and informal relationships, reactions and feelings that were almost invisible in regular schools were made manifest. Unlike the restricted situation in the regular schools, students and teachers could act on their feelings and seek more or less contact with each other.

Generally, teachers tried to maintain some kind of universalistic standards in regard to student interactions. That is, they tried to welcome all student approaches and to make any student feel comfortable in friendly interaction. Teachers were somewhat successful in this approach and had special friends among students from all subgroups. Inevitably, however, teachers enjoyed some students' company more than others and these subtle cues were picked up by the students.

Feeling no need to be universalistic in their interactions, students quite often zeroed in on those teachers they especially liked. Teachers almost became "territories." Certain students (often from the same subgroup and/or sex) tended to hang around with certain teachers. This tendency was encouraged by supply and demand problems. Attempts to diversify the faculty in terms of background were largely unsuccessful and some students thus had few staff with background similar to their own to choose from.

The opening up of teacher-student interactions to include personally relevant concerns may have made these patterns of differential choice inevitable. The personal qualities of adults with whom students were going to be close was imporatnt. They were more selective than they would have been in the traditional teacher-student interaction.

The infomality also affected student interactions with each other. Since City High teachers could not attempt to control discussions in the same formal way as the regular school teachers, students personal qualities had even more importance than in regular classes. Verbal students tended to dominate discussions. Reluctant students could easily withdraw from discussions. Informal methods of control were tried such as pressures on verbal students to refrain and urges to quiet students to participate. Because of the norms of informality, however, the possiblility of officially structuring discussions was remote.

There are also limits on how much teachers could try to manipulate student encounters with each other. In the traditional classroom, teachers can try to force students to deal with each other--for example, scheduling, group assignments, structured recitation. At City High, however, the atmosphere of infomality allowed students to select other students for interaction--in scheduling, in finding work partners, in initiating discussions, etc. The impersonal throwing together of people characteristic of formal situations was somewhat lacking. This was a particularly crucial lack at City High where one of the basic goals had been to really bring together students from diverse backgrounds.

Summary

We have described the transitional role that teachers evolved at City High. It stood somewhere between friend/counselor and traditional teacher. It introduced some new possibilities and it took away some old ones. It opened some of the worlds of interaction based on informal friendliness and it closed out some of the interactions based on universalistic, official roles.

Teachers and students learned a lot more about previously hidden aspects of each others lives. Teachers and students could get closer. Teachers could potentially have more influence on students--especially in those personal areas important to adolescents.

Students could have new kinds of friendships with adults outside the family. Teachers gained more immediate feedback about the impact of their teaching. The days at school became more enjoyable. The idea that there were two mutually hostile categories of people with different goals was gradually disappearing.

The new possibilities, however, raised teachers' and students' hopes about solving student personal problems and created a lot of potential frustration. The transformation of the old role structure fatigued teachers because it increased the intensity and scope of interaction with students. It threatened some students because it made obsolete some old, well learned methods of coping with school. Teachers found they had to sort out the demands of the sometimes conflicting roles of friend and teacher. The repudiation of the universalistic norms magnified the importance of personal reactions and inhibited the use of some teaching techniques that depended on the distance of the teacher role.

It is important to note that City High teachers' lack of freedom to use these formal techniques may not have had as much impact as it seems. As events in the regular schools demonstrate, just because a teacher in their setting can formally demand attendance, set standards for work, and require cooperation among students in assignments does not mean that he gets attendance, work, or cooperation. Even if students do comply, there are no guarantees that these activities in themselves will lead to increased learning or better interpersonal relations.

The occurrences at City High raise some important questions about recent theoretical analyses of schools as organizations. One line of reasoning (see Bidwell, 1965, 1973 and Dreeban 1968) suggests that there is a change in the nature of student-teacher relationships as the functional qualities of schools change from the elementary to higher levels. Higher level institutions are seen as being more specialized than lower level ones and the norms of universalism and specificity become more prevalent. With these changes, the nature of student-teacher interactions becomes more instrumental--that is, they are based on objective competencies and performance and the affective ties resemble "respect" more than "love" or "liking."

> In complex societies the high level of structural differentiation, which involves specialized occupations and organizations for providing various kinds of service to persons,makes societal ties approximating the primordial unlikely between teachers and students except in the specific situations of the nursery and primary education. (Bidwell, 1973 pg. 421)

These theories are appealing explanations of the modal differences between elemantary and secondary schools. City High arrangements suggest, however, that the increased instrumental and formal emphasis of secondary schools is not inevitable. In fact, the positive reactions of students to the City High relationships indicate that the traditional emphasis might even be dysfunctional. The failure of regular schools to affect basic student orientations and values and their problems with student alienation may derive in part from clinging to the norms of impersonal, formal, instrumental, teacher-student relationships.

Secondary students do not seem to want the diffuse "liking" or "love" relationships with teachers that characterize relationships with elementary teachers, but neither do they want the purely instrumental relationships based primarily on respect and competence that the theorists propose. These sociological analyses disregard some important developmental facts about adolescents. Many students in our society do not have the clear sense of goal and purpose that the concept of a specialized, instrumental secondary school presupposes. They are not as interested in acquiring some specific set of skills as they are in defining their identities. (See Erickson, 1960). They do not want mere subject matter experts as teachers. Rather, they want teachers who can understand what concerns them, who can offer appropriate help, who can make the subjects relate to their interests, who can serve as personal models, and who demonstrate that they are genuinely concerned about the student as a whole person, not only as a student. These combined instrumental-expressive criteria demonstrate that neither expertise nor friendliness is sufficient in itself. These student desires suggest a model for the secondary schools different from the one the analysts propose. City High was a beginning of this kind of alternative.

The student-teacher relationships established at City High challange not only schools but organizational structure in general. There is an assumption that many relationships in organizations in highly specialized societies must be somewhat impersonal and formal. Moreover, some analysts such as Dreeban (1968) see the schools as serving an important function in socializing students for roles in these organizations. The usual teacher-student relations are important in this process.

> The school is perhaps best designed for learning to participate in authority relationships based on inequalities in specific capacity rather than on diffuse obligation and on the occupancy of positions linked by contractual or other specific agreements. (1968, pg. 144)

There is a growing realization, however, that this organizational future for which students are being prepared may not be the best of all possible worlds. Perhaps, we have gone too far in dehumanizing organizational relationships. Individuals may end up alientated from their tasks and from each other in such settings. (Fromm, 1961.) Experiments in organic job organization are being tried, such as decentralized authority, primary group job rotation and work time choice (Bennis, 1968). We may find ways to have primary kinds of relationships become prevalent even in our highly specialized organizations. The data from City High demonstrate that this process of linking primary relationships and instrumental purposes is not easy. The data also show, however, that the attempt is worth it.

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C. WHY IT WORKED

The Culture Of An Innovation

Educational innovations seem to come and go mysteriously. Some innovations which are reported as brilliantly successful in one setting are shown to be dismal failures when tried in other settings. For several years there have been extensive and sophisticated efforts to unravel the mysteries of innovation. Havelock (1969) and Chin (1974) have suggested areas that might be relevant to understanding innovation, but their studies lack details about the implications of specific attempts.

Philip Jackson (1968) and Louis Smith (with Keith, 1970) propose a reason for this lack. Researchers enter school systems with a priori notions about what is important to study and with research methods geared to gathering information only about these preconceived hypotheses. Jackson and Smith, claiming that such strategies often miss the real forces shaping daily life in the schools, propose the use of anthropological methods which take a more holistic approach toward what kind of information might be relevant (see Bruyn, 1966) and which attempt to establish theory grounded in the reality of the participants (see Glaser and Strauss, 1967).

The Center for New Schools (CNS) has developed anthropological methods specifically designed to study the fate of innovations. To date, our primary application has been in alternative schools. CNS asks the participants in these schools to identify innovations that are important to them. Then, using techniques perfected by anthropologists to guarantee adequate sensitivity and penetration (see

McCall and Simmons, 1968), the participant observers become a part of the school community.* They focus their study on the relation of the school's formal and informal social system to the implementation of particular innovations. This means that they seek any kind of information that can help to explain the fate of the innovation - including unanticipated outcomes and unanticipated relationships.

These findings often lack the unified simplicity of standard deductive research with its more limited focuses. The participant observer is aware of many facets of the developing milieu of the new school setting and often becomes aware of widely differing influences working to shape the particular innovations. His data is not the chart, tables or graph of traditional research design, but the documents and conversations that make up the day-to-day life of the organization being studied.

In seeking to understand the role of specific innovations in social change, CNS researchers try to be open to all the pressures that might influence attempted changes and to understand them from the perspective of actual participants. CNS has found that the specific nature of the innovation - especially in newly created organizations such as alternative schools - exhibits an independent influence on events beyond the dynamics of innovation in general.

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* Throughout the paper we used school community to refer to the community life of the school itself as a sub-culture and not to the larger geographic community in which the school is located. Since students were drawn from all over a large city, they came from many different ethnic backgrounds. Although these different groups reacted to teacher-student relationships in slightly different ways, we do not analyze these differences in this paper, but rather emphasize general structures of the organization.

For example, the hopes, fears, pressures, effects, interrelation with other programs, etc. associated with the innovation of new norms governing teacher-student interaction are different in significant ways from those associated with the innovation of using the city as a learning resource. All these unique attributes from what we call the "culture" of the particular innovation. We are not claiming that each single organization is unique and must be understood only on its own terms. We are claiming, however, that each type of innovation has a phenomenological uniqueness that must be understood if it is to be implemented successfully.

Our purpose in this paper is two-fold: (1) to provide information for those who want to implement the specific innovation discussed (promoting personal student-teacher interactions) and (2) to offer an example of the type of ethnographic analysis that is often necessary in studying innovations and which should be incorporated into general theories of innovation.

Teacher-Student Relationships In Alternative Schools

By establishing alternative schools as totally new organizations, innovators hope to circumvent the internal system resistances that plague innovations introduced into already existent organizations. CNS studied one alternative high school established within a large city public school system (called City High in this paper). City High is fairly representative of a growing number of similar schools around the country. Several innovations are simultaneously introduced: (1) The city is used as a learning resource. The students have many of their classes in cultural and business institutions throughout the city. (2) The student population is purposely diverse with students being drawn from all class and ethnic subgroups within the city. (3) Students and teachers are given a larger role in decision-making than in traditional schools. (4) The attempt is made to encourage interdisciplinary academic organization. (5) Teachers and students are encouraged to interact in informal and friendly ways. City High started with 150 students and 10 teachers. The second year it expanded to 350 students and 20 teachers. We studied it during its first two years.

Two participant observers became members of the school community. They attended daily—observing, listening, asking questions, being asked questions, etc. They made sure that they covered every area of the school. They worked to gain an understanding of events from the perspectives of the different groups of participants and from the perspective of the objective outsider. (For more on methodology, see Wilson, 1972 and CNS 1974e.)

The innovation we concentrate on in this paper is the attempt by City High to establish new norms governing teacher-student interactions, norms which differ significantly from those prevalent in traditional schools. City High hoped to establish norms which encouraged informal and personal relationships between teachers and students. You Can Talk to the Teachers (CNS, 1974c) describes in detail the informal nature of these interactions. Teachers and students went beyond the specific classroom functions in their interactions. The content and form of interactions came to be much less determined by organizational role than by personal characteristics. Formerly taboo topics and styles of interaction became legitimate. These changes had profound effects—both positive (e.g. increased flow of information, teacher-student satisfaction, student openness to teacher influence, decreased hostility) and negative (e.g. unrealistic expectations, fatigue, limits on teachers' abilities to use formal techniques). The reader is urged to read the other CNS paper in conjunction with this one.

Many critics of the schools erroneously assume that all that is necessary for change is the intention to change and for the people involved to be committed to the change. Our research has demonstrated, however, that this commitment to change is often not enough. The organizational context must support the changes. (See Sarason, 1973.)

This paper focuses on an innovation that was generally successful. It is important to understand what organizational forces supported a successful innovation. Otherwise, like so many other innovations, this attempt to change the norms governing student-teacher interactions might be tried in some other setting and fail miserably. We are not claiming that any school that wishes to have these informal open relationships must do everything exactly the way City High did. We are noting, however, those aspects of City High's milieu, described in this paper, which did contribute to the success of the innovation. Of course, there are possibly many ways to reach the same desired end. (See the discussion of equifinality in Katz and Kahn, 1967.)

Staff Recruitment

The first influences on the fate of the new norms differs from many of the other influences in that it is not unique to this particular innovation. Organizational theory would predict the importance of recruitment on the success of any innovation. Selection of persons who already have traits or attitudes positive to an innovation before they enter saves the organization the cost of educating or socializing the new participants (see Stinchecombe, 1965). Our research suggests that recruitment was indeed important, although not as important as many might suspect.

Some readers might want to attribute the informality and openness of teacher-student relations solely to staff attitudes. They might argue that all the school needs is a young minded staff with certain ideas and it would instantly have the desired kinds of interactions. Previous papers (e.g., "Strengthening Alternative Schools," CNS, 1972a) have shown that right attitude is often not enough to establish desired ends. This argument for the overriding importance of attitudes underplays the ecological forces on people's actions. For instance, there are many teachers in regular schools who would prefer to relate to students informally and find that the milieu prohibits this kind of interaction. Similarly, there were some teachers at City High who might have preferred slightly more formal relationships but their milieu worked against formality.

Nonetheless, it is important to realize that teachers selected for City High were at least not hostile to the idea of these informal interactions. The teacher selection committee (made up of teachers and students) quizzed the applicants about how they thought they would typically deal with students. An elaborate two stage teacher selection process was established. Applicants first submitted vitae and answered two questionnaires prepared by the committee. A smaller selected group was invited to the school for an interview. The committee asked probing questions about the applicants' approach to student-teacher roles and to the symbolic structure maintaining these roles. They asked questions such as, "How do you feel about students calling you by your first name?" and "What would you do if a student came to you with a personal problem like ——?" As well as listening to the content of the replies, the committee watched the applicants' response to the situation of a student interviewing him/her for a job.

The teacher and student members of these committees usually concurred. They did not select only teachers who were extremely favorable to friendly, informal student-teacher interaction. Sometimes a prospective teacher's creative teaching ideas or academic enthusiasm compensated for an attitude of reserve (relative to the City High norms) in teacher-student relations. Similarly, a teacher who was predisposed to these close relationships, but who seemed to have little to offer in the academic realm was not acceptable. Though this interview process did not guarantee that every new teacher would be a person who wanted to be friendly with students, it did insure that teachers would be open about what kind of interactions they would seek.

Counseling Group

An organization's set of goals is an important ingredient of its milieu. The innovations that City High was simultaneously trying to introduce created a context in which teacher-student interactions would take place. Many of the innovations had unanticipated effects on the possibilities for student-teacher relationships.

The counseling group was one of the other innovations attempted at City High. An unstructured time each week was allowed for these groups of students (each counseling group representing the full diversity of the student body) to meet with teachers. This time was to be used to help students learn interpersonal skills and to integrate into their lives the various kinds of learning acquired in the unfamiliar City High program. As time progressed, staff and students grew dissatisfied with these groups and tried to reduce the time given to them or to eliminate them. Almost everyone in this school agreed that the groups fell far short of their original goals. Even in their imperfect form, however, counseling groups supported the expanded teacher-student relationships.

The innovators hoped that group counseling might be part of the counseling group function, and even though the actual counseling was unsuccessful, important changes were precipitated by the counseling groups. The attempt to do counseling opened up the possibility for student-teacher relations. A small proportion out of almost every counseling group adopted their teacher as a personal counselor. With this teacher, they began to feel free to discuss personal, family, and school problems and reactions. The discussion of these matters made it difficult to maintain formal, impersonal relations. (Generally, people will not open up to someone who does not show warmth and personal concern — except perhaps with a professional therapist.)

This personal counseling was significant for even those in the group who did not select their assigned teachers as counselor. They saw teachers who they knew as teachers of regular courses being chosen by fellow students for personal consultation. They, therefore, realized that any of their other teachers might serve the same functions for them. Thus, students often picked other teachers for specially personal relations. Generally, the fact that every teacher was also a counselor created an atmosphere of personal teacher-student relations.

Counseling groups stimulated the informal atmosphere in yet other ways. The counseling group time was unstructured. Unlike the usual course, there was no clear reason for being together. Neither teachers nor students had the subject matter as a crutch to guide their interactions. This ambiguousness, frustrating though it often was, forced experimentation on how people would relate to each other. Furthermore, the need to find ways to spend time together pushed the groups to be introspective — each individual indicating personal interest and responding to others' expressed interests. It is difficult for people who are struggling together to maintain impersonal relations.

Finally, the various kinds of activities attempted were often atypical for students and teachers to do together. Sporting events—e.g. softball, bowling, roller skating—put teachers and students together in situations where the teacher did not necessarily have the expertise. Teachers often had to expose themselves in the personally revealing roles of fearful one, unsure one, etc. The dynamics of games which generate cooperation, competition, and excitement can tear down the formal barriers between people.

Similarly, counseling group activities like meeting at each other's homes and going on camping trips stimulated personal relations. Seeing the environment and articles which a person lives with outside of school forces other people to confront the non-official reality of the person. Once they realized it was a possibility, students pushed for counseling groups to meet at the teacher's house. Their initial eagerness to see teachers' homes and their desire to continue meeting there, and their fascination with the experience, illustrated a real curiosity students have about teachers' personal lives.

> (Student to Observer) Observer: What did your counseling group do yesterday?
>
> Student: We went to K--'s (a counselor) house. We almost ate her out of house and home. She had a lot of neat stuff lying around. Did you know she was in Africa for two years?...*

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*Quotes or descriptions of events from the participant observation data are intended as illustrations, not as proof.

Camping trips also accomplished this personalization of relationships. People have to share functions like eating, cooking, sleeping, and cleaning up get to know each other in a much wider way than if they know each other in the limited organizational setting. Counseling groups' experimentation with these activities in different settings opened up the possibilities for other classes.

> A group of students initiated a literature discussion group. They searched for an outside adult advisor. They finally arranged the course with the wife of a staff member and met each week in her home.

Counseling groups and classes sometimes arranged to meet in students' homes. Teachers, therefore, got to know students in ways that regular teachers do not. This expanded knowledge had important educational impact. (See CNS, 1974 c.)

Though another school might not want to establish counseling groups, it must give some thought to these methods of letting students know that teachers welcome personal relationships. Similarly, it might want to consider ways of allowing teachers and students to share non-course related activities.

Relevance And The City As A Resource

Other innovations had important effects. The staff wanted City High courses to be "relevant" — seeking to generate these courses directly from student interest and curiosity, the issues that students would choose to talk about among themselves. The plans for the school also called for the use of the city as a learning resource. City High was to be a "school without walls." Both of these policies helped to shape student-teacher interactions.

At City High relevance meant something different than a new book. Not only was the content based on student interest, but the school setting allowed a wide range of possibilities for pursuing and expressing these interests. Also, relevance was defined in personal as well as societal terms. Students talked about their interests in colloquial or street language, rather than in the formal language of the classroom. They did not have to present the results of their studies only in the forms of papers or tests — they also led discussions, prepared media presentations, and had conferences with teachers. They were free to go out in the city and to observe events and to talk to people knowledgeable about their interests. Because the school was not organized around the strict hourly and daily schedule, issues could be talked about outside of classes.

The reader should be aware that not every class at City High fit this model of active relevance. Some classes were like those in traditional schools. In other classes, teachers sometimes had trouble in getting students involved in subjects that they thought the students would consider relevant and interesting. Many classes, however, were seen by students as relevant to their interests and there were indications that over the first two years that teachers were having increasing success at designing these kinds of classes.

This discussion of relevance is important to the topic of this paper because it helps explain why students and teachers related to each other in a personal manner. The activity of studying something that is personally relevant and of expressing oneself openly about it makes it difficult to act impersonally toward other people involved. We underline the form of these experiences because it is very possible to study issues that are extremely relevant in a cold, lifeless way. The fact that the staff at City High defined relevance in terms of adolescence and subcultural interests in addition to social issues helped to make students involved in active personal ways.

At City High there were courses on such subjects as Sex and Love, Drug Abuse, Records and Recording, Sports Statistics, Black Awareness, Revolution, Zen Buddhism, Fashion, and Etiquette. There were also courses that put students in places related to future vocational interests — for example, secretarial, paramedical, computer work, day care. It is difficult to imagine an adolescent considering significant personal questions about love and sex or drugs with a person she or he views in an impersonal, formal way.

Students did indeed ask questions (and discuss feelings) which would have been inappropriate in formal relations.

> In one 'Men, Women, and Wonder' class several female staff members answered questions about what pregnancy was like for them.

> (Black Awareness teacher to observer) I'm concerned that students aren't aware of things that happen to them. We talk in very personal terms about what it means to be black.

Discussions about vocational interests based on real experience in the field similarly push toward informality. Much of what students wanted to discuss about the experiences were the personal reactions to the informal worker subculture. Again it is doubtful that a formal atmosphere would have been conducive to these discussions.

> (Student talking to class about placement in an insurance company): The part I like best is the coffee-break. They talk about the clothes they're gonna buy... There's one supervisor that everyone hates...

It is difficult to determine whether discussion of these relevant concerns helped student-teacher relations become personal or whether the personal atmosphere enabled these issues to be discussed. Most likely the connection worked both ways.

The fact that students had many activities away from the classroom setting also supported the non-formal relationships. Teachers and students were often in settings together that did not offer the symbolic associations with typical student-teacher interaction. Evidently, through past experiences, schools and classrooms (even in modern atypical structures) cue a certain formality in relations. The places where City High classes met did not offer these cues. Activities such as wandering along the lakeshore or wandering in a forest preserve to study ecology or walking together on downtown streets comparative shopping in various stores or observing animals at the zoo all occur in settings not primarily set aside for school.

This fact influenced student-teacher relations in several possible ways. Teachers and students interacted in places where the teachers did not have a predetermined organizational authority or expertise. For instance, students in places like offices or courts saw people besides their teachers exercising authority. The teacher may have still been leading the class, but other knowledgeable people were controlling the setting.

> (Physics class meeting at the museum) Students asked the teacher if they could heat the metal balls that they had been using for an experiment.
>
> Teacher: I don't know—I'll have to go ask Miss K— (the educational director) to see if we can light the fire in here.

Also contributing to these new student-teacher relations was the fact that the school events often took place in settings where students had the experience or expertise. These students had symbolic cues supporting them in roles other than students. Since they were familiar with the settings and felt confident about their knowledge of these places, they did not feel as dependent on teachers. This tendency toward equality of knowledge and experience may have helped the personal relations.

> (Student to Pollution Studies teacher) The class had been talking about the pollution that ran

> through the city and wondering where they could observe some pollution in action.
>
> Student: I know a place where you can see the soapsuds pouring straight into the river. We always mess around there.

The attempt to introduce relevant courses did not stop with the students' interests but extended to teachers' interests. There were few formal constraints on the content and form of the courses teachers designed. They could teach whatever subjects they wanted in or outside of their fields. Similarly, they could shape the form of the content in any way they wanted — for instance, using field trips or arranging joint courses with other teachers.

This professional freedom allowed teachers to make their official activities relevant to their real concerns. Similarly, they could select those course structures with which they were comfortable. Thus, just as the relevance of courses for students made the courses more personally important and pushed toward close relations with teachers, so did the relevance for teachers involve them personally in their activities and push toward close relations with those who shared the activities — *i.e.* students.

Time And Space

Human societies (including organizations) communicate to their members in many ways besides words. City High used the paralinguistic symbols of space and time to encourage interaction. (For more, see Hall's Hidden Dimension.) City High evolved a college-like time schedule. Classes did not meet every day but rather one, two, or three times a week at specified periods (for example, Monday and Thursday 8:30 - 10:30). As a consequence of this schedule, students and teachers had a few periods a week that were scheduled as open periods. (For more discussion of free periods, see CNS, 1973a.) Also, because classes sometimes met in various places in the city besides the downtown headquarters, there was time allowed between classes to travel. Students liked these arrangements much better than those of regular schools.

> (Student to visitor): We don't have that usual school stuff of everyday in the same place at the same time. It's much better here.

These policies unintentionally had pronounced effects on student-teacher interaction.

In traditional schools the attempt is often made to completely schedule students' or teachers' time. Students' "free" periods become supervised study halls and teachers' "free" time becomes hall or cafeteria duty. At City High free time really meant free time. Students and teachers used it to do various kinds of school related work but also to socialize with each other.

These units of unspecified time are non-existent in most schools. They were essential at City High for the expansion of student-teacher relations. Since there were no required activities for these periods, students and teachers could explore friendships in a way that they didn't usually do in structured time. Students and teachers felt freer during these times to talk about personal concerns. In a way these arrangements brought what usually happened after school in the regular school into the normal school day. As discussed in You Can Talk to the Teachers (CNS, 1974c), teachers and students at regular schools sometimes do set up these personal relations. The students may come after school to talk to a teacher they like, when both theoretically have free time. There are often pressures working against these informal sessions. The student seeking a friendship with a teacher to the extent that he would stay after school runs the danger of being seen as too eager for teacher interaction — maybe a "pet." Similarly, after school there are often extra-curricular activities competing for students' and teachers' time so the possibility for informal relationships is reduced.

Another influence of City High free periods was that students and teachers were able to see other peoples' activities during these times. The free periods thus made visible many personal activities which remain hidden in a more tightly scheduled, more closed setting. For example, students saw the way other students spent their time socializing with teachers. The fact that these activities were visible no doubt decreased other students' (and teachers') reluctancies to be involved in the same way.

(Student to another student): Looking across the

> room he sees a teacher showing a poncho to
> another group of students.
>
> Student: Hey, what are they doing over there?
> Let's go see.

The free periods gave the teachers a chance to socialize with each other during the day. Students thus got to see the teachers acting in personal, non-official ways. They were able to visualize their teachers in other than their official roles — for example, as friend, as hobby-sharer, as wife/husband, as father/mother, etc.

> (Teacher to other teacher — two students present)
> Teacher: My wife just hates that new job she got.
> She comes home complaining every night.
>
> Student: What's so bad about it? The teacher
> explains.

Informal teacher socializing goes on, of course, in a regular school, but usually these activities are not in plain view of students. Students learn a lot on the informal grapevine, but always there is the distinct feeling that these teacher-teacher relations are supposed to be hidden from students in most schools.

At City High a similar visibility occurred with students socializing with each other. Free periods gave students a chance to interact openly and unpressuredly with each other in full view of teachers. Teachers thus got to think of students in roles other than students.

> Two teachers were sitting at their desk in a teacher work area. Nearby two students were having an animated discussion about what they were going to do during the weekend. One of the students was thought by teachers as being extremely shy. He rarely said anything independently in classes. Both teachers temporarily stopped working to notice this conversation.

The unscheduled time also allowed for visibility of discussions and activities related to school policy. In regular schools, students are most often presented with organizational activities as finished products. Policy decisions come from on high and students have no sense — except from the informal grapevine — of what varieties of thought went into the decision. Similarly, students are told little about problems in the day-to-day running of the institution — for example, problems obtaining materials, the process of deciding what the class will do next, disagreements among various levels of the organization.

An unstated dictum of traditional secondary school organization has been that the student (client) role is to be extremely circumscribed. Students are excluded from exposure to the mechanics of running the organization. Possible explanations of this desire to exclude students are the following: student's knowledge of these "grimy details" would somehow detract from the expert status of the staff. If students knew about disagreements and problems, they wouldn't respect the staff's competence as much. Student involvement in the details would detract from the energy they had available for the task more central to the student role — i.e. academic learning. A perhaps unanticipated consequence of this practice of hiding organizational details from students is the depersonalization of teacher-student relations. Both the teacher and the student in the regular school realize that the smoothly functioning facade that's shown to students is artificial. Perhaps this artificial facade of teacher expertise stands in the way of informal student-teacher interactions.

At City High the availability of unscheduled time during the school day combined with the unusual program of the school to contradict the pattern of excluding students from the mechanics of operating the organization. Although direct efforts to get students involved in helping to plan and run the institution generally failed, students became extensively involved in informal ways. The staff used the free time periods during the day for activities related to decisions about school policy and to running the school on a day-to-day basis. Since students also had scattered free times, they could observe teacher participation in these activities. Students were around when teachers debated school policy, when teachers in team teaching situations conferred about what they were going to do in class, when teachers complained to the principal about the difficulties of getting materials or space, when teachers actually tried to set up class activities, when teachers evaluated activities that had gone on, etc.

> A proposal had been introduced in a staff meeting to do away with counseling groups. During the following weeks, in free times, teachers were

> debating with each other the fate of counseling groups. Students often participated in these debates.
>
> A teacher was walking to the camera store to buy the film for the photography class. A student joined him. They talked about the photography course and about the purchase orders.

Sharing the details of school functioning — either the major issues of school policy or the minor daily issues — supported the expanded informal teacher-student interactions. Students did not see staff merely as functionaries carrying out routines; rather they saw them as persons working within an organization. They saw the differences in the ways people did their jobs and they saw how idiosyncratic opinions and methods enter into what often appears to be an impersonal performance of an office in traditional schools. This knowledge makes it easier to relate to teachers and staff in a personal manner. Without the free time fragments that students and teachers shared together through the day, it is unlikely that the students would have been as exposed to the personal realities of organizational functioning.

The Open School

There is much controversy about what the "open" in open school means. Some see it as a spacial concept having to do with the way physical boundary structures are created to allow free movement. Others see it as a concept referring to the access people have to each other — i.e. the way social boundaries are created. At City High the two meanings were related. Barker (1968) introduces the concept of synomorph to describe this fit between structure and activity.

The mere fact of unscheduled time would not be sufficient in itself to support the informal-teacher-student interactions. In addition to the time availability, teachers and students had to be physically available to each other. They had to be willing and able to share the events that occurred during these unscheduled times.

Presumably in a spacially more fragmented setting, teachers and students might each retreat to their own territories — for example, teachers might go to a teachers' lounge to socialize with each other or to work on school/class matters. This lounge might be off-limits to students (or require guts to enter) and hence students would not see teachers in these personal or official activities.

The City High design attempted to make a compromise between designated areas and open access. There were few doors and locks (only the supply room was off limits to students). Areas were set aside for various functions. In one area was the principal's and clerk's desk and office machines. Two other divisions each held teacher and student work areas. One very large area was the student-teacher lounge. The remainder of the areas were classroom and hallways.

The accessibility of these open spaces promoted informality. The principal's desk was out in the open in a corner of the work area. There were not the customary barriers of doors, counters, and secretaries. Any one who wanted to talk to the principal could approach him without the formal act of being admitted. Thus, the student wanting merely to ask a single question or to engage in short, friendly banter was not forced to convert it into a formal act.

Work areas were similarly arranged. Four or five desks were set out in open areas. Students were free to move about within the area and to approach teachers with whom they wanted to talk or joke.

Many teachers rearranged or decorated their work areas to reflect their interests and personalities. Teachers' books, posters, and desk articles were in open view. The exposure of these personal items (as discussed earlier in regards to visits to homes) supported informality in personal relations. Students (and other staff) saw aspects of teachers personalities that might have remained hidden in a regular school.

> (Student to teacher at teacher's desk): The student picks up a painted rock paper weight.
>
> Student: K—, what's this? Where did you get it?
>
> Teacher: A friend brought me that from South America. (The teacher proceeds to discuss the friend's experiences in South America.)

Another consequence of the open space arrangements was the access to other people's relationships. As suggested in the discussion about unscheduled time, informality is supported by watching other people be informal. Students saw teachers being informal with other staff members and with other students. These observations made it clear that these kinds of relationships were in accordance with the school's norms. Had spatial arrangements been more fragmented, people would not have been able to observe these informal activities.

The freedom of movement worked for teachers as well. They were free to approach students in the work area, lounge, hallways or anywhere. They had access to events by observation even if they were not directly involved. There were few walls and doors to keep people away from each other.

Of course, the mere fact of physical openness would not itself guarantee access. There might also be invisible social barriers which would prohibit formal contact. The staff attempted, however, to keep these barriers from forming. Staff were very open with each other. No teacher ever needed an appointment to see the principal or any other staff member. Similarly, practice teachers also had unrestricted access. These norms filtered down to students, and they learned that there was almost as much freedom of movement in the social environment as there was in the physical environment.

> (Teacher to principal): Several students are nearby talking. The teacher is walking by and sees the principal at his desk.
>
> Teacher: O—, you got a minute? I wanted to

ask you something about this conference.

Principal: Sure, what's on your mind?

We do not suggest that because of the general physical and social openness every individual in the school felt free to informally contact every other individual. Just as in any organization the warmth and friendliness felt toward people varied. For instance, a few students did not approach the principal freely in spite of the lack of physical boundaries. They persisted in the traditional definition of the principal's role, and felt afraid to approach anyone in this high office.

Similarly, students felt varying freedom of access to different teachers and teachers felt varying degrees of freedom in approaching various students or subgroups of students. Social boundaries also existed between various subgroups of students (see Wilson, 1972). The physical space arrangements, however, exercised an independent influence.

During the first two semesters, City High occupied three different headquarters, creating a natural experiment for testing the effects of spatial arrangements on teacher-student interactions. During the first semester, the whole school occupied a single undivided floor of an office building. The first few weeks of second semester, while waiting for new headquarters to be finished, the school community was forced to occupy three standardly designed floors of another office building — offices with doors coming out into the corridor. The new headquarters they were waiting for were the ones with open spaces that we have described.

The first few weeks of the second semester spent in the closed off, fragmented space, upset the patterns of teacher-student interactions observed during the first semester. Since the quarters were temporary, the teachers and principal declared one of the offices as their work area. The phones, files, and office machines were installed in these rooms. Because space was limited, students were excluded unless they had some specific business. Although teachers made attempts to station themselves in other parts of the school, they were inevitably drawn to this central area to use the resources. As a consequence, there was less of the teacher-student informal contacts we have been describing because students could not freely circulate into this area.

A parallel obstruction to teachers' passage into student areas developed. In the temporary quarters, one large office area was designated as the student lounge. Important differences existed between this lounge and all the others. There was a door that could be closed. There was only one way in and out of this area, and the lounge did not double as a passage to somewhere else. A teacher would not be in the student lounge unless he had consciously chosen to be there. As a consequence teacher-student informal contacts occurred much less spontaneously than they did in the other, less closed, environments. Although teachers circulated in this area and friendly encounters did occur, the movement into the lounge was not as free as other movements throughout the school.

> (Staff meeting — second week of the second semester) Teacher: We've got a problem developing with the lounge (smoking, litter, etc.). There are hardly ever any teachers down there. We've got to make an effort to be there. Maybe we need some kind of supervision schedule.

Every room had a door on it. This potential for secretiveness worked against student-teacher informality in other ways. Discipline problems such as marijuana smoking developed behind the closed doors. Whereas in the open areas, discipline was often informal — mere presence or eye contact — discipline in the closed areas sometimes took a formal aspect — opening of doors, discovery of wrongdoers. These encounters worked against teacher-student informality. The closed area environment also indirectly affected student-teacher relations through its effect on student-student relations. In the open situation students from various subgroups moved freely among each other and often interacted. In the closed situation various subgroups seized various areas as their territory and it was difficult for students from other groups to make informal contact. This difficulty may have set the tone that carried over to relations with teachers.

> (Student to observer) Student: I don't like it this year. People are all locked up behind doors. They're a lot less friendly than last year. I hope we get downstairs [to the new headquarters] soon.

There is an important qualification to these generalizations drawn from this natural experiment. The effects noted may not come entirely from the spacial changes. At the beginning of the second semester, the school expanded — growing from 150 students to 350 and from 10 staff teachers to 20. Some of the lack of informal contact may be attributable to the unfamiliarity of the new people to each other. Also, the increased numbers of people may have temporarily changed patterns of interaction. Certain facts, nonetheless, support the idea that space had an independent effect. At the beginning of the first semester, people were as new to each other as they were the second semester, but they started interacting more quickly. Also, once the school moved from the temporary quarters to the more open space, there was an increase in the interaction (even with the large numbers of people).

Rallying Against Outside Enemies

The marginality of the school's existence in the school system also supported close teacher-student relationships. Because the school was innovative and challenged many traditional practices, the school board continually threatened to close it down or modify some of its innovative practices. During the school's first semester, its existence was provisional and the Board actually made an official decision about its continuation. The Board did decide to give the school regular status and the threat switched to how much and what kind of support the Board would give. Students and teachers alike felt this constant insecurity.

It is a well known fact (see Sherif, 1958) that the existence of an outside enemy often unifies disparate groups within a society or organization. Teachers and students sharing this common concern about the Board were drawn closer together. This affect was especially visible during crises which arose out of perceived attacks by school system personnel.

> (Teacher to observer — the school was in the midst of one of its crises and was trying to drum up support from the larger community)
>
> Teacher: It was really amazing, there were students and teachers here at the school till 10 last night working on statements and petitions to give the school board.

Even more important than the crises, however, was the constant feeling of shared fate. Many of the students and most of the teachers knew that they were in the enterprise together. These feelings made it easier for people to feel close and informal in spite of different organizational roles. Inevitably the camaraderie of being pioneers together will fade as the school becomes established. It remains to be seen how important that spirit was in supporting the closeness of teachers and students.

Summary: The Culture Of This Innovation

This paper has described the combination of forces that supported a particular innovation within a new organization, the "culture of the innovation." Some of the supporting forces we have described can be generalized as being necessary for many kinds of innovations. Many of the forces, however, seem unique to this particular kind of innovation. They would not be necessary to insure the success of every innovation.

It is important to avoid the error of overspecificity, however. The appropriateness of this analysis is not limited to City High alone. It would be useful in varying degrees to all organizations which fit the following general description:

> Participants are gathered from similar organizations. In the traditional organizations there are classes of people with differentiated organizational roles. The traditional norms governing relations between these classes of people push toward formal, bureaucratic (universalistic and functionally specific) interaction. The new organizations seek to establish new norms governing the interactions between these classes of people. These new norms stress personal, more primary kind of interaction.

This description obviously fits many of the alternative schools currently being established. As described in more detail in You Can Talk to the Teachers (CNS, 1974c)It also fits many other types of organizations which are experimenting with ways to rehumanize relationships between people within organizations. The reader is urged to consult this other CNS paper for more details on the effects of trying to promote these kinds of relationships.

Let us then summarize what we have discovered about the forces supporting this kind of innovation:

As in any organizational innovation, recruitment was important in its success. Indeed, much research on innovation concentrates on identifying key people whose attitudes or expectations must be changed. A new organization can circumvent this problem to some degree by recruiting only those participants who are amenable to innovation. Contrary to expectation, this research suggests that new participants may not necessarily be extremely favorable to the new kind of relationship provided they are not actively hostile and provided that most individuals in the organization are in favor of the new norms. (See also Sarason, 1973.)

The participants' desire to live by the new norms is often not enough. Because individuals enter into the new organization from similar traditional ones, (i.e., they come to the new schools from traditional schools) there is a tendency to fall back into old familiar patterns. The organization must find ways to introduce, spread, and support the interactions based on the new norms.

The organization created several kinds of situations which introduced teachers and students to the idea of interacting in new ways. The relevance of courses to both teachers and students insured that they would be sharing personal concerns about which it would be difficult to remain formal. The counseling group idea, although it did not work the way it was planned, encouraged teachers and students to explore topics that were previously taboo in schools. The tendency for counseling groups to move outside the school for activities, combined with the school's use of the city as a learning resource, put teachers and students together in settings where teachers were not automatically the expert or the person in charge. Similarly, the fact that individuals came in contact with articles that were personally important to other members — either by visiting their homes or by seeing these articles at school — set up possibilities for interacting in other than traditional teacher-student ways. Teachers' sharing of organizational concerns with students also demystified the boundaries between teachers and students and allowed students to think of teachers as persons rather than as organizational functionaries.

The organization also provided ways for the awareness of these new interactions to spread. Presumably, individual students and teachers might explore new relationships induced by these conditions but the impact on the other participants would be limited. Because of the open space and time arrangement, however, each new interaction had a "ripple" effect because it was witnessed by others. Individuals saw others engaged in close interactions and accepted these interactions as valid possibilities for themselves.

As the new norms were introduced and spread, the organization had to insure that the structure supported them. An organization seeking to encourage these personal interactions must insure appropriate synomorphic structures, the form must fit the function. At City High the strict differentiation of space usual to schools was softened so that friendly interaction was not out of place anywhere. Formal barriers — doors, desks, receptionists, were de-emphasized. Time barriers were also softened (through the use of free periods, for example), so that the interactions were appropriate throughout the day. These changes made it easy to act on the impulse to interact personally.

This paper has shown how one organization succeeded in introducing and supporting this particular innovation. These activities are important elements in the life of an innovation, but they are not the whole story. After the innovation has been established, more profound problems may become apparent.

Changing the norms governing interactions between organizational classes of people is a fundamental change and is full of potential problems. Elsewhere (CNS, 1974c)we describe in more detail the difficulties that gradually appeared. The continuing success of this innovation at City High is not guaranteed.

The creation of organizations which fulfill their instrumental purposes and at the same time minimize the impersonal formality of interactions is not an easy task. Some theorists might even claim that it is impossible. The appeal of this organizational model, however, is growing increasingly important (especially for schools). We are working to finds ways to make these models into lasting realities.

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D. COURSE CHOICE

A fundamental assumption of the alternative school movement is the belief that students will be joyful and enthusiastic learners on projects they see as close to their own interests or needs. (For example, see Rogers, Freedom to Learn, 1969.) If students can choose their courses from an extensive list of offerings, they will arrange a schedule that will minimize their sense of alienation from their studies. This ideal was an important part of the innovators' plans for City High. In this paper we discuss the actual workings of that ideal in City High's first year and a half. We discuss many factors that came to bear on students' seemingly free couse choice, factors that must be understood before this ideal can be implemented.

The paper is divided into three sections. The first discusses some of the limitations on students' free choice -- for example, meeting Board of Education high school graduation requirements. The second describes some practical limitations on course choice -- for example, scheduling conflicts and a complex registration process. The third discusses the role other students and peer subgroups play in a student's seemingly individual free choice.

Outside Limitations

Distribution requirements

High schools have traditionally thought their responsibility included insuring that students are exposed to a wide range of "disciplines." They have also accepted the idea that students have to earn a certain total of credits for graduation. The City Board of Education has codified these requirements for graduation.*

City High, as part of the regular City System, expected students to fulfill all these distribution requirements for graduation. Furthermore, because students started in mid-year,** the school accepted the obligation to have students complete the distribution of courses begun that September. Clearly these requirements placed limits on choices for students -- i.e., if they had been taking an English class, they had to sign up for some English credit class at City High. These arrangements were possibly negotiable with the City Board of Education. If the staff decided it were essential to the innovative program, they could have challenged the requirements and perhaps made special arrangements. However, although the staff was not happy with the Board policy they never decided to battle about credits and distribution requirements.

In fact, given the nature of the City High staff, it was surprising how little they protested about these particular policies. There were a few ideologically radical teachers who questioned the importance of the credit requirements for graduation.

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* See Attachment 1 for Board Graduation Requirements.
** City High's first semester ran February thru June.

> (Teachers to other teachers)
> What does 18 credits mean? Is that when a person is ready to graduate? We ought to workout something else--like maybe a person ought to graduate when he and his counselor feel he is ready.

Most of the staff felt sympathetic to these views, but generally more ambivalent. They didn't like the arbitrariness of the credit system, but they seemed to accept the framework. Several explanations can possibly account for their reluctant acceptance.

1. They didn't think they could win the battle.

> (Teacher)
> That (a credit requirement) is one thing the Board is not going to give up.

2. They were actually comfortable with these semi-structured requirements. Many teachers felt that the shift from the regular school to one where there were absolutely no requirements at all would be too much to handle, both for themselves and for students. The requirements and credits for graduation provided at least some minimum orientation.

> (Teacher to Observer)
> I would be scared if there were no requirements at all for these students.

3. There never seemed to be enough time to explore questions like this fear or whether there should be credit requirements for graduation. This fact is extremely important for those involved in alternative schools. The day to day decisions about the problems of running a school often seem more pressing

than the long range questions about basic philosophy. Teachers always seem to end up spending their energies on immediate issues.

> (Teachers to other teachers after a staff meeting)
> Some day we all have to sit down and really think these things through. I always feel like we fritter away staff meetings on such petty things--though I know all this stuff we do is necessary.

4. Teachers had some realization of the difficulty of coming up with an alternative scheme for certifying that a student was ready to graduate. As mentioned, a few radical teachers wanted no requirements at all. Most City High teachers, however, seemed to want some kind of role in making the graduation determination. Partially because of the difficulty of finding time to consider the possible alternatives, they accepted the arbitrary decision of the Board (18 credits).

For some reason teachers were more likely to question the distribution requirements than the credit quota for graduation. The teachers resented being pigeonholed into certain subjects or being forced to think of new teachers in terms of what subjects they would be certified to teach.

> (Teacher at staff meeting)
> We don't want to hire a Math or English teacher; We just want to hire someone who will be good with the students. Why do they force us to to these absurd things?

The Board originally wanted to specify the number of teachers the school should have in each field or specialty. Because of the pressure from teachers, the school won some flexibility in the matter of specialty. They still had to deal roughly in terms of the number of teachers in each specialty but the number was not fixed. As they interviewed prospective teachers, they searched for people who had ability in many fields and who were willing to teach outside their field of certification.

Teachers also doubted the rationale of distribution requirements for students. They felt that students should not be required to take so many credits of this and so many of that. These feelings did not mean, however, that they felt that nothing should be required. Many teachers wanted to insure that students got certain kinds of generalized competencies--*e.g.*, basic reading skills, basic numerical skills, knowledge of political realities, etc.--but they didn't know how to make requirements that would guarantee these goals. Merely requiring a given course did not insure that students would learn these basic skills.

As with the quotas for graduation, the teachers never chose to challenge the Board on the principle of distribution requirements. They did, however, verbally challenge it in discussions with each other and in staff meetings. Even though the school never officially challenged these two sets of requirements, it did make certain modifications which lessened the rigidity of these demands. Students did not have to earn their 18 credits for graduation in one prescribed way. The school allowed students to speed up their progress (taking less than the standard four years) or slow down (taking more than the standard four years). Students could take more or less than an average number of credits in any given semester according to what they and their counselor judged necessary. They could arrange with individual teachers to earn extra credits through extra work in already existing courses or through independent study.

The school also made modifications to reduce the rigidity of the distribution requirements. The teachers' visions of what constituted work in any given field was much more flexible than what might be traditionally expected. Many courses could count for credit in various fields as defined by the students' needs and desires.

> (Teacher to students at beginning of course):
> Changes--(The subject matter of this course concentrated on the growth and decay of animal and human communities.)
>
> Listen, this course can count either for science or social studies credit--depending on where you put your emphasis. Be sure to tell me what you want.

At registration time a ditto sheet was usually circulated that told which courses could count for what kind of credit. Many courses appeared on more than one list.*

Because City High teachers generally disagreed with the limited subject approach to learning, they sought to design courses with interdisciplinary implications. It seemed to give them special joy to create courses which seemed clearly appropriate for credit in several fields.

> (Teacher to Observer):
> I've got this great idea for a course. We are going to teach how to design geodesic homes. Kids can get drafting, math, or social studies credit.

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* See Attachment 1 for a sample of this credit sheet.

In any given course teachers and students could work out special arrangements to earn credits in a needed subject--even if the course wasn't designed especially for credit in that subject.

> A Spanish teacher and a student worked out an arrangement for the student to earn social studies and Spanish credit by doing extra work in a nursery school in a Spanish community.

In addition to these special arrangements the school tried to institutionalize the interdisciplinary approach. During the first semester, consultants working with the school suggested "core", an interdisciplinary educational experience taught by teams of teachers from different fields. Together with the consultants, the teachers spent much of the summer workshop between the first and second semester of the school in planning core. During the first semester some teachers had expressed distress that City High didn't seem able to break away from the traditional--course--credit--hour approach.

> (Teacher to Observer):
> You know, just looking at this catalog you might think that City High isn't much different from a regular school. Sure, the courses are neat but they are still courses and students still go to classes and earn credits.

Many teachers saw core as a chance to break this pattern. It constituted a large block of time without specific demarcation of subject matter. It also introduced a high level of flexibility in the credit distribution requirements. Each student was free to work out with his/her team of core teachers how the two credits alloted to core would be distributed in his record. The teachers and students were also able to negotiate the amount of credits (more or less than the standard two) in accordance with the work done.

Thus, core represented an institutional way of alleviating the pressures on students as they made their educational choices.

As it turned out, core was judged a failure by most of the teachers and students and abandoned after a two semester trial. (A full discussion of its failure is out of place in this paper). The failure had to do with issues such as the way the innovation was introduced, the time demands on teachers to make it work, and difficulties in its relationship to other parts of the City High program. In terms of course choices, core (which was scheduled for 5 or 6 hours each week) limited the other courses a student could sign up for. See the later section, Conflicts and Flexibility, for a fuller discussion of this problem.

Student's experience with requirements

Part of the City High ideal was that a student would not take a course unless he wanted it (or at least accepted the idea that he needed it.) Teachers soon found that City High had not achieved this ideal. They often started with the assumption that students really wanted to be in their courses, but soon found that many students signed for a course only because they needed the credit.

> (Teacher to a WYC* girl at the beginning of course) Teacher: I don't know what's wrong. I thought the students would be really turned on about the stuff I went over today. If they are not interested, why did they sign up?
> Student: A lot of kids are in there because they need the credit.

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* During the period of observation, groups of students were identified who shared common orientations and similar backgrounds. At times the analysis makes most sense in terms of the different experiences of these subgroups. The groups are as follows: School Alienated (SA) students had troubled school histories,tended to have problems with basic academic skills and came mostly from lower class backgrounds. School Oriented (SO) students accepted the traditional school demands, did fairly well in school, and came mostly from middle class backgrounds. Youth Culture (YC) students had erractic school histories, identified with hip values, and came mostly from middle class backgrounds. (For more details, see CNS, 1972a.) In this paper W/B are used to distinguish white and black students within each subgroup -- e.g., WSA refers to a white School Alienated student.

One might wonder why City High students did not get together to protest these requirements for credits. Being an innovative school, City High would listen to its students' complaints--especially when there was staff sympathy. There were two kinds of problems preventing their action: (1) City High students had a great deal of trouble organizing for any purpose. (For a full discussion see the paper on institutional decision making, CNS, 1972 a.) (2) More importantly in this discussion, the students generally had a very dim vision of the planners' ideal. For many, the idea of a school without distribution and graduation requirements was almost inconceivable. They did not even think to question the process even though they disliked what it forced them to do.

> (BSO student to Observer during registration):
> I really hate math but I guess I better sign up.
> I've got to get those credits for graduation.

Students like this one would have been more satisfied if they did not have to fulfill distribution requirements. They would have felt they were more in control of their educational experience if they did not have to take courses "because they needed credits for graduation."

According to the ideal that students will feel less alienated when choosing their own courses, even if students end up taking a course they don't like or that someone suggested, at least they would feel that they chose it. As it was, the necessity to take certain courses was an obligation and people rarely considered why it was a requirement or what value the courses might be.

These observations point out an important realization for these kinds on innovative schools. The students dealt with the system of requirements at the level of dissatisfaction and grumbling. Other sections of this report will show that students dealt with most dissatisfactions in the same way. Even those who did not grumble were often unsatisfied. They accepted the requirements and lived up to them, but without a feeling of self-expression. They reacted to the choice process in a way similar to their reactions in the old school. They made choices they had to make rather than what they wanted to make. Hence, there was unlikely to be the desired indentification with the educational process.

It would seem essential that students come to realize that the choice process did not have to have these restrictions or at least understand the philosophy behind the restrictions. In an innovative school every student can come to be an educational philosopher. Maybe it is essential in innovative organizations that the innovators' dream --the ideals on which the organization is based--is openly shared with all the participants.

Some students did understand the philosophy that a student should make his own educational decisions and they resented these outside restrictions. These students, however, were also the ones who became adept at using the flexibility of the school to circumvent strict Board requirements. Mostly members of the Youth Culture group, they were the ones who arranged independently with teachers to get extra credits for extra work or to get credits in the fields they needed to complete distribution requirements.

> (WYC Student to Observer, excited)
> I solved the problem! I'm going to get Social Studies and French credits. I'm going to read extra stuff about the Algerian revolution.

This points to another problem in innovative schools. Often those individuals who best understand the innovator's goals are also those who can use the school's flexibility to relieve their frustrations and circumvent requirements. Thus the students who might have banded together to protest school policies chose instead to step around the obstacles.

Most students resigned themselves to requirements as they always had in the traditional schools. Concomitantly, they sometimes ended up in courses that did not really represent a personally involved choice A student who ended up in a course by resignation had a very different kind of commitment than one who really chose the course.

For the sake of perspective it must be remembered that many of the choices made by most students did fit the ideal. They searched through the offerings and identified courses that they wanted or that they judged they needed and hence they felt involved in their part of the scheduling. For most students, however, a few of the courses they ended up taking did not represent this kind of choice. For some students, nearly every choice was seen as merely fulfilling a requirement.

> (WSO Student to self out loud during registration):
> Well, I got most of what I wanted. Now what else? ... I guess I need some more English credits ...

The 18 credits sometimes became a goal irrespective of the content of the courses. Students would sometimes make choices in terms of the credits offered. (Depending on the number of hours a week a course met, the credit varied.)

(2 BSO Girls during registration)
Student 1: I can't decide which English course to take.
Student 2: (Pointing to registration materials listing how much credit each course gave) Look over here. This tells how many points* each course gives. I picked this one because it gave the most.

(Student 1 proceeds to register for the same course.)

(SA Boy to Observer at pre-registration):
Hey, look at this schedule. I'm signed up for 44 points. I got a lot of credit to make up.

BSO Boy who overheard: Me too. I signed up for 40 points.

(When the counselors caught wind of what was happening, they put a 21 point limit on how much could be signed up for.)

This quest for credit was complicated by the school policy of allowing students to work at their own pace and by underplaying the failure to get credit in courses. A student who did not do the work in a course received an indication of "no credit" or "credit withheld" (an indication which meant that the student could redeem the lost credit by making up work). Unlike their counterparts in regular schools, the students then did not have a stereotyped "four and a half credits a year for four years" pattern to compare their records with. For some students intent on graduating on schedule credit became an important issue, and their concern influenced their choices.

During the first semester of the school, the staff tried to keep open the issue of credit policy. In staff meetings they asked themselves questions such as "how long does a student need to stay at the school?" "What experiences will be worth what credit?" "What constitutes earning credit?" As mentioned earlier, there never was enough time for full considerations on these abstract levels.

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* 16 City High points equaled 1 Board of Education credit. See Attachment 1 for a document which lists graduation requirements in terms of City High points.

The School Oriented students exerted pressure for a credit policy. Not knowing much other than what they had already experienced in the regular schools they thought in terms of traditional credit schemes.

> (Teacher to staff meeting middle of first semester):
> We've got to do something about this credit thing! My counseling group is bugging me to find out how they stand. They want to know if they're earning the right amount of credits.
>
> (Student complaining to Observer)
> The teachers here don't even know how much credit we have.

Feeling an obligation to create a stable set of expectations for students, a subcommittee of the staff worked to create a credit scheme for the school. They worked out a method for translating time spent in courses of various lengths into credits and for translating City High points into Board of Education credits. They developed a clear graphic record (see document Attachment 1) that counselors could use with students to show them exactly where they stood in regards to the 18 credit quota and the distribution requirements.

Counselors used these forms during registration. They worked with students to show them how they stood in respect to the requirements. This act concretely confronted students with the system of requirements that circumscribed their choices. Many students, especially the School Oriented--were happy to have the ambiguity reduced and to know their official status. These requirements, however, also acted to lessen the likelihood of students feeling free in their choices. At registration most counselors would show students their records and urge them to make choices in light of this information.

> (Counselor to student at registration):
> Maybe you ought to reconsider this plan you've made. Look at your English -- you've got plenty of social studies but you need more English. Why don't you sign up for one more English course ?

Counselors expected students to worry about the ultimate graduation quota and to make sure that they had the proper distribution.

> (Counselor to counseling group):
> I'm going to give you your records. Look them over carefully and then I'll talk to each of you individually about what you are planning to take for the next quarter.

Some students, of course, did not let the requirements circumscribe their decisions. These students (largely white Youth Culture) paid little attention to the distribution requirements and continued to pick courses primarily by interest. Their disregard of the requirements angered some of the counselors.

> (Counselor to Observer after the records were shown to students)
> Some of my students were really upset after they saw how they stood. I think they'll pick courses much more conscientiously. (Angrily) Some couldn't be bothered to work it out-- like A--(WYC girl). She didn't care what she needed. She'll hang herself.

This same counselor was one of those teachers who had earlier in the year questioned the distribution requirements. Once the requirements were established, however, he seemed to expect students to live up to them. In the daily encounters with students, the underlying question of the basis for the requirements was forgotten. Teachers expected students to make responsible choices given the limits of the system. Some students paid little attention to the requirements, resented them and dealt with them in a "hang loose" attitude (see Wilson, 1972).

As some of these YC students approached graduation time, a stress situation was created. Some of the YC students, who hadn't been concerned about distribution up to that point, found that they were a few credits shy in some subjects. They then had to hustle to convince teachers to let them make up the missing credits. Teachers disliked this pressure and the bickering over credits deviated considerably from the ideal.

> (Teacher to Observer at the end of second year): Its a really ugly scene over here now. Some students don't have enough credits to graduate so now they are going around begging for more.

Most students did pay attention to the distribution requirements--SO on their own and SA at counselors' urging.

> (2 WSO Girls in counseling group at registration):
> I've got to get some more science and math credits or I won't graduate.
>
> (BSO Boy to counselor at registration)
> Student: Hey L--I need a science; what you got?
> Counselor: (Looks through the listing by subject and suggests)
> Telescope making?
> Student: Good. (He writes it in his schedule).

Note that students (like the one in the last incident) often chose courses only in terms of the distribution they needed. Illustrating this phenomenon is the fact that students often consulted only the subject credit list—a list telling which courses earn credits in any given field (see document in Attachment 1)—rather than the more complete catalogue (see sample of catalogue in Attachment 1) which gave full descriptions. Thus, they searched for a course which gave English credits, rather than for a course that interested them which happened to give English credits.

Another kind of event showed how strong the demands of distribution were. Because of scheduling difficulties (see the later section on conflicts) students sometimes could not get the course they wanted within a given subject area. Rather than scheduling another course they wanted in another subject area, they often would select another less desired course in the same subject area in order to work toward the required distribution.

> (Teacher to students at first meeting of class. He has just asked what topics in science they are most interested in and he has received very little response.)
> Teacher: Well, I don't understand. Why did you sign up for this course if you weren't interested?
> Student 1: I couldn't get into biology or chemistry.
> Students 2 & 3: We wanted to get into Human and Animal Behavior but we couldn't get in.

The teacher was somewhat flustered because it was his first semester at City High and he assumed the ideal was functioning, that only interested students would be in the course. All of the teachers discovered that this assumption was often wrong. Many of their students would indeed be interested, but some were in the course because they had to earn credits toward the required 18 and some were there because they needed "a science" or "an English."

Teachers during their first semester at City High were often surprised who cut class or didn't seem motivated at all by the course subject matter. Such student reactions didn't make any sense since they thought the student had freely chosen out of a long list of courses. Slowly teachers came to realize some of the reasons students ended up in courses. Rather than questioning the requirements, however, the most common teacher reaction was to work individually with the dissatisfied students or adjust the course to their desires and needs. Often teachers were succussful and students found non-chosen courses to be very satisfactory.

> (Student to Observer, middle of quarter)
> I didn't like the course at first but I needed a science. Now I thinks its pretty neat.

School Oriented students often did not need this attention and worked at unchosen courses as conscientiously as they had in their old schools. This plodding along, however, did not make City High any different than regular schools in the amount of commitment.

At the end of the observation period two teachers tried to initate an extra-legal solution to part of the requirement dilemma. They had been teaching a science course which attracted large numbers of students. Many seemed to be in the course solely because they needed science credits. The first quarter of the course the teachers became frustrated because many students did not seem very interested, were not paying attention, were making noise in class, etc. These distractions made it difficult to work with those students who were really interested. They also felt that requiring students to fulfill distribution requirements kept them from understanding what it was to be internally motivated to work in a course.

> (Teacher to Observer):
> Next time we're going to guarantee credit. Only those students who are really interested should really show up. I think the course will be a lot better than it was.

The teachers realized this solution would be illegal and decided against instituting guaranteed credit. That they even considered such a solution shows the extent of their frustration with the requirement/distribution policies.

Reading and college

Another set of restrictions on student free choice came from teachers' concern about reading and writing. Being innovative, City High introduced a multitude of communication courses besides the traditional English courses. These ranged from film-making to various kinds of theatre activities. Generally, these were much more popular than the traditional reading and writing courses.

> (Teacher to Observer at registration):
> I guess we're going to have to close out (meaning it was filled up) the second film course. People are signing up for that like it was going out of style.

These courses were especially popular among those students who had trouble with traditional English courses. This tendency posed a special difficulty for the City High teachers. One of City High's prime goals was to bring all of its students' basic skills up to a minimum level. City High hoped to teach its students to read and write better than other inner city schools. Ideally students would seek this training in basic skills themselves in the context of the supportive, informal atmosphere and in the context of needs generated by interesting courses.

At City High it became clear that students were not seeking reading and writing. Indeed to the students these courses most resembled traditional school courses--even though the City High teachers did design innovative activities. The School Alienated students wanted to avoid these courses because they had trouble with reading and writing and had probably experienced frustration in the past. The Youth Culture students avoided these courses because they were more interested in the avant guard communication courses. Even the School Oriented students, who were generally happy with traditional reading and writing courses, were somewhat fascinated with the other subjects.

> (WYC student to 2 other students as catalogue comes out before registration) :
> Did you see these three film making courses--
> I'm going to sign up for all of them.
>
> (Registration) A WYC student comes running down the stairs obviously happy:
> I got in! I got in! I was the last one in film-making before they closed it.

The teachers--especially the English teachers--were not as ecstatic. They wondered if it was fair to students to let them take all non-reading and writing courses for their English distribution. What if students finished City High and were not able to read and write adequately? The concern was especially acute for black students. Many teachers --especially black teachers-- wondered how black students were going to fare in the job market when they graduated.

> (Teacher at staff meeting) :
> All this film-making and hopdeedah stuff may be OK for white students. They are going to get a job whether or not they know how to read or write. A black student better know how to read and write or no job.

English teachers suggested at a staff meeting that students should be required to take at least two reading and writing courses some time during a year. Students could take any reading or writing courses they wanted, but they had to select some. Teachers in other courses were also requiring more reading and writing. The teachers thus hoped to guarantee that all students would work some on these skills that teachers judged so vital.

Students were not happy with these requirements. If they had free choice, many would not have opted for these courses.

> (BSO Students and counselor during registration)
> Student: Can I sign up for this film-making course and this drama course?
> Counselor: Did you already take two reading and writing courses?
> Student: (Shakes her head) No.
> Counselor: (Picks up the registration materials, starts reading through appropriate English courses.) Oh, here's one you'll like -- Writing Workshop. We'll sign you up for that.
> Student: (Agrees reluctantly.)

Again students sometimes ended up in courses they didn't really choose. The reading and writing issue is rather complex and a full discussion is out of place here. The teachers felt a tension between their belief that students should have a free choice and their commitment ideal that the school should attempt to work on students' reading and writing skills. Many kinds of attempts were made during the first year and a half, including special tutoring and various kinds of English labs, then finally the policy of requiring two reading and writing courses was judged to be the best way of insuring that all students would work on these skills.

The demands to take unwanted courses were not always external. Many of the School Oriented students who were aiming toward college internalized the demands to take courses which were necessary for admission to college.

(2 WSO Students with Observer)
Student: Hey, Do the colleges still require a foreign language for admission? I can't decide whether to take one or not.

Because the City High atmosphere encouraged students to think about their choices of careers, these internalized demands to take certain courses for college were not very stable. Students were presented with a vast array of courses to choose from, and they were always wondering whether they should take the traditional college prep courses.

Teachers differed in their response to these kinds of questions. Some believed that the colleges would continue to require certain courses or that it would probably be good for students to learn to deal with some of these external demands. Others believed that the colleges would drop these requirements or that students might best plan to go to some of the freer colleges without such requirements.

(WYC student with 2 teachers)
The student has asked the teachers whether the colleges require a foreign language.
Teacher 1: Don't worry about that V----. I think most colleges are dropping that requirement. It's a pretty ancient rule. You won't have any trouble without any language.
Teacher 2: M---- that's bad advice. It's always good to have a language. Lots of colleges are going to continue to require it.

Even when students did decide to take one of these courses, they were not as committed to its activities as they would be in a course they had really chosen.

> (2 BSO students)
> Student 1: I really want to work in TV. I've got some good courses for that, like communication core. I gave up electricity to get Spanish -- I don't know why.......
>
> Student 2: I feel like I didn't learn a thing in French last year, but I took it again this year; I don't know why either......
>
> Student 1: I guess you need a language for college........
>
> (A Language Class)
> Two BSO students are messing around and the teacher asks them when are they going to get to work.
>
> Student 1: I wouldn't be in this class except I need it for college.

In the traditional schools the concerns about why one chose a given course would perhaps not be as close to the surface. Knowing that one took a course because one wants ultimately to attend college, however, does not help either the teacher or the student to infuse the course with involvement. Students who make these choices work conscientiously but begrudgingly in these courses, with the same resignation as they had done in courses in traditional schools.

Allowing students to make their own educational decisions did not always reduce the alienation that was suppose to come from the traditional pattern of course selection. When they chose a course because they thought it was necessary for college, they probably felt more involved in that choice than they would have at a regular school. At least they were not following an unquestioned pattern but rather had to quite deliberately choose each course. Still the choice of a course under these conditions was not quite the same as one of a course they really wanted.

Free time

One of the most important options students could choose was that of "free time." Unlike the situation at many traditional high schools, City High students could arrange for blocks of time in which they could do just about anything they wanted that didn't bother other students--e.g., go out of the school, talk to friends in the lounge, eat, etc. They could spend this time in much the same way that a college student could when he had no class scheduled.

Students valued this freedom highly. In a mini-interview*, when students were asked to compare City High with their old high school, this informal freedom--including the use of free time--was one of the most important positive differences. Students told the observer that sitting around talking to friends or playing cards on the school grounds during school hours would have been unthinkable at the old schools.

Students had these opportunities for informal socializing or independent learning several times during the day--before and after school, lunch time, between classes, and most importantly for this discussion, in unscheduled class periods. During the week there were 20 possible class periods. Students were allowed , in each quarter, to leave some periods unscheduled for free time.

Ideally, students would be free to choose as much free time as they wished. If a student is going to have the ultimate responsibility for his own education, he also must have the option of choosing uncommitted time . The student ideally would use his time carefully. Seeking advice from trusted adults, he would be sure that he took advantage of the school's program to learn those things he needed or wanted. He would not waste time. He would, however, also arrange for time to pursue interests not offered by the school and to socialize with friends.

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* Mini-interviews were short interviews on selected school issues given to a stratified subsample of students.

As City High started, the staff did not decide on a policy in regard to free time. Theoretically students would sign up for courses they wanted and needed and were free to do what they wanted with the rest of their time. During the school's first quarter, there was generally no problem because students were new to the school and assumed that they had to take a relatively full schedule as they had to in their old schools.

By the second quarter, however, students had had a taste of free time (in the few periods that weren't scheduled for first quarter and in periods during which they cut classes) and they felt confident enough in City High's freedom that they tried to schedule as much open time as possible for themselves.

> (Counselor to student during counseling time)
>
> Counselor: Let me see what kind of schedule you have got arranged for yourself. (Student hands in the tentative schedule) You've got more free time than classes.
> Student: I took too much last time and I didn't do anything in any of them....So I'm going to concentrate on a few.

As this second scheduling process approached, the teachers found themselves in a quandry. Philosophically, they believed that students had the right to take as much free time as they wanted. At the same time they were afraid that they were not doing their duty to students if they didn't guide them away from what they saw as excess free time, especially if students weren't using the time educationally.

> (Staff Meeting)
> Teacher I: I'm really concerned about the free time thing. I've got one student who handed in his finished schedule with 7 free periods. I didn't know what to do.
>
> Consultant: I know it rubs us the wrong way philosophically, but I think we have to push students away from all that free time.
>
> Teacher 2: Do we want to put a limit on the amount of free time?
>
> Teacher 3: Do we want to work out some scheme where students can work extra hard now to buy free time in the future?

Although no official policy was decided on at this time, an informal agreement was made that counselors would not allow students to schedule "excessive" free time.

The failure to decide on policy was endemic to City High during this period of its growth. Individually and as a group, the teachers were often ambivalent about important issues. They were often torn between philosophical commitments to ideals and the fears that reality was not working according to the ideals. In this instance, they were committed to the idea that students should have the freedom to use their time as they wished and they were also afraid that students were not using their time very well. These fears perhaps representing commitment to another set of implicit priorities. *

Because of the informal, comfortable atmosphere promoted by the staff, students often stayed around the school during their free time. They used the lounges and the halls to socialize. Thus, their socializing was much more visible to teachers

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* That is, teachers may have valued "productive" use of time more than they valued students' freedom to choose.

than socializing at regular schools. Teachers were afraid that the transition from regular schools (where all of a student's time was planned) to City High (where students could plan their own time) was too much for many students to handle.

> (Teacher to observer):
> I'm afraid if we don't do something, some of these kids are going to play cards right up to graduation.

The pressure in regard to free time got more severe as the calculations about 18 "credits" and distribution requirements became clearer. As teachers became aware of how their students stood in progress toward graduation requirements, they became concerned about some students' lack of course credits. They were unwilling to accept these students' attempts to schedule free time instead of needed courses. The next year an informal maximum of 4 free periods each week was accepted by the staff. Thus, the staff in a period of 1 1/2 semesters evolved from no limit on free time to a clear limit. Even those teachers who started out with the strongest convictions about students' freedom to allocate the time found themselves becoming anxious because of students' uses of this free time -- that is, teachers may have valued "productive" use of time more than they valued students' freedom to choose.

As with most issues at City High the issue of free time affected different groups of students in different ways. Many of the younger School-Oriented students were uncomfortable with free time. Oriented toward getting the most out of any school, they often tried to fill all their periods with classes.

> (SO Student to observer during registration):
> I've got every period scheduled except two. I've got to find something interesting to put in those spaces.

To these students the limit on free time was meaningless. They never tried to schedule too much free time in the first place. Because they almost never got credit withheld, they were all moving easily through the credit requirements. Teachers were rarely concerned about their use of free time--except occasionally to worry that these students didn't leave enough time.

> (SO Student to counselor at registration)
> Student: What can I take in these free periods I have?
> Teacher: You've got a pretty full schedule; why don't you leave them open?

Other School Oriented students--those that were socially more mature, older, more interested in dating, etc.--had more use for free time. They usually did not seek excessive amounts of free time but they did want more than the counselors thought appropriate after the limit was set.

> (Registration Time)
> The counselor is explaining the registration process. She explains that there is now a policy limiting the maximum number of free periods to four.
>
> Two SO girls look at each other and make faces expressing surprise and horror: Since when?...
>
> (Observer and SO boy during registration)
> Observer: How's it going?
> Student: (Showing his schedule)
> I had it all filled

> in just the way I wanted it. Then L-- (the counselor) came along and filled in my free time. I didn't want Spanish or Math but I got them.
>
> Observer: How about this one? (Another course evidently filled in secondarily)
> Student: I'm not sure about that -- I might like it.

This encounter illustrates the difficulty of analyzing the various pressures on free time and on course choices. Sometimes the teacher could intervene in getting a student to schedule a course where he had free time and it was not seen as an intrusion. In the example, the student might enjoy the course and it would be functionally the same as if he had actually selected it. Ideally adults could suggest and urge courses which the student was free to accept or reject. The first two courses, however, seemed clearly unwanted.

Youth Culture students were not bothered by the free time restrictions for several reasons. Most of the courses offerings were in tune with their interests. so they usually found many courses they wanted to sign up for. Also they were more adept at arranging independent study arrangements with teachers than other students (See later section on independent study). Thus they often had free time during the day in the periods they had registered for independent study.

The School Alienated students were the ones most severely hit by the free time restrictions. These students often had had bad experiences with classes in the traditional schools. They had not found school enjoyable and had sporadic attendance records. After they had some experience with free time at City High and after they realized they could theoretically schedule more free time for themselves, they tried to do so.

> (Registration time)
> Two SA boys were joking with each
> other about who had scheduled
> the most free time.

As the translation of the Board requirements to City High points was completed, it became clear that many SA students were not getting enough credits to complete the requirements in four years. (There was a lack because of credits withheld and a previous tendency toward light schedules.) Counselors therefore became especially alert to these students seeking free time. They refused to allow these students to schedule very many free periods.

> (Counselor to SA girl)
>
> (Looking at the tentative schedule)
> You're going to have to fill up that
> free time-- you need the credits.
>
> (Counselor to SA boy at registration)
>
> Counselor: You're only allowed 2 free periods!
> Student: (Throwing all the registration papers
> into the air) 2 free periods? I'm
> not going to all of those classes every-
> day-- that's too much work. You
> need too many courses to fill all those
> spaces.
>
> (SA boy and observer)
> Observer: How's it going?
> Student: I had to fill in a lot of
> spaces with stuff I didn't
> really want.

Free time was an important aspect of the City High program and a final policy in regard to it was not shaped during the period of observation. Students valued it highly. They saw it as one of the most significant differences between City High and their old schools. They felt more in control of their day if they could actually schedule some time of their own during the school day.

Free time also introduced flexibility into the City High program. Students and teachers would often use the time to scedule meetings or supplemental educational activities (such as interviews with public figures). Some students used it for independent learning activities. It allowed much informal contact between students and teachers which may have been quite educational in its own way.

At the same time it was a way for students who had trouble with classes to formally avoid them. It made highly visible to teachers the students they weren't reaching. Teachers wondered if students used the free time in productive ways. The reason for students to be in school, after all, was to have some kind of educational contact with the program. There were doubts that students who chose a great deal of free time were having that contact. Teachers wondered if allowing free time was giving some of the students the support they needed to "make it," Every student should find something at the school he could be interested in.

All of these factors-- students' use of free time, graduation and distribution requirements, need for basic skills, desire to take college prep courses -- worked to undermine the ideal that each student would only take the courses he really wanted. The next part describes other kinds of limitations that worked against students taking their ideal class schedule.

Process Limitations

In the first part we discussed many of the reasons students did not get to take exactly the courses they wanted. Still, most students influenced their own educational program more than they would have in a regular school. Equally as important as understanding those limitations on students' choice, is understanding how what really went on during these registration times also limited their choices. How did students deal with the registration process? What went on between student and teacher? What went on between student and student? How did different groups of students react to it?

The catalogue

Much of City High's claim to be offering students a genuine choice about their education was based on the diversity of its courses. If the school offered enough variety, then every student could theoretically find courses which represented his interests or needs, and to which he could devote himself with enthusiasm. The City High catalogue of courses was extremely impressive. In only the year and a half of observation City High students could have chosen from over 200 different courses which ranged widely in content and format.

Observation at City High revealed that merely offering all these courses did not guarantee that students would really feel they had a wide choice. The development of alternative educational organizations depends on understanding what concrete realities limited the effective functioning of this wide choice.

The first problem was how to communicate the possibility of choices to students. If the student was not aware that the school offered a course he wanted, it was functionally the same as if the course was not offered. Previous reports (Wilson, 1972) have described how the natural disruption of the innovative process hampered communication in general. Because routines were not established and because the school tried to experiment with unfamiliar patterns of communication, information sources were unpredictable.

The failure to communicate effectively was even more critical in regard to course offerings than other school issues. City High's very reason for existence depended on students becoming involved with courses in a way they hadn't in their old schools. If they didn't recognize the difference between City High courses and traditional school courses, then they would be unlikely to view them with any different attitude.

Many students had an attitude toward official notification that made it difficult for the staff to communicate about the course offerings. Students said that at their old school they received so many official notifications that they often tuned them out. They had come to the conclusion that nothing official was worth bothering about.

> In a discussion of how students had gotten into City High, one student told about throwing the original announcement about City High away with only a superficial inspection. He felt lucky that his homeroom teacher at the old school liked him and personally called his attention to the announcement. He said nobody paid any attention to announcements at his old school. Several of the other students (from different schools) said that people at their old schools treated announcements much the same way.

Even though students felt City High was different, their instinctive reaction was to disregard official communications. This tendency was strongest with School Alienated students, those who had the weakest links with the schools in the past. Their disregard of official messages was complicated by the fact that many of these students had trouble reading. The task of reading notices was not as simple for them as it was for other students.

The problem then was how to let students know what was being offered. The primary method was by the catalogue. The catalogue was a booklet of mimeographed sheets with a graphically attractive cover. (See a sample page of the catalogue in Attachment 1.) Inside, the offerings were arranged by subject area. The entry for each course told the name, the teacher, the place, and then gave a short description. For some students the catalogue was sufficient. These students-mostly Youth Culture-eagerly awaited the catalogue and tended to read it through cover to cover when it appeared.

> On an afternoon a few days before registration two WYC students were hanging around the school talking. A third WYC student came up and explained that she heard the clerks were running off the catalogue for the next quarter. All three ran to the office and begged to see the new catalogue. They then sat down on the floor right on that spot and started reading, occasionally discussing courses they thought sounded interesting.

As explained in previous reports, these students regularly talked with most teachers and thus found out all they wanted about new courses before registration. Even more basically, there was an affinity between the values of these students and the teachers that guaranteed that many of the courses would be of high interest. A few School Oriented students were also excited by new courses and sought information before registration.

Most other students, however, waited until registration to find about courses. On the day of registration, they would be handed a heavy packet of registration materials such as the following: A 20 page catalogue, a list of what courses counted for credit in what fields, a list of courses arranged by time offered, 3 work sheets for planning schedules, and the official registration sheet.

> (Counselor to group at registration)
> Counselor: Everyone make sure they have this (holding up a sheet)... and this... and this... and this.
> Student: (sarcastically) Any more?

When students were confronted by all these papers, they often did not pay attention to the new courses. Teachers tried techniques such as giving out the catalogue before the other materials or asking the students to study carefully the new courses. Often there wasn't time for such concentrated attention on these materials. As the section Registration Processes will demonstrate, the registration process of a school trying to deal with as wide a range of choice as City High did was necessarily complex and time consuming. Just getting students registered without any extra explanation process was a difficult undertaking.

> During one registration period the observer noted that only one of seven counselors observed attempted any special communication about new courses

Even when couselors did attempt to communicate especially about new courses, they often did not succeed. City High's informal atmosphere -- especially during counseling group time --did not favor concentrated attention on any one thing. At registration students were usually too eager to get the process finished to listen to discussions about new courses.

> (Counseling group at the beginning of registration) The counselor has given out the registration material. Students have begun to read them.
>
> Counselor: Before anyone does anything I want to go over some of the new courses with you. It would be to your benefit to pay attention because there might be some things you'll want to take. (Starts to discuss new English course.)
>
> Student: T--, what does this time sheet mean? (Another student explains its meaning.)
>
> The counselor continues to try to discuss the new courses and is interrupted with questions. Finally he looks at his watch and abandons the idea. He says that he will talk to students individually about new courses if they have any questions.

Thus, the most frequently attempted method of communicating to students about new courses was individually in counseling groups. In the registration process the counselor would work with each of his/her 20 counselees on their proposed schedules. It was in this process that it became apparent how little students knew about new courses.

A later section will show how students often didn't bother to read the catalogue because of limited time. Rather they consulted the sheet which listed courses by time offered or by the credit value. These students knew nothing about the courses except the names, and often this was insufficient. Without someone telling them or checking the catalogue, many students never knew what some courses were about. Names such as: Main Street, Changes, Gismo Reading, etc. did not fully describe the contents of the course. Teachers were aware that students often looked only at course names. It was thus important to have a catchy name rather than something more descriptive.

> (Student to counselor)
> What's People and Psychology about?

Even when the titles were more descriptive or when the students did read the full catalogue description, the contents of the course might not be communicated. This situation was especially severe with the School Alienated students, although also sometimes true with the School Oriented students. It was very easy for teachers to be unaware of the middle class bias in their assumption about what words and phrases students understood.

> (BSO girl in counseling group at registration)
> Student: I need another art course.
> I can't find any interesting ones.
> Observer: (Looking through the catalogue with the girl)
> How about Ceramics? Would you like that?
> Student: What's Ceramics?
> Observer: It's working with clay and making pots.

Terms such as ceramics, psychology, ecology, theater games are not as widely understood as many teachers thought.

Even when the words were understood, the implications of what a course would be like were not. Individual sessions that really helped students to explore the possibilities of new courses were very lengthy.

> (Counseling group registration time)
> 3 BSO girls were searching for a science course to take. The counselors sat down and talked with them for thirty minutes about the science courses. They decided finally--even with some enthusiam--to try Marine Life, a course they knew nothing about when they st[illegible].

The same scene was repeated numerous times. Students would complain there was nothing interesting to take. Counselors would sit with them for a relatively long time directing their attention to courses they had skipped over. When the students had the possible activities of courses elaborated by someone they trusted, they often signed up. It should be clear, however, that there was never enough time to do this with every student at every registration.

Teachers soon found out that many students were reluctant to try new courses. This revelation was a shock to teachers in the first few registration periods because they thought that students would be eager to try all the new exciting courses after having experienced the drab fare at their old schools. For the Youth Culture students, this was true. For other groups of students, however, there was a certain security in signing up for courses they understood.

> (Staff Meeting --first semester)
> Innovator: We've got a problem with some of the new courses. Students aren't signing up for them. (He reads the list) Students seem to be sticking with what's familiar. You should work with them in your groups.

Some of the School Alienated students did not have any more faith in new courses than in traditional courses. As earlier reports indicated, some of these students never really accepted the innovative nature of the school. For them, courses were courses, although the range of choice did make an impression.

> (WSA student, counseling group)
> He walks in late; students are working on registration. He picks up the 20 page catalogue, reads through it quickly and throws it down. He then asked the counselor half ironically, half seriously: Is this all we got? What's simsoc? [simulation game]

The irony of his comments indicated that he realized that there was indeed more choice at City High than at other schools. His actions also indicated, however, that the richness of the choices did not basically affect his evaluation of the school. He still was not very interested. He did not seriously search the offerings for courses that might interest him.

There were exceptions to the general trend. Sometimes the School Alienated students were very aware of new courses. If the course was taught by a teacher who had a lot of contact with students from this group or if some School Alienated students had taken the course previously and liked it, then this information about the course got around the grapevine.

> (BSA girls at registration)
> Student 1: I want to sign up for Girl Talk--
> L--said it was going to be fun.
> Student 2: Me too.

Neither of these girls knew anything about any of the other new courses. Similarly, the BSO girl to whom the observer explained "ceramics" decided to sign up for the course because she knew and liked the teacher.

Registration processes

One of the most outstanding facts about the registration process is the informality with which it was carried out. City High was eminently successful in creating an atmosphere of informality in which free interchange could go on between students and teachers.

> (Innovator to staff meeting at end of summer)
> The students are going to be insecure in this school..
> Try to make yourself as familiar [friendly, available]
> as possible.
>
> Usually registration is frustrating--cold and heartless.
> It's particularly important for us to make good impressions.
> It will be important for the way things will go later.

The staff was truly successful here. As can be seen by the previous sections and from the sections that follow, there was plenty in this process that was potentially frustrating. Working with such a wide range of choice and flexibility and with the uncertainties inherent in relationships with outside agencies made the City High registration process much more complicated than that of a regular school.

Students were comfortable with their teachers and with each other. A typical group registering would have students spread out all over an area on the floor or on chairs, individually and in small groups. Some students would be eating or drinking. Students were free to come and go--taking short rests from the process. Friends from other groups could come in and talk quietly with those registering. If students needed any more information about any of the courses listed, they were encouraged to seek out the teachers responsible to ask them the questions.

The free form of these sessions had both its assets and its liabilities. Information was exchanged--both between teachers and students and among students--more freely than it might be in a rigid system. Students had the feeling of being in control of their life at the school. They could more honestly confront their feelings about the educational process than they might at a regular school. Counselors and students would discuss the possible courses students might take, the orientation of the course, who was teaching the course, etc.

Students were able to honestly express what direction they wanted to take. Counselors might suggest courses and students could frankly tell them that they didn't want this or that course. The very fact of this process where students had to make these decisions helped students to develop. They had to take into consideration all the factors making for a choice--distribution requirements, time conflicts, and what they wanted--and combine them into a viable schedule.

> (Counselors to students):
> I'm giving you your records. Check them out to see if you're making the progress you want to. If you have any questions, we'll talk about them individually.

A student in a regular school might not have to develop any kind of consciousness about his attitude toward courses. At City High a student had to become aware of his feelings or there would be no basis for choice. Similarly a student at a regular school would not probably be given his official record to see, let alone to worry about how his schedule could combine his desires and the requirements.

On a negative side was the fact that this free floating process took a lot of time. There was rarely enough time for the counselor to devote as much time as he wished to each student.

> (Counselor to observer privately):
> I need three hours for each student. I never feel like I've done as good a job as I might have.

The informality made it difficult for counselors to transmit formal information. Any attempt at official pronouncements degenerated into a multi-way conversation. Also much went on in counseling group sessions besides registration. Simultaneously, a counselor might have to deal with everything from a student joking around to a student discussing his parents' divorce in addition to registration. Perhaps one of the most important characteristics of alternative school sessions is the greatly magnified level of communication.

Students spontaneously share with counselors more of their educational and personal concerns than they might at a regular school. City High observations also revealed, however, that it was impossible for a counselor to deal adequately with all this material. Registration was especially likely to bring a lot of the issues to the fore. What follows is an annotated summary account of 20 minutes of students' questions in one group session during registration.

> (Counseling group at registration)
> Student: (Looking at the catalogue) What do I do if they don't have what I want?
>
> The counselor ideally could talk to the student about independent study. What could he do to get institutional credit for doing what he did want? Had he really understood the catalogue? Was there really nothing there he wanted?
>
> Student: What's Auto Shop? What do they do there?
>
> The Counselor ideally might want to explore this budding interest with the student. How could the school arrange for this student to see if he were interested in Auto Shop without risking too much?
>
> Student: Can I take courses I've already taken? (These courses would not be exact duplications.)
>
> What were the courses that the student wanted to repeat? Was the student wrong in clinging to a sure experience, afraid of the risk of unknown courses, or was he really engrossed in something valuable that needed to be completed and seen through?
>
> Student: R--, I think I'm going to have to transfer next quarter. I just can't get with the courses here.
>
> What's behind this decision to transfer? What can be done? Would the student really be better off elsewhere What courses can't she "get with?."

> Student: What time does Commericals meet?
> Student: I need an English course; I don't want the one I'm taking now.
>
> Student: Can I take Social Studies for Civics credits?
>
> Student: Math Lab is terrible--I haven't learned a thing.

At the same time, of course, there was much interaction going on between students which the counselor might have entered if she had time enough.

Students remained passive about the limits of the system. They never got to the point of questioning requirements or the way the school operated. Though they felt active in their individual decisions, through their questions they indicated that they really didn't have much sense of control over school policy.

> In one counseling group one student asked what was happening with the Math Lab. Another wanted to know if Commercials was continuing.

In a school where students really felt in control these questions would perhaps have been unnecessary. Either of these students could have influenced school policy about these courses. They could have acted to make sure that what they wanted would be offered. Students as a whole never got active this way and counselors never had time to encourage such activities.

Conflicts and flexibility

Beyond problems of time, communication, and mechanics of the registration process, one can be misled by the scope of the printed catalogue in yet another way. Even if students were aware of the full ranges of choices represented, it was impossible that every course would be accessible to any given student. Courses had to be scheduled in time and place and, with such a large number, inevitably many had to be scheduled at the same time. A student could not take more than one in any given period. Therefore, if two he wanted happened to be scheduled at the same time, functionally he did not have the option of taking both the courses.

The reader might think this a trival point: Of course, classes will have to be scheduled and there will be impossible combinations. Such an occurrence is inevitable. Yet if one is going to understand the reality of an alternative school one must understand it in terms of its day-to-day reality. The conflicts of many courses being scheduled in the same time period were not insignificant. Often students would draw up an ideal schedule--a list of courses in which they were seriously interested and in which they might really show enthusiam--but because of the conflicts they were unable to realize the schedule. Instead, they might end up taking several courses that they did not want as much. Such a compromise inevitably prevents the ideal of the totally engaged student from being realized.

City High experimented with various processes of registration and finally evolved toward the following: A week before registration students were given catalogues and other materials. Then all the counseling groups were divided into four groups and each group assigned a morning or afternoon for registration. In these times students would work with their counselors until they had the schedule they wanted. They would then go to the registration area where teachers had master lists for classes in each subject area. They would go around to each of these teachers and sign up.

If no classes were closed (classes had limits on how many students could sign up), they were finished. If they discovered that one or more classes they wanted were closed, they had to reschedule and try again.

The registration process turned out to be very frustrating for both students and teachers. Everyone seemed to have conflicts which prevented scheduling in the exact way that they wanted. Many desired courses might be scheduled at the same time. A student realizing his need for distribution in some area might find that the course he wanted in that area conflicted with other courses he wanted in other areas and so on.

The school tried various techniques to ameliorate this conflict problem. One quarter, teachers initiated pre-registration. In this system students picked the courses they wanted from the catalogue. No times were specified so students were able to indicate pure choices without regard to scheduling. Using a computer, the staff worked out a conflict matrix which assigned times to courses so that the total number of conflicts for all students was minimized. Although the scheme was never allowed time to be perfected, it seemed to have several intrinsic problems.

Because of the informal atmosphere many students did not take pre-registration seriously. Thus, they didn't have their preferences reflected in the schedule.

> (WYC Girl to observer at registration)
> The student is upset that she had so many conflicts.
> Student: They should have told me what this pre-registration meant. I would have filled it out and sent it in.

Also the attention focused on picking courses during pre-registration is all lost if even one conflict ultimately materializes (a likely occurrence). One conflict usually upsets several other time periods like dominoes falling in on each other.

> (Counselor to observer) :
> Students put a lot of time into pre-registration. They didn't do it after they found out that they would still have conflicts; now they just fill in the spaces.

Since pre-registration still resulted in many conflicts, it may have unduly raised students' expectations that they would have been able to get what they wanted.

> (WYC Student to observer):
> The computer really screwed me up this time. I think it was better without it.
>
> (WSA Student to observer)
> I think they arranged it to make the most conflicts.

One more problem with the pre-registration was that it didn't pay any special attention to unusual circumstances. Small specialty courses were sometimes made impossible because the computer didn't weight those students' conflicts any more than anyone else's

> (Teacher to observer) :
> Conflicts are going to wipe out my advanced French class.

Presumably, some of these bugs could be worked out by several applications of the processes. A computer minimization of conflicts seems logically the best alternative. In human terms, however, it would have taken several registration periods until people dealt with pre-registration in the proper spirit. Teachers chose instead to use the one shot registration and from their experience, they tried to separate the scheduling of courses that were likely to be chosen by the same people.

Even after this process had been gone through several times, then, there were conflicts in many students' ideal schedules. To try to get an idea of how much of a problem the conflicts were, we conducted a mini-interview after one registration period.

> One half of the students revealed that they had a conflict problem resulting in their taking at least one course they didn't really want.

Conflict was such an expectation that those who got exactly what they wanted were quite surprised.

> (BSO girl to observer):
> This is the first time it ever happened this way--everything's fine except P.E. Usually you have to fight for what you want.

The ideal of students picking what they wanted was therefore interfered with by the realities of conflict. Typically, students would schedule the few things they really wanted and then start to work on the remaining jigsaw puzzle.

> A BSA boy was observed to schedule the P.E. classes he liked and then to go about trying to find other courses.

Often students had time periods they wanted to keep open for non- academic reasons-- first period classes so they didn't have to get up early, last period classes so they could go to a job, Friday classes so they had a long weekend, certain days so they could take care of younger siblings, etc. As with scheduling conflicts, these demands made certain courses functionally unavailable.

Students had to try to fit in the pieces of what they wanted, when they wanted it, what was available at what time, and what credit distribution they needed. To this end the school provided a sheet listing courses by times offered and by what areas of credits were offered for each course (see Attachment 1).

After some time spent in wrestling seriously with what students really wanted, both teachers and students abandoned the ideal process and started searching for courses (regardless of what they were) that gave credit in the right area.

> (BSA student to counselor)
> Student: Hey, give me a science in T 3 and T 4.
> (T 3 and T 4 are periods on Tuesday)
> Counselor: How about Telescope making?
> (The student signs up for Telescope making. He had no idea what it was.)

Many students abandoned the catalogue altogether and planned their schedules just by the time list.

> (Registration)
> WSO Student: I had to finally just fit stuff in.
>
> WYC Student: I had to take things I didn't really want.
>
> BSO Student: I just had to take courses I didn't want---
> I guess I just have to face it.

As mentioned earlier, the student had to take his tentative schedule to the registration area and sign on the master list. The teachers who manned these areas were aware that students were just fitting courses in.

> (BSO girl and English teacher in registration area)
> Student: Sign me up for this course (points to the master list of a certain course).
> Teacher: You know this course isn't creative writing--it's more expositive writing--reports and essays.
> Student: Sign me up anyway--I can't start rescheduling now.

After this girl left, the observer talked to the two teachers manning the English registration area. The teachers said that they tried to discourage students from taking what just fitted in.

In an attempt to lessen the conflicts, several City High teachers allowed some flexibility for scheduling in their courses. Math and English had labs which met on several periods during the week. Students were allowed to pick out of the several periods to fit their particular schedules. "Core" and French similarly had some required times and other flexible times.

These teachers discovered, however, that this flexibility made for unwieldy classes. The numbers of students in any given period was highly variable--sometimes too many and sometimes too few. It was also difficult to do any group work when the composition changed every period. These teachers found the situation intolerable and decided to schedule their courses like other courses.

> (Teacher to staff meeting before registration week)
> This time students will have to schedule Math Lab just like any other course. We can't have everybody changing every period.

This, of course, made for more conflicts. Some of the other teachers resented the loss of this flexiblity.

> (Counselor to observer at registration)
> The teacher was having problems scheduling a student.
> Counselor: Why don't they let students take Math lab like they used to? This new schedule is impossible...

Gradually, however, teachers got used to these courses being scheduled like all the others. At the end of the period of observation, registration at City High was still a hectic and complex process, and some conflicts were inevitable.

Outside courses and anti-bureaucracy

Scheduling was complicated even further by the fact that City High had to deal with outside courses. Occasionally these outside people and institutions would have to change times for courses at the last minute since they were influenced by non-school schedules. When this happened many students' schedules were thrown off:

When a school seeks to have classes out in the city, it has to work with the fact that outsiders may be less willing to deal with bureaucracy than in-school people. Some of the outside contacts--especially theater and art people--were unwilling to work with the bureaucratic time arrangements of the school.

They were sometimes late with information about their courses and they sometimes changed meeting times. Any instability such as this, of course, greatly complicated the already complicated scheduling process.

Outside courses sometimes generated another difficulty, when they required a minimum enrollment or cost a certain amount of money. For the sake of maintaining good relations with the agencies or for the sake of economy, the City High staff would have to push some courses.

> (All-school meeting at registration)
> Certain courses that are listed aren't going to be taught because of trouble with the outside people who were going to teach them. Acting and African Studies won't be offered.
>
> ***** ******** **
>
> Also we need students to sign up for Ghetto Game. We are paying for that course and we need to fill it.

These pressures influenced teachers in their advice to students.

There were also some teachers in City High who had their anti-bureaucratic tendencies. They didn't attend meetings and didn't listen when they did. These lapses resulted in difficulty for students during registration time.

> (Teacher to observer) :
> M--(a student) signed up for advanced French. She doesn't speak a word. F-- (her counselor) didn't listen at the meeting.
>
> During registration three students who had left to go to the main registration area returned unhappily to their counseling group. They reported that on coming to the registration area they found that the

> scheduling for a course they wanted very much had been changed. A teacher had given the wrong time on the schedule. They said they doubted if they could take this course because it would necessitate too many changes in their schedules. Their counselor expressed anger to the observer privately. She said that this teacher was just too haphazard about that kind of thing.

Most teachers acknowledged that this haphazard teacher was excellent in working with some students. It is probable that these kinds of schools would often be confronted with this dilemma: Because of their alternative nature, they will attract people who dislike bureaucracy and refuse to yield to its demands.

Bureaucratic functioning

A very significant, unintended, outcome of a school trying to give its students a say in personal educational decisions was training in bureaucratic functioning. The student had to take it upon himself to manipulate the system to get the schedule he wanted. This often gave the student a sense of control over his educational fate. It also gave students training in bureaucratic functioning. They had to learn to understand a complicated registration process with all its associated details and they had to learn what the individual can do in such a system. Dealing with the bureaucracy never became a joy within the period of observation, although students did become more adept at it and developed some feelings of confidence.

> (Student to counselor at second registration early in first year):
> Why can't we do it like we did it at the old school--it's too confusing here.
>
> (Student late in the second year):
> Registration was a lot easier this time. I understand it now.

The documents in Attachment 1 give a sample of all the bureaucratic papers that confronted students. They had to learn to deal with time schedules and with requirements. They had to translate their desires and reactions onto forms.

In addition, they had to learn to contact people in terms of their bureaucratic positions. The schedule indications often included notification that students had to check with teachers before they were allowed to take certain courses.

> (Note after a course listed in catalogue)
> Students wishing to take this course must see D-- for approval.

At first this contact was difficult for many students and the observer noted that students seemed to be avoiding bureaucratic functioning.

> (An early registration period)
> A student asked a counselor about a course in the catalogue. The counselor showed the student that he had to see the teacher for approval. The student decided not to sign up for that course.

As students became acquainted with the process and the teachers, they became more willing to make these bureaucratic contacts.

Students also learned to deal with the bureaucracy in non-standard ways. If students wanted to do something out of the ordinary, they were told by their counselors to check with the people involved.

> Students sometimes wanted to drop courses that were supposed to be undroppable.
>
> Students sometimes wanted to continue in courses that they had already taken once.

By being forced to contact the teachers, students were given the responsibility of finding out about the consequences of their actions within the framework of the school bureaucracy.

> (Counselor with student at registration)
> The student has said that she wants to drop French.
> The counselor has tried to probe to find out why.
> Finally the counselor tells the student:
>
> Counselor: You'll have to talk to R-- (the French teacher) about it. You'll probably lose credit, but it's up to you and her.

Over their years at City High, students encountered "you'll have to check it out" numerous times. Though it was sometimes frustrating for students, the cumulative effect was more educational than that of a regular school. Teachers did not lay down the rules or take it upon themselves to communicate with other teachers. Students learned that they could communicate with any other member of the organization.

Even more significant than these contacts made with teachers about organizational rules were those made about academic inquiries. Students learned that they could talk to teachers about courses, probable contents, and probable format. Sometimes these conversations dealt with the contents of the courses. The teacher and the student might each talk about their expectations and their work together in previous courses.

> A student came to tell an English teacher that she had signed up for one of the courses the teacher was offering. The teacher told her a little bit about the courses and that they would be reading Crime And Punishment.
> Student: That's great! I've always wanted to read that book.

When there was time, teachers could use these contacts to enlarge on students' limited knowledge from a reading of the catalogue, Often significant learning went on in these short contacts.

> A student comes to the science teacher to ask about the physics course. The teacher takes out the book and indicates some of the areas they might be studying. The student acts interested and says he will sign up.

Students found that people valued their reactions to courses. Student reactions to outside courses were especially valued because it was one of the primary ways that City High staff found out what was going on in these courses.

> A student comes to sign up for a second quarter of physics. (A different quarter than the quote above.) He complains to the City High science teacher that he didn't feel that he had been learning very much so far in that course.

The most popular time for talking with teachers was registration time. As this paper has indicated, registration time was overloaded for teachers. Every teacher was also a counselor and had little time to talk to students about the courses he was teaching the next quarter. He had, after all, to help his counselees to register.

> (A counselor and BSA student during registration)
> They are looking through the catalogue.
> Student: What's that Film Biology about?
> Counselor: (Seeing the teacher who was giving that course) Oh, there's F--. Why don't you go ask him about the course?
> Student: (The student gets up and tries to find the teacher, who by this time is on the next floor of the school) F--, what's Film Biology going to be?
> Teacher: (Because the teacher is busy he gives a very short explanation and tells the student that he must run. He invites the student to talk to him at another time.)

Another problem with these conversations was that often students seemed primarily interested in how much work was involved in the course. Also, many students were interested in avoiding courses that involved much reading and writing. Time demands didn't allow the teachers to work with the students to get them to confront these fears.

> (BSO student with Ecology teacher)
> Student: What kind of work goes on in Ecology?
> Teacher: Lots. (Then he explains in more detail)

> (Pollution Studies teacher to student who had asked about a course)
> Teacher: There's going to be some reading if you take the course next quarter--that's something for you to think about.

Occasionally, these attempted contacts did not work out at all. Students would try to get information and because of time demands no teacher would take the responsibility of helping the student to get the information.

> One student went to R-- to find out about a possible Hebrew course. R-- sent her to M--. When she asked M--, he sent her to T--. The student gave up and told the observer: everyone sends you all over here.

These practical constraints were not the only limitations on students' free choices at City High. Often students felt pressure from their peers and from a subtle form of tracking. We discuss these pressures and subgroup differences below.

Subgroup differences in manipulating bureaucracies

Not all City High students learned to manipulate the system equally well. Consequently, not all of the students felt equally in control of their educational fate. From the beginning of the school year, there were differences among the groups of students in who was comfortable in exploring the limits of the course registration process. Groups differed in their abilities and willingness to manipulate the apparent limits of the system to realize their educational desires. Consistently the Youth Culture students were more adept than the School Oriented who were in turn more adept than the School Alienated. During the period of observation these gaps lessened as students became more comfortable with the staff and school processes and learned the necessary skills. Some differences always remained, however.

Youth Culture students felt comfortable with the staff from the beginning and felt free to talk to them about anything they wanted. Teachers sought contacts with students and usually welcomed these overtures. At registration time these conversations usually dealt with the registration information. In counseling groups, these students continued to feel comfortable and get the information they wanted.

> (Counseling group registration, first semester)
> WYC students have already spontaneously discussed with the counselor many matters that concern them. A WSO boy and BSO girl raised their hands to ask questions.
> Counselor: You don't have to raise your hands.

As time went on, students in all groups learned that they didn't have to observe formalities but they rarely -- in the period of observation -- approached a counselor with the spontaneity of the Youth Culture students. All groups learned to be fairly free in counseling group sessions -- significant learning for students who perhaps never talked to a teacher before City High in any but a formal class situation. The Youth Culture were still the most comfortable in non-counseling group time.

It is important to realize that though the Youth Culture's greater ease was a general pattern, there were many exceptions. These exceptions represent some of City High's greatest accomplishments. Almost every student -- School Alienated included -- had one or more City High teachers with whom he or she was thoroughly comfortable. (See "You Can Talk to the Teachers", CNS, 1974c) If some bureaucratic arrangement necessitated dealing with the special teacher, the School Alienated student was as free as the Youth Culture student. The important difference, however, was that for the Youth Culture student every teacher could be dealt with in this way; for the School Alienated, only the special friends could be dealt with in this fashion.

A few teachers established extensive relations with School Alienated students. These teachers -- mostly the non-academic -- were surrounded by students. School Alienated students seemed to have comfortable access to them.

> (BSA Boy with PE teacher)
> The student comes running up to the teacher during registration period.
> Student: Hey G---, can I get PE credit for driver's ed?

Students also approached time in different fashions. School Oriented students dealt with time in a manner much more likely to result in their realizing their desires than other groups. In order for an individual to insure he got what he wanted from the system, he had to seize the earliest opportunity available to him. As indicated earlier, popular courses got filled up early. Those students who registered early and who took pre-registration seriously were the ones who got into these courses. In a somewhat vicious cycle, the School Alienated students were the ones who were least likely to approach bureaucratic functionings in an urgent manner. They were the ones who encountered "closed" courses. They thus had to take courses which were not their first choices and became even more alienated from school.

> The observer noted in a counseling group registration session that the students were mostly SO and YC. About thirty minutes later 3 SA girls walked in and started the registration process. All the other students had been working very assiduously and were almost ready to go to the main registration area.

Because of time demands on counselors, they were often not very sympathetic to these students. The counselors felt that these students had to learn the urgencies of bureaucratic time. During the first year registration sessions, counselors worked specially with these students when they arrived, but in later sessions they held them responsible for their carefree approach to registration and its consequences.

> The observer spent half an hour working with a BSA girl who was having trouble scheduling because of closed courses and conflicts. Later he asked the counselor why the student was having so much trouble.
> Counselor: She was supposed to work on it this morning with everyone else. She spent the whole morning messing around. It's her own fault. I can't help her now 'cause I've got to work on the registration line.

For the other students early was not early enough. Realizing that time was important in manipulating the bureaurcracy, they tried to take advantage of opportunities as early as possible. In fact the school had to initiate certain safeguards in order to insure fairness. Counseling groups were assigned earlier registration times on a rotating schedule and teacher guards were posted at the doors to the registration area to keep other students from registering. For eager students, however, these limits were to be challenged.

> (WSO Boy at registration)
> The student works out his tentative schedule and realizes that one course he wants -- Marine Biology-- has a low limit on the number of students allowed. He decides to go down to the registration area before he has filled out his official forms. He returns in a short while.
> Student: J-- (The teacher at the door), the bitch (said jokingly) wouldn't let me in till I do this other stuff.
> (He sets at working to get it done in a hurry.)

> (WYC student at registration area entrance)
> L-- you can let me in. It's late in the day. These kids are all done. My group is scheduled for tomorrow morning. What difference does it make?

Some of the SA students learned that they had to register as early as possible. They also learned that they had to take the bureaucratic forms seriously in order to get what they wanted.

> (BSA girl outside registration area)
> There is a long line outside the door to the registration hall. In a jovial mood, students are pushing and joking as though outside of a bargain sale. The observer notes a BSA girl who in previous registrations has been late for registering.
> Observer: What's going on?
> Student: You've got to get here early to get what you want.

> (BSA girl to English teacher in registration area)
> The girl comes running up to the English table almost cutting off another student.
> Student: Hurry, sign me up, before these (pointing to English courses on the schedule) are closed out.

The differences in regard to dealing with bureaucratic paper work have already been noted. YC and WSO students were much more adept at using the catalogue and translating its descriptions into their desires. SA students often did not even use the catalogue. Similarly, these YC and WSO groups were aware of the flexibility available, what courses granted what kind of credit and in special arrangements for extra credit.

Another difference between groups existed in regard to their attempts to get special privileges. The Youth Culture were the most adept at getting teachers to modify organizational policies to fit their needs. In part, this tendency was a by-product of the Youth Culture's spontaneous comfort with teachers. Because the teachers wanted to be responsive to students, they would have probably been willing to bend policies for any students who asked; it just so happened that the students who asked the most were the Youth Culture.

> A WYC girl begged the science registration person to let her get into Animal Behavior even though it was closed. Reluctantly, he finally agreed.

Many of the other students didn't even think to challenge the limits. The School Oriented especially accepted the limits.

> (2 BSO students)
> I was interested in that TV course. I saw that it had a four person limit so I didn't bother with it.

Gradually the teachers realized that these students who pressured them were getting privileges that other students didn't have. They also realized that these students mostly tended to come from the Youth Culture group. They consciensiously tried, therefore, not to succumb to these pressures.

> (2 WYC boys at registration)
> An extremely popular course-- Social Violence -- had been closed out very early in the registration process. The students started with the registration person in the social studies field. This teacher told them "no" because the course was closed. They then went to the teacher of the course.
>
> Student: Please S-- you've got to let us in. It's the only good course... I'm not going to take any other course if you don't let us in.
>
> This teacher refused and they then went to complain to the assistant principal about the unfairness of the system.

Another teacher consciously realized the privileges these kids had.

> (Teacher to observer):
> These kids have got to learn; they think they can talk their way into anything.

Though these students didn't succeed in this instance, students who made these special appeals often did succeed. The skills of these students in personal advocacy should be evident. These students were more able to work around the bureaucratic restrictions to get what they wanted. Some students in other groups resented the special privilege. Since most Youth Culture students were white, some black students interpreted the success of their special appeals as a racial preference.

> (BSO girl to observer):
> I'm really mad. Everything I wanted is closed...
> The white kids could get what they wanted, though.

The causes of an unequal distribution of YC and SA among black and white groups may ultimately be traceable to racism in the society. That is, there are more upper middle class whites (and hence Youth Culture) than blacks in America.

Some teachers tried to teach School Alienated students how to use their advocacy techniques in a bureaucratic setting. They tried to get these students to see how they could fight for what they wanted. These students had to learn how to overcome being intimidated by formal bureaucracy.

> (BSA girl and counselor at registration)
> Student: S---, I don't know what to do. I want that drama workshop real bad. They told me it was closed.
>
> Counselor: What you've got to do is go beg the teacher. Tell her that your whole schedule depends on that course... Don't tell them I sent you though.

In some respects these activities didn't represent the reality of dealings in the outside world. Rules there would not be so flexible nor would the people be so solicitous. Still any increment in self confidence in regard to dealing with the world outside the school community was welcomed. Students who have not had City High experiences often feel paralyzed in terms of formal and semi-formal procedures. (For more details of these feelings of powerlessness, see Wilson, 1972)

Differences in the approach to independent study

A special variant of these differences in regard to getting what one wants out of a system is the way the various groups approached independent study. Ideally, independent study is the important flexibility agent by which a school can insure that students can study what they want even if the school doesn't formally offer it. In a school that must deal with distribution requirements and credit quotas, independent study can also keep these requirements from being too tyrannical in their demands. Most importantly, independent study can be the arrangement that guarantees that a student is no longer alienated from his studies.

The City High observations revealed that there was an enormous difference in attitudes toward independent study. One of the most shocking realizations was that most SA students had no idea of the concept of independent study. For them school was what a teacher put in front of you. The idea that one could arrange to study what one wanted and be granted institutional recognition for it was completely alien. The School Oriented, while generally aware of the idea of independent study, were reluctant to use it. For the Youth Culture, independent study coincided perfectly with their idea of what school was.

> In one list of who was taking independent study a certain quarter, 21 of the 28 independent study courses taken were being taken by WYC students. (One person could take more than one independent study course so the 21 figure did not represent 21 different people.)

The school had a slightly ambivalent attitude toward independent study. Though most teachers were commited to the idea of it, they never worked together as a staff to develop a coherent policy toward it. Individually teachers would encourage students to develop independent study courses and seemed sincerely to welcome these kinds of contacts with students. They never set out as a staff, however, to encourage students to think about this option nor was it explained very fully in the catalogue.

The development of policy in regard to independent study seemed rather haphazard. At first students just signed up for a regular course and arranged independently to do special work. After a while some departments, such as math, realized that students were signing up for independent study and hence made a special category for it. There was often a dilemma at registration, however, about where to sign up for independent study. Since there was no general category and since the registration area was arranged by subjects, the student often didn't know where to go.

> (Teacher in registration area)
> A student has come up and asked about an independent study course she arranged. The teacher yelled across the room to another teacher at another part of the registration area.
> Teacher: Do we sign K-- up here or do you sign her up there?

Independent study was encouraged by the method of scheduling teachers. Since teachers didn't have to meet each of their classes every day of the week, they had open periods during which they could arrange to meet students to supervise their independent courses. There was pressure from the Board of Education to foreclose on this possibility.

> (Principal to staff meeting)
> Principal: The Board has told me that they don't like so many open periods for teachers. From the next quarter on teachers will have to have all their hours scheduled.
> Teacher: Don't they know that our open periods are not "open"? We do ten thousand different things at that time.

During the period of observation this directive was never enforced although it might be a significant pressure against independent study in other settings.

The non-availability of time may have been a significant underlying pressure working against independent study. Though individual teachers were glad to arrange independent study, one wonders if they would have liked to encourage it as a formal policy. The few courses they each supervised made big demands on time when combined with the many courses they taught and their other planning activities. They must have realized that even bigger demands would have been made if independent study became more wide-spread.

> (Teacher to another teacher):
> I never have any time any more. With all the courses I teach and independent study I never have a spare moment.

This ambivalent attitude toward independent study thus penalized those students who were not comfortable with the bureaucratic manipulation necessary to set it up. It is important to say teachers would encourage it with students they were in special contact with even if the students had not initated it. That is, they would suggest it to a student who seemed to need it to realize some educational goal. They would not, however, embark on a general scheme to encourage all students to sign up for it. Thus, Youth Culture students used the independent study option more than other groups because they were more in touch with the teachers.

The School Alienated didn't know what independent study was or misunderstood it. Earlier reports (See the paper on class planning, CNS 1973b) pointed out how these students had stereotyped definitions of what was school and not school. Independent study was contrary to definitions of what they thought school was.

> (2 BSA boys at registration)
> Student 1: I got too many free periods. They said I had to fill in some more.
> Student 2: Sign up for independent study--it's just like a free period.

This student didn't get away with it because each independent study course had to be arranged with a teacher. The example does indicate his attitudes toward independent study or what he understood as independent study. Anything that doesn't include a teacher and supervising activities is not "serious school." (Independent study is a "rip off," a way to steal credits and free time.)

Occasionally counselors could help the students to see what independent study might mean to them personally. Because of the time demands both in the registration period itself and in the actual supervising of these courses, however, this occurrence was not frequent. Perhaps there was some special reticence with SA students because they have reputations for being the least self-motivated and hence would likely require the closest supervision. Occasionally, however, these students learned to use independent study.

> (BSA girl with counselor at registration.)
> Student: (Looking through the catalogoue)
> Hey P--, what's independent placement?
> Counselor: That's when a student wants to do something that isn't listed and sets it up with a teacher.
> Student: Could I do that with advanced typing (a course that was once listed but wasn't this time?)
> Counselor: Sure, let's go talk to D--to see if it's possible.

Typically, the School Oriented were vaguely aware of the possibilities of independent study and did understand the concept. In the context of the school, however, they were not adept at using it. They too expected teachers to plan most school activities. They did not regularly think in terms of independent study.

> (2 WSO girls to observer during registration)
> The observer noted the two girls talking agitatedly and asked what was up.
> Student: I've got lots of free time left and there's nothing left that I want. I don't want so much free time.
> Observer: Did you think about independent study? If there's something special you wanted to study, you could set it up with a teacher to study it during those periods.
> Student: We hadn't thought of that.

Often these are students who would most obviously benefit from independent study. They are students who have usually been conscientious workers in traditional schools. At City High too, they are the most consistent in attendance and assignments completed. Their biggest problem is lack of independence. They are dependent on teachers to give them direction. Some of City High's best accomplishment were in weaning these students from their dependence. Generally, however, these students found out about and planned to use independent study only haphazardly.

> (BSO girl with observer)
> Student: This school doesn't have any course I want. I want a course in black studies and there is none listed (holding the catalogue).
> Observer: Did you ever think about independent study? You could arrange it with a teacher and design a course in black studies for yourself. I guess you should talk to C-- about that.
> Student: I'll go talk to him.

> A BSO girl lamented the ending of the course in which she had worked in a hospital. She said that she would like to be a nurse some day and she wished she could keep working in the hospital. The observer asked if she had pursued the idea of independent study with the teacher. She said she hadn't.
>
> As the observer talked to her, he realized that she was reluctant (maybe too shy) to pursue this special pleading for her desires. The observer induced her to go with him to see the teacher and ultimately something was worked out.

At the end of the period of observation it seemed as though this group was learning to make use of independent study. More SO students were involved in these courses than previously. Still, however, these students didn't usually think to set up independent study and perferred to sign up for pre-set courses. These students were also some of the most violent objectors to the independent study possibilities of the core courses, which they saw as frighteningly ambiguous.

The YC students were the most comfortable with independent study. If the school didn't offer something they wanted they would set it up. (They would have used independent study even more than they did except for the fact that the staff was most successful in setting up courses which interested this group.)

If they needed a credit in some distribution area or extra credit from a course they were already taking, they arranged it. If they wanted to do some activities outside of school (travel, private lessons), they arranged a special independent study course for it and got credit.

> (Counselor to observer)
> The observer asked the counselor where one WYC girl was because he hadn't seen her in several weeks.
> Counselor: S-- signed up almost exclusively for independent study. She only comes once in a while to check with the teachers who are supervising her courses.
>
> (WYC Boy with observer)
> Observer: What kind of schedule you got this time?
> Student: I signed up for eight periods of French. I think I'm going to go to Europe next summer.
>
> Several YC students were talking to the math teacher before registration. They wanted to know if any courses were going to be offered in standard math (algebra, trigonometry) so they would be prepared for the college boards. The math teacher said she would be glad to set up independent study courses with them so they might be prepared for the college boards.

YC students possessed a skill even more significant than that of individually arranged independent studies with teachers. They were the only group of students who were able to use the school as a vehicle for setting up courses they wanted. That is, they were able , when the school did not offer what they wanted, to induce City High teachers to teach the course in the following quarter, to find someone outside the school to teach it, or set up the course and teach it themselves.

The relationship between this skill and the need for independent study should be obvious. If the school offers exactly what the students desire, then there is no need to try to arrange independent study. This issue is extremely important for understanding what happened when it came time for selection of courses, since underlying the question of how students chose educational experiences is a question of how the school decided to offer the list from which the students ultimately had to choose.

Teachers at City High were freer than at most schools to teach what they wanted and what they thought students would be interested in. They were free to experiment with courses they heard about in professional journals or from other experimental schools. From the very beginning they were eager to have students make input about what kind of courses they wanted. Almost all of the teachers had a commitment to the idea that the school's curriculum must be responsive to students' desires. They discovered that the difficulty of this task differed considerably for the various student subgroups.

The YC were always in contact with teachers, constantly making suggestions about what would be interesting courses. Teachers usually knew what these students wanted. Most student suggested courses came from the YC. Another reason the YC had such easy access to teachers in initiation of courses is the fact that both groups had similar attitudes. These students and the teachers often shared upper middle class outlooks. Thus, what a teacher thought was exciting would probably be thought exciting by this group of students--arts and crafts, ecology, drugs, social change.

Other groups of students made their desires known less consistently. When they talked to teachers, it was seldom about courses. Teachers made attempts to find out about what these students wanted but were rarely successful. During the first semester, they even tried a questionnaire to elicit students' desires. Students seldom responded to paper questionnaires and even more signficantly they had trouble translating their vaguely felt interests into courses. The response to this form of inquiry was so unsatisfactory that it was never tried again. (Maybe it was prematurely given up.) *

There were other underlying problems in responses of different subgroups of students. School Oriented students often wanted tradtional courses like "real English," "real math," and business courses. Teachers were reluctant to respond to these desires because they were commited to try courses other than the traditional. School Alienated students preferred PE and other non-academic courses. Teachers found that generally they were also reluctant to schedule so many non-academic courses.

As time went on these students were somewhat successful in instituting the courses they wanted. An extensive PE program was set up. More traditional college prep courses were established. Teachers also come to the realization that they had been more responsive to the YC than to the other students.

> (Teacher to observer):
> We've been listening to only one small group of students. We don't have anything for those kids that need basic skills.

---

* See Attachment 2 for a list of courses students said they wanted.

Because of City High's flexibility, YC students did not need the teachers for some things they wanted to do. Of all groups of students they were the only ones who independently arranged courses through outside agencies and persons or set up courses themselves. Part of the YC facility in setting up courses stems from their contacts. Some of these contacts existed through their families.

> (2 WYC girls)
> Student 1: I'm [illegible] an art course with my mother.
> Student 2: That's [illegible] could I join too?
>
> A WYC girl signed up for a rug knitting course with her grandmother.
>
> A WYC boy's father was the head of the local art association. The association sponsored several courses at the school.

The YC did not have to set up courses only through their parents. They were also more comfortable in seeking general outside contacts. They could set up things they wanted in ways other students could not even conceive of.

> A small group of WYC students wanted a special course in literature taught by someone other than a City High teacher. They asked teachers and other school personnel for names of possible people and then they contacted these people.
>
> A WYC student wanted a course in para-psychology. She contacted various people who knew about the subject and arranged a series of lectures.

YC students also set up courses without any adult leaders. The school offered nominal teacher supervision, but these courses were clearly run by students.

> One group of WYC students got together and formed a course called Mixed - Media Presentation.
>
> Another group of WYC formed the "Peoples Counseling group" as an entirely student run option to counseling groups.
>
> A small group of BYC students formed an option to counseling groups called The Black Awareness group.

Groups other than the YC had difficulty in planning such activities at school. A teacher was necessary for them to validly call anything school. It is important to realize that the YC were not establishing these courses or using independent study in an absolute great number. They too, perferred to let teachers arrange the courses.

> A WYC student approached the observer and asked him if he would teach the continuation of People in Psychology (a course taught by a City High teacher the previous quarter but scheduled to be abandoned). The observer urged the student to coordinate the course himself--arranging the subjects to be covered and soliciting interest by the students. The observer said he would help if the student took this initiative. The student said it was too much bother and so he would try to find someone else to teach it.

In order to move toward self-motivated learning, it would seem that the school would have to encourage students-- especially the SO and the SA -- to explore the possibilities of independent study and independently arranged courses. Early in the history of the school there was some attempt to promote student independent study but the attempt slackened as time went on.

> (Early staff meeting)
> A teacher is going through the list of desired courses and then starts to talk about something students indicated on list.
> Teacher 1: They want sensitivity training. I'm not eager to see that go on... There isn't enough time to do that well.
> Teacher 2: I think we ought to keep these things open. We need to show them that we are serious... Not just what's convenient for us.

There was also some ambivalence in the staff about how much supervision/help each independent course should have from adults. The staff spent much time discussing what their responsibilities/duties should be to these courses.

> (2 WYC students)
> Several WYC students have arranged an independent course.
> Student 1: I'm really mad. J-- (English teacher) told me we would have to change the time of our course. She told me no teacher could supervise us at the time we have it. Why do we need supervision? We haven't had it up to now.

The issue was never resolved because there were never many of these courses developed. In alternative schools where there is more of this independent activity, this concern with supervision might prove very important indeed.

Tracking and influence

Up to this point, this paper has considered course choice as though it were an individual matter or a matter between teacher and students. The student, of course, is not so isolated in his choices. He is subject to the influence of other students, his subgroup, and his background. It is important to understand these influences if one wants to understand how course choices represent the expression of a student's identity.

Background is one of the most significant influences on curriculum selection. It often limits a student to a certain range of choices from which he may select. Students get categorized as commercial, vocational, academic, etc. and many of their choices are indicated for the rest of their school careers. Individual course choice is judged insignificant beside this major choice of curriculum. Much research is devoted, therefore, to determining what elements of backgrounds lead students into certain curricula.

In the City High ideal, background should be much less signficant. The innovators hoped that the school would be able to abandon these categorizations placed on students in the regular schools. The categories were seen as unnecessary limits on the kinds of choices students could make and on aspirations. These limits in the regular school often resulted in alienation from the courses in which students ended up. In the City High ideal, students might take account of their backgrounds as they chose courses-- trying to remedy weaknesses and build on strengths-- but these considerations would not be forced on them.

Ideally, there would be no tracking. The school hoped to use the diversity of skills as an asset. Students who had better skills would help students with less developed skills. Many courses would be organized so that all students would have contributions to make. Students and teachers ideally would not think of streaming or tracking categories as they worked on course selection.

A summary on tracking (Yates, Grouping in Education, 1966) concentrates mostly on the effects of tracking on achievement and self concept. In every one of these settings, where previous research has been conducted, the decision to track or not to track was decided by the administration of the relevent institutions. Besides indications of attitudes or sociometric choice, little has been reported about how tracked and non-tracked educational settings work. Teacher and student participants have had no choice between tracking and non-tracking. They were confronted with the pre-set policy.

City High and schools like it will offer important insights into tracking. Since teachers had the freedom to plan the curriculum and students had the freedom to select their own courses, some underlying forces acting on streaming were revealed. Try as they might, teachers could not help but create psuedo-tracking as they worked with students to help them select courses that fit their interests or needs. Students themselves generated tracking pressures in the norms that subgroups created for their members and in the very processes of communication and influence that went on in the registration process.

City High was in large part successful in creating a curriculum without formal tracking. Especially at the beginning, but also throughout the period of observation, most of the courses offered were designed to have a wide appeal-- not limited to any particular subgroup. It was impossible for anyone to discover if Math Lab, Filmmaking, or Pollution Studies were necessarily aimed at basic, regular, honors (or any such designation) students. Neither students nor teachers felt any limit on who whou'd take these courses, and students from all subgroups did take them.

A dilemma was created, however, when the teachers tried to take account of the special needs of certain subgroups. In addition to the commitment to the non-streamed environment, the school also had a commitment to teach basic skills better than the regular schools and to prepare students for college if that was their choice. (See earlier section, Reading and College.)

The school tried to teach basic skills in contexts other than special courses-- for example, as part of more general courses or in special tutoring. The feeling grew, however, that the school wasn't fulfilling its responsibilities to those students who needed special attention.

> (Teacher to observer):
> Our curriculum is racist. We have nothing for the kids who aren't "together" [Adjusted, motivated]. We have lots of stuff for the articulate students. We need courses in basic skills in all fields.
> (The curriculum is called racist because most of the kids who weren't "together" were SA students. In this particular school most SA students were black.)

There was also pressure in regard to students who were planning to go to college. Teachers wondered if there were enough courses to prepare students to get into college and to do college work. Students also generated pressure for college prep courses.

> (WYC Girl who organized student meeting--
> speaking at that meeting):
> We are not going to get into college. These courses are neat but they aren't going to help us pass the college boards. We need college prep courses.

Thus, the later catalogues had entries such as the following. It must be remembered that these represent only a small part of City High's offerings. They do represent, however, a tendency toward tracking. The basic skil's courses are also different from traditional basic courses in that no one has to take them and that they are innovative-- using non-traditional techniques. Similarly the college prep courses were theoretically open to anyone in spite of these descriptions.

> (Catalogue entries:)
> 010 Breaking the Code: ...This course is intended only for remedial reading.
>
> 102 English Lab: ...Small group and individual tutoring for those who are weak in these skills... Those whose skills are adequate shouldn't elect 102.
>
> 145 Library Research: This is a college prep course...
>
> Advanced Lit: For students with well-developed reading skills.

Often the influence that catalogue entries exerted was not as explicit. It seemed likely that even the vocabulary of some descriptions may have turned some students off.

> (Catalogue entry)
> Ghetto Game: This course will consider the social, political and inter-economic interactions of groups in today's urban areas...

It is not certain that all students could understand what a course described like this would be about. Similarly, a course too simply explained might not prove interesting to the more verbally sophisticated students.

Even more powerful than catalogue descriptions (since many students did not read the catalogue), was the advice and guidance that teachers gave students. Teachers tried to be helpful to students; they tried to lead students into courses that articulated with what the teacher saw as the students' needs and interests. Observation revealed, however, that this helping process could fade into tracking.

Teachers had images in their minds of what each of the students was like in skills and interests. Often these images were similar for students from the same subgroups; thus teachers tended to advise similar courses for these students. Some courses tended to get filled with students from the same subgroups. The dilemma was that students themselves valued this kind of help. The teachers were often successful in understanding what was going on in the students' heads and what the students' weaknesses were. Although no teacher intended it, however, this counseling resulted in a subtle kind of tracking.

(BSO student and counselor)
A BSO student was searching for a reading course.
Her counselor saw she had signed up for
"Breaking the Code."
Counselor: That's no good if you already read well
like you do. See if you can find something else.

(BSA Boy with English teacher)
The teacher knew the student had a rather severe
reading problem. He had his schedule arranged
so that he needed a special English course to complete
it without conflicts. On his counselor's advice, he
approaches the English teacher to get her approval.
The English teacher designed the course as an
Advanced college prep type course.
Student : S--, (his counselor) said I should come
to see you. I want to sign up for Advanced Lit
Seminar.
Teacher: Are you sure that you want that course?
It's going to be a lot reading. At least a book a week
Student: Yeah, that's the one I want.
Teacher: Have you read any books recently?
Student: Lots.
Teacher: Like what, etc...

(Counselor with teacher)
Counselor: I want to schedule B-- (a BSA girl)
into that course of yours.
Teacher: No, that's not a good course for her.
See if you can get her to choose something else.

Even more subtle than these examples were the countless times counselors gave advice almost without thinking about it. As indicated earlier in this paper, students would often come to counselors with requests to help them to find a course that fit certain distribution requirements or certain time of day conflict situations. Often there was not much choice given the constraints, but when there was, counselors usually tried to help students to find something in "their own bag." SA boys were not told to take craft courses that attracted mostly YC girls. Similarly YC student were not recommended to take practical courses populated mostly with SO students. Black students were more often recommended to take African Studies than white students.

For sake of perspective, it must be noted that most of the advice given was not like this subtle tracking. Most courses were too general like French or Math Lab-- or too purposely vague-- Records and Recording, Film Studies-- for anyone to track. Sometimes counselors would purposely use their influence with students to overcome tracking tendencies. They would encourage students to take courses not popular with their subgroups or apparently inappropriate for a given student in hopes of expanding that student's horizons.

> (Counselor and BSA girl)
> Student: I need an English course; what should I take?
> Counselor: How about Drama Workshop?
> Student: No... No one's taking it. What is it?
> Counselor: You know, you learn how to act and stuff like that. It's taught by a real actress.
> Student: No I don't think so...
> Counselor: Come on, it'll be fun. I'm sure you'll like it.
> Student: Alright, I'll try it.
>
> (BSA Boy with teacher at registration area)
> The student comes up and hands his schedule to the teacher for her to sign him up on the general list.
> Teacher: You've got rug making written here. Are you sure that's what you want? (The students nods yes) Great, that's fine. (She signs him up)

An encounter on the first day of courses illustrate this possible misfit between students and courses.

> (Anthropology course first day)
> Teacher: I want you all to write down what you expected out of this course.
> Student: I don't know... What's Anthropology?
> Teacher: I thought you signed up for it.
> Student: I didn't; I was forced.

This possible misfit was at the heart of a conumdrum at City High -- how to encourage students to broaden their academic horizons without their feeling as compelled as they had in traditional school courses. Some students had good experiences with courses their teachers/counselors urged them to take. Others felt "forced" and continued to be alienated throughout the course.

The City High observations revealed that significant pressures for tracking in this free choice situation were generated not by policy, but by the students themselves. Part of these pressures were generated secondarily as a by-product of the way students worked on their course selections-- e.g., students taking the same courses as their friends. Part were generated more directly as students subgroups subtlely enforced their norms on their members.

One pressure derived from a student's sex. Boys and girls each as a group had certain courses that were off limits. Actually, City High had less sex tracking than many schools. Because so many of the courses were unorthodox there were few traditions that limited sexes in their access. For example, therefore, many girls ended up in sciences and many boys ended up in commercial or craft courses. The staff worked to overcome any sex typing that remained and encouraged students to try courses that were normally limited by sex.

> (Counselor with WSO girl):
> Student: I don't want a math course. I never did good at math.
> Counselor: But this course is different. You work with models and games and stuff. You may like it.

Different subgroups had sex tracking of various strengths. YC students were more willing to consider courses that were usually considered the domain of the other sex than were SA students. The SO students were intermediate.

> (YC Boy to observer)
> I'm going to sign up for ballet. I always wanted to learn how to dance.
>
> (All-school meeting)
> Innovator: We need more students for Auto Shop. Girls are encouraged to take this too. (The SA and some SO students burst out laughing. YC students did not laugh. The only girls who had signed up were YC students.)

The various subgroups had norms besides what was appropriate for each sex. They also had vague limits on the types of courses that their members should take. These kinds of norms were rarely stated but one could deduce them from observed student behavior. For instance, BSO and SA students were much more likely to sign up for practical or vocationally oriented courses than YC or WSO.

> Principles of Electricity, Advertising, and Health Sciences (taught in cooperation with a predominantly black junior college) were filled mostly by BSO and SA students.

Similarly, concern with social graces was off limit for YC students. A counselor introduced a course called Girl Talk which would concern itself with cosmetics, etiquette, etc. YC students reacted very strongly to this course and ridiculed it and the people who wanted to take it.

> (2 WYC girls with a WYC-SO girl, a girl who moved among both groups)
> WYC-SO girl: I think I'm going to sign up for Girl Talk.
> YC girl: What do you want to do that for? We don't need Girl Talk. We know all about that without that course.

Most of the pressures were subtler. As has been indicated throughout this paper, registration was an informal time with much conversation between students and teachers. In these informal conversations City High accomplished much to counter tracking. Questions and answers were thrown into the air, and students from all subgroups shared in the banter. Students found out about courses in a way they wouldn't have in a more formal environment. Students had interchanges with each other in a way they wouldn't have in a less heterogeneous school.

> An SA boy was talking to an SA friend about the course he was taking where he tutored elementary school children. A SO girl heard the conversation and asked how she could get into the course.

> (Counseling group at registration)
> The students (from all subgroups) are sitting and working on their schedules. Regularly they are asking the counselor and each other questions. In the informality, questions are thrown into the air for anyone to answer. A sample of the questions: What's Anthropology like? Can I get out of Human Body? What's Ecology?-- You don't want that course. Anyone taking Slide Tape? What's the teacher like in Third World?

These informal counseling group encounters can be looked at as either a significant accomplishment or as a disappointment. They are an accomplishment in that students found out about courses and saw how students from other subgroups dealt with their education. Students perhaps considered educational ventures they might not have considered in another setting.

These sessions could be seen as a disappointment because students from different subgroups rarely dealt with each other in any but this superficial way. When it really got down to planning schedules or talking about courses in terms of what interested one or what one wanted out of school, students usually did it with their friends from the same subgroup.

It was in these sessions with friends that the most severe form of tracking occurred. Contrary to a rational model of free choice, many students chose courses primarily by the expressive critera of whether their friends were taking it. Undoubtedly such considerations also occur in regular schools, but these actions take on a special importance in an alternative school. The alternative school hopes that students will use their free choice to identify courses and subject matter in which they are interested and in which they can develop themselves. Students who have picked a course because their friends have taken it may not have any special interest in the subject matter. Presumably someone in the group of friends may have had this special interest, but that is not enough to substain the whole group. Since friends tended to come from the same subgroups, this scheduling together resulted in disproportionate concentrations of certain subgroups in certain courses.

> (2 BSO girls at registration)
> Both are looking at the catalogue and trying to arrange their schedules.
> Student 1: What's Improvisational Theater?...
> I know, let's take Filmmaking. Do you have Thursday afternoons open?
>
> (2 SA Boys)
> Student 1: Hey what's happening with Models and Modeling?
> Student 2: No, I don't want that course. I'll take my chances with J--- (a teacher). I'm signing up for Filmmaking again.
> Student 1: Me too.

Whereas the scheduling with friends may not have promoted the selection of courses by subject content, it did create a comfortable atmosphere in courses. Students seemed to be at ease when they had friends with them. This comfort was especially important when a course was at a strange outside agency, taught by an unknown outsider.

These interchanges between friends may have been a significant educational venture. Students often did discuss the subject matter of courses, their reactions to these courses, and their assessments of future usefulness. The instrumental world of learning was thus linked with the expressive world of interpersonal relationships. Students may have had these discussions periodically in regular schools, but the added range of choice and the ability to act on ones' reactions make the discussions more frequent at City High. The discussions never reached the depths of consideration that would have meant that the students had really identified school with their important central life concerns. Also they were much more willing to take what a friend was taking rather than what interested them.

> (WYC student with observer)
> Observer: What have you got scheduled this afternoon?
> Student: Ceramics.
> Observer: How do you like it?
> Student: I didn't really want to take it; I got talked into it.
> Observer: What do you mean "talked into it"?
> Student: You know, J-- and S-- were taking it and said I should take it too.
> Observer: Well, how do you like it anyway?
> The student then discussed what he was doing and showed some understanding and interest in ceramics.

This student had obviously learned about a subject that he originally had little interest in. City High's informality and influence of friends had combined to expand his horizons. Would he have been happier or more interested in something he had personally chosen? It's impossible to say.

Summary

A fundamental assumption of the alternative school movement is the belief that students will be joyful and enthusiastic learners on projects they see as close to their own interests or needs. In this paper we have detailed some of the forces that impinge on students' seemingly free choices as they select courses -- Board of Education requirements, desire to prepare themselves for college, pressures and incentives from peers, scheduling conflicts, among others.

A seemingly simple process is found to be quite complex. Nonetheless, the assumption has proven to be well founded-- students did learn well in those courses that interested them. Those involved in alternative schools must come to understand how many real constraints there are on students' free course choices. Rather than giving up on the ideal, they must learn how to deal with the very practical problems that are preventing the complete realization of that ideal. This paper is an important step toward that realization.

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Attachment 1

City Board of Education High School Graduation Requirements

English -- 4 credits

Social studies -- 3 credits

Math-science -- 2 credits math and 1 credit science
or 2 credits science, 1 credit math

Art -- 1/2 credit

Music -- 1/2 credit

Physical education -- 1 credit

Electives -- 6 credits

Total, 18 credits

Attachment 1

METRO HIGH SCHOOL

Unit Schedule

Unit No.	Title	Days	Hrs	Comments

The following units may be selected to fulfill English requirements

1.	Reading Laboratory	M	9-11	For reading improvement
2.	Reading Laboratory	W	9-11	For reading improvement
3.	Reading Laboratory	Th	1-3	For reading improvement
4.	Individual Reading	T	1-3	
5.	Individual Reading	F	9-11	
6.	Individual Reading	F	1-3	
7.	Letter Writing	MWF	9-11	2 students CNA
8.	Public Speaking	MWF	11-12	
9.	Oral Interpretation of Lit.	T-Th	11-1	
10.	Creative Writing	M	1-3	
11.	Creative Writing	Th	9-11	
12.	Story Workshop	T-F	9-11	For writing imporvement CAF
13.	Film-making	M-Th	9-11	
14.	Film-making	T-F	1-3	
15.	Black Literature	T	9-11	
16.	World Mythology	T	11-1	
17.	How Commercials Are Made	M-Th	11-1	
18.	Acting	F	1-3	
19.	Improvisational Theater	W	1-3	
20.	Theater Games	M-Th	9-11	
29.	TV Production	W	1-3	NBC
39.	Poetry	W	9-11	
41.	Shakespeare	T-F	1-3	
45.	Metro Perspectives	T-F	11-1	

The following units may be selected to fulfill Geography requirements

16.	World Mythology	T	11-1	
21.	Growing Up in the City	W	9-11	Includes Neighborhood Studies
22.	City Planning	T-F	1-3	
23.	How Spaces Affect People	W	11-1	
24.	Ecology	M-Th	1-3	
25.	African Studies	T-F	11-1	
35.	Halsted Street	W	1-3	
40.	Cross-Cultural Experiences	M-Th	11-1	
59.	Concepts in Earth Science	M-Th	11-1	

The following units may be selected to fulfill World History requirements

16.	World Mythology	T	11-1	
25.	African Studies	T-F	11-1	
26.	Social + Economic Hist. of Art	T-Th	9-11	
27.	Studies in World History	T-F	9-11	
28.	Ind. Reading in World Hist	Scheduled individually		

The following units may be selected to fulfill Civics requirements

21.	Growing Up in the City	W	9-11	Includes Neighborhood Studies
22.	City Planning	T-F	1-3	
29.	TV Production	W	1-3	4 students NBC
30.	Merchandising	M	1-3	Marshall Field and Co.

Attachment 1

CHICAGO PUBLIC HIGH SCHOOL
OR METROPOLITAN STUDIES
537 SOUTH DEARBORN
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60605

OFFICIAL STUDENT RECORD

ME ______________________________ SEX __________
LAST FIRST MIDDLE MALE OR FEMALE

DRESS ______________________ BIRTHDATE __________ PLACE __________

RENTS ______________________________
FATHER MOTHER

TE OF ENTRY __________ FROM __________
SCHOOL

TE OF LEAVING __________ TO __________

ENROLLED __________ FROM __________ LEFT __________
DATE DATE

POINTS EARNED

ENGLISH	8	16	24	32
	40	48	56	64
SOCIAL STUDIES	8	16	24	32
	40	48		
MATH	8	16		
SCIENCE	8	16		
2nd YEAR OF MATH OR SCIENCE	8	16		
PHY. ED.	8	16		
MUSIC	8			
ART	8			
ELECTIVES	8	16	24	32
	40	48	56	64
	72	80	88	96

UATION REQUIREMENTS:

h: 64 pts.
Studies: 48 pts.
Ed.: 16 pts.
8 pts.

Math/Science: 32 pts. Math and 16 pts. Science OR
32 pts. Science and 16 pts. Math
Electives: 96 pts.

Attachment 1

DATE OF LEAVING ______________________ TO ______________________

DATE RE-ENROLLED ______________________ FROM ______________ LEFT ______________

COUNSELOR'S NAME ______________________ FROM ______________ TO ______________

COUNSELOR'S NAME ______________________ FROM ______________ TO ______________

POINTS EARNED

ENGLISH	8	16	24	32
	[redacted]			
	40	48	56	64
	XXXXXXXX	XXXXXXXX	XXXXXXXX	XXXXXXXX
SOCIAL STUDIES	8	16	24	32
	XXXXXXXX	XXXXXXXX	XXXXXXXX	XXXXXXXX
	40	48		
	XXXXXXXX	XXXXXXXX		
MATHEMATICS	8	16		
	XXXXXXXX	XXXXXXXX		
SCIENCE	8	16		
	XXXXXXXX	XXXXXXXX		
2nd YEAR of MATH or SCIENCE	8	16		
	XXXXXXXX	XXXXXXXX		
PHYSICAL EDUCATION	8	16		
	XXXXXXXX	XXXXXXXX		
MUSIC	8			
	XXXXXXX			
ART	8			
	XXXXXXXX			
ELECTIVE	8	16	24	32
	XXXXXXXX	XXXXXXXX	XXXXXXXX	XXXXXXXX
	40	48	56	64
	XXXXXXXX	XXXXXXXX	XXXXXXXX	XXXXXXXX
	72	80	88	96
	XXXXXXXX	XXXXXXXX	XXXXXXXX	XXXXXXXX

GRADUATION REQUIREMENTS

ENGLISH—64 points

SOCIAL STUDIES—48 points

MATH/SCIENCE—
32 points Math and 16 points Science
or
32 points Science and 16 points Math

ART—8 points

MUSIC—8 points

PHYSICAL EDUCATION—16 points

ELECTIVE—96 points

To graduate in 4 years
a student should meet
The following point schedule:

Cycle / Year	1	2	3	4
1st	18	36	54	72
2nd	90	108	126	144
3rd	162	180	198	216
4th	234	252	270	288

Attachment 1

038 MATH LAB 3 INSTRUCTOR: Sharon Weitzman
Ken LeTraunik

Math in a new dimension. Catch up on the math skills you think you've missed along the way. Work on a hobby or project that has to do with math. Get a feeling for algebraic, geometric, and other math concepts. Figure out game theory. Logic. Independent study.
MEET REQUIREMENTS FOR: Math CREDIT 1

039 GEOMETRY INSTRUCTOR: Ken LeTraunik

The study of points, line, planes and the relations among them. Emphasis on logic and reasoning, with some practical Euclidean and non-Euclidean geometrics included. Each student will work at his own rate of progress with frequent consulations with the teacher.
MEETS REQUIREMENTS FOR: Math CREDIT 1

040 ALGEBRA INSTRUCTOR: Ken LeTraunik

The traditional first year algebra course involving the manipulation of mathematical expressions and equations. In addition to theory, students will have the opportunity to see how these skills are used in the real world. Each student will work at his own rate, and will consult frequently with the teacher.
MEETS REQUIREMENTS FOR: Math CREDIT 1

041 NUMBERS & GUESSING INSTRUCTOR: Sharon Weitzman

Some people always seem to know the answers. Learn to make the best guess about questions where you use numbers to figure out an answer. Learn to feel comfortable with big numbers and what they mean.
MEETS REQUIREMENTS FOR: Math CREDIT 1/2

042 GIRL TALK INSTRUCTOR: Lucinda Johnson

The unit involves case problems concerning young women with their parents and friends. Makeup and poise training is included in the unit. Job interviews are discussed and role-playing is used to understand many of these issues.
MEETS REQUIREMENTS FOR: Home Economics CREDIT 1/2

Attachment 1

043 ANIMAL & HUMAN BEHAVIOR INSTRUCTOR: Marc Masor
Bill Lloyd

This class, held at the Lincoln Park Zoo wil study different types of animal and human behavior. It will include studies of zoo animals, studies of human social behavior, additional field trips, and special readings. Part of the unit will follow the interests of the students involved.
MEETS REQUIREMENTS FOR: Biology CREDIT 1

044 CHEMISTRY INSTRUCTOR: Marc Masor

A study of the structure and physical composition of materials we use in everyday life. What's in the food we eat, beverages we drink, and air we breathe.
MEETS REQUIREMENTS FOR: Chemistry CREDIT 1-1/4

Attachment 2

STUDENT SUMMARY OF WHAT ARE SOME THINGS THAT THEY DON"T OFFER NOW THAT YOU WOULD LIKE TO DO THE NEXT EIGHT WEEKS

DRIVERS ED 8
GYM 19
MODERN DANCING 2
HOME ECONOMICS 6
ASTROLOGY 1
RADIO PRODUCTION
BLACK HISTORY IN AMERICA
RADIO BROADCASTING
CHEMICAL BIOLOGY
ANIMAL TRAINING
HORSE BACK 2
SWIMMING 7
FOOT BALL
BASKETBALL 8
ART HISTORY
SKY DIVING
BIRD HUNTING
FOOD IN SCHOOL
COOKING
TENNIS
SPEAKING
AUTO SHOP 5
YOGA
FIELD TRIPS
MUSIC
GUITAR LESSONS
WITCH CRAFT
SCHOOL KARATE
TYPING
SEWING
PAINTING
ZOO
WORKING ON NEWSPAPERS
PHOTOGRAPHY
ACTING
PRINTING
TALENT SHOW
PSYCHOLOGY 7
LAW

E. DECISION-MAKING AT THE CLASSROOM LEVEL: SOME REALITIES

Encouraging Students To Participate In Class Planning

One of the most frequent criticisms of traditional high schools is that students are alienated from their studies. Books such as Teaching As a Subversive Activity (Postman and Winegartner, 1969) and Crisis in the Classroom (Silberman, 1971) suggest that schools (and teachers) could decrease this alienation by letting students help to decide what they will study. This alluring suggestion seems so uncomplicated that many teachers, both in alternative and regular schools, are attempting to act on the principle. If these efforts are going to be more than a passing fad, an attempt must be made to carefully analyze the classroom events associated with trying to let students design their own educational experiences.

Being in school

Although the focus here is on individual classrooms, outside determinants which shape what can go on inside must be briefly considered. Early reports (Wilson, 1972) indicated that an important limitation on some students' willingness to make inputs was the degree to which they felt compelled to be in school at all. If the student felt forced to be in school (and by extension in the particular class where the teacher is trying to encourage student input), he might feel denied the right to make the most fundamental choice--whether to be in school or not. Hence, he might refuse to participate in the less fundamental choices--something he may see as a mockery.

> (WSA * Boy to Counselor)
> You'll let us decorate our zoo, but
> you won't let us out.

Often students cannot articulate this view consciously, but nonetheless it may explain the lack of enthusiasm some students display toward being able to decide what a particular class will do. Since the whole experience of being in school is seen as undesirable, the finer details of activities in particular classes are irrelevant.

A teacher (school) trying to get his students to make inputs must carefully try to determine to what extent compulsion is an issue. How do students feel about the basic fact of being in school?** Compulsion is not an either-or feeling. Students who reason that staying in school is necessary for ultimately finding a job may feel that they participated in a decision to stay in school but also may feel some degree of compulsion. Those who stay to please or appease parents may also feel this mixture of autonomy and compulsion. Finally, a variety of feelings go with different school experiences, i.e., a student might forget to feel compelled while in a class that was enjoyable.

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* During the period of observation, groups of students were identified who shared common orientations and similar backgrounds. At times the analysis makes most sense in terms of the different experiences of these subgroups. The groups are as follows: School Alienated (SA) students had troubled school histories, tended to have problems with basic academic skills, and came mostly from lower class backgrounds. School Oriented (SO) students accepted the traditional school demands, did fairly well in school, and came mostly from middle class backgrounds. Youth Culture (YC) students had erratic school histories, identified with hip values, and came mostly from middle class backgrounds. (For more details, see CNS, 1972 a.) In this paper W/B are used to distinguish white and black students within each subgroup--e.g., WSA refers to a white School Alienated student.

** See Attachment 1 for a survey on compulsion feelings which was taken at City High.

Being in a particular class

Even if the student didn't feel compelled to be in school, he might feel compulsion to be in any particular course. Typically students in traditional schools have not had much choice among courses--once they made the major decision of what curriculum to be in--e.g., college prep, business. Alternative schools, on the other hand, have tried to remedy this condition by offering students the possibility of choosing among extensive offerings. Earlier reports, "Course Choice" (CNS, 1973 a), have explained in detail, however, that alternative schools have had difficulty in putting this principle into practice.

Compulsion feelings are important to recognize because many teachers attempting to get student input about what to study assume students' interest in the subject. They reason that because the student has chosen the course, based on a description in the catalogue or because of something he heard, then he must have an incipient interest that he can articulate and use to help shape the course. Observation at City High, however, revealed that courses were often not chosen on the basis of student interest.

> (First day of Anthropology course)
> Teacher: I'd like you all to write on these sheets what you want out of this course.

> BSO Girl: How should I know? What's anthropology?
> Teacher: You signed up because you wanted it, didn't you?
> BSO Girl: I didn't. I was forced.
> Teacher: Well, listen to the discussion today and next week you can decide if you want to stay. How about the rest of you? Did you read the descrip-in the catalogue? Raise your hands if you did. (Out of the ten students present, three raised their hands.)*

This teacher's original plan to have students help shape the course was based on the assumption that students chose the course because they were interested in the subject matter. If students would express this kernel of interest, the teacher then could arrange the course to coincide with the interests expressed. The discovery that interest in the subject was not always present forced the teacher to change these plans.

> (Anthropology teacher and student teacher to observer after first class meeting)
> I hadn't expected that. Are the counselors doing their job? I think we're going to have to change our plans.

Teachers who hope to involve students in planning must realize, then, that the effectiveness of their approach in involving students and the probability of success may be dependent on the reasons students are in the course.

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* See Attachment 2 for another example of students' feelings of having been forced to sign up for a course getting in the way of their active participation in planning.

Inducing participation from students who have a genuine interest in the subject requires different techniques than those necessary for students who do not have this interest. A first step for a teacher trying to get students involved is to discover why each student is in the course.

Even this step is not as easy as it sounds. Students may be unwilling or unable to express why they took a given course.* A teacher who wants students to make inputs and who believes that everyone's awareness of why they are in the class is essential to their ultimate participation and planning must work at creating a class setting in which students feel free to share their thoughts. The teacher must show the students that no evil consequences follow from honest expression and that he or she is really concerned with students' thoughts. Even more importantly, the teacher must work at getting students to question their school experiences and at getting them to accept these discussions as something that can validly go on between teachers and students.

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*Students revealed during the first few weeks of City High that they felt very wary of being frank with teachers about their reactions to the school program. It is a tribute to the City High staff that eventually many students came to trust them enough to be honest about their reactions. (For more details, see Wilson, 1972 and CNS, 1972 a.) At first, some students consciously guarded their feelings because of insecurity about the consequences of honest expression. Even more widely, however, many students had been socialized into thinking that their honest reactions about school were not something to be shared with teachers.

Moreover, many students had so little experience with abstract questions about school that they had never asked themselves the questions and they were only dimly aware of their own feelings. City High students did not immediately share their feelings. The examples and events presented in this paper are largely from classes after the first few months of the school.

What to do with these honest expressions is a more difficult problem. Students' reasons for being in a course can range from absolute no interest/ total compulsion all the way to a high level self-motivated interest. Especially in traditional schools, where students feel they have so little possibility for choice, teachers may encounter students who emphasize the compulsion and deny any interest in the subject. The difficult acknowledgement of these facts may be essential if the teacher is to promote student participation. Otherwise students may view the teachers' asking them to indicate their interests as naive or, even worse, as insensitive to their real feelings.

During the period of observation most City High teachers had faith that the students had enough freedom of choice in making course selections that they didn't have to consider the resistances of compelled students. (For exceptions, see the section on Graduation Requirements in CNS, 1973 a.) The failure to recognize these facts and openly confront them with students may account for some of their failure to promote student participation in planning as described below.

After the teacher has discovered that some students feel compelled to be in the course, there are several options available. Some approaches may be more appropriate to alternative schools although variations of these approaches are possible in traditional schools. City High teachers often tried to redirect students who seemed to have ended up in a course they didn't really choose.

(Writing Workshop first day)
Teacher: The first thing I want to find

> out from each of you is what you wanted from this course when you signed up. (The teacher looks around the class expecting answers. The students don't say anything.)
> BSO Girl: I'm interested in creative writing--you know, writing stories and so on.
> Teacher: P-- this is the wrong course for that. We'll have to see if we can get you into another course.

If such a switch could be arranged, this redirection would be a real service to the student. Earlier analysis (CNS, 1973 a) has shown, however, that there are many reasons students end up in unchosen courses and even an alternative school does not have the flexibility to make all these changes of schedule.

Another task undertaken by teachers at City High when students ended up in an unchosen course was to try to change the course to cover the materials the students were interested in. In this way the feeling of compulsion may have been reduced.

> (Topics in Science first day)
> The team of two teachers tried to get the students to indicate their interests. The entire class was mute. Slowly a few students suggested topics. The first two suggested were Human Body and Animal Behavior.

Both of these "topics" are the names of other very popular science courses offered during that quarter. Some of the students wanted to take these courses but because the courses were filled (oversubscribed) or because of scheduling difficulties, they had been unable to schedule them. The teachers thus considered changing their course so that the students would no longer feel that they were in a course they didn't want.

The teachers in traditional schools (and often the teachers at City High) discovered that these options are not always open. The teacher is then confronted with the student who feels compelled. Somehow, he must convince the student that his participation in shaping the course is both warranted and important.

The teacher who is trying to stimulate the participation of students who feel compelled can try the following approaches: He can try to broaden the student's thinking about what validly constitutes a part of the subject of the course. Students often have limited, stereotype views of school subjects. If these perspectives can be broadened, the students might feel less compelled and be more willing to join in deciding the direction of the course.

The teacher can try to get students to explore their need for the course even if they don't like the course itself. Once they identify their needs, they might be willing to shape the course to address these specific needs. The problem here is the wide gulf between adult and student definition of needs. Students in traditional schools are told that everything they must undergo is for their own good. This past history of justification makes an honest exploration very difficult.

Frustration: Methods Of Inducing Participation

A teacher often finds that even students who do not feel forced do not easily participate in joint planning of courses. Most students--both in traditional and alternative schools--have made some kind of peace with the fact of school and are ready to appreciate the good experiences and depreciate the bad experiences. (See Jackson, 1968.) The teacher offers these students a chance to shape the courses they wish, expects them to jump at the chance, and often they don't.

This realization is often frustrating for teachers. They have a high commitment to getting students to be active in forming their own education, and are disappointed when they can't realize this goal.

> At City High, the teachers in every one of the five first day classes observed during the second quarter tried to get students to participate in course planning. Two quarters later the observer noted that on the first day of classes none of the teachers in the four classes observed tried to get student input.

These City High teachers did not totally abandon the idea of student input. They developed other methods that they used throughout the course. Although they felt somewhat defeated in their failure to get students to participate directly at the beginning of courses, they made valiant attempts throughout the quarter to question, to probe, and to understand this confusing silence by students. Much can be learned from these encounters.

For the sake of analysis, City High classes can be divided into two main types:

(1) Courses with a somewhat delineated subject matter--that is, the teacher has described what the course will generally be about and the students are asked to contribute within this restriction.

(2) Open-ended interdisciplinary experiences where the possibilities are less limited by previous description and subject matter area.

The teacher is always faced with students who have a variety of motivations for being in the course. He cannot assume that they all understand the intended direction of the course or that they have a high level of interest in the teacher's particular concerns. Besides feeling forced by their counselors, students sometimes take a course because a friend takes the course or because a trusted adult tells them it will be interesting.

> (Observer to WYC boy)
> Observer: Why did you take that course?
> Student: I was talked into it. Some friends said it would be interesting.
>
> (Observer to WSO boy during registration)
> Observer: Why are you signing up for that course?
> Student: I need a social studies--maybe it will be interesting.

Delineated courses: orienting the interested but unknowledgeable student

Students must be enlightened about the subject before they can make any contribution. They have to know what arena they're in before they can tell what game they want to play. The process of acquainting students with the possibilities without prematurely limiting what they think is appropriate and what they might offer is not an easy one.

The first step in this process at City High was writing the catalogue descriptions.* Teachers often took special care in what they wrote--hoping to dissuade students who would not be interested and to stimulate those who were interested to give some advance thought to the subject. They quickly found that most students did not read the catalogue carefully. Even those who did, could often not understand what the possibilities might be. If students are going to be guided to make significant inputs, some way must be found to get them thinking about the possibilities from the moment they sign up. (For more details about how students dealt with the catalogue and about alternative methods for getting students to grapple with possible courses, see CNS, 1973 a.)

Realizing that students often did not reflect on the catalogue descriptions as they signed up, some teachers tried to get them to consider the descriptions as part of the first day of class. This activity helped the teacher to discover which students felt they were forced into the course and which should be re-directed to other courses. It also, however, forced the other non-compelled students to examine the teacher's intentions for the course and to see how their own interest fitted in.

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* See Attachment 3 for sample catalogue entries.

> (Observer to English teacher at beginning of quarter)
> Observer: How did Lit Seminar work out?
> Teacher: I made all of them deal with what the catalogue said. One student probably didn't belong in the course. We're going to see what else we can get her into. A lot of them hadn't really read the catalogue...

Teachers usually met silence when they first asked students what they wanted to learn. Teachers then tried to stimulate student's contributions by asking questions or making suggestions. Generally this technique met with both success and failure. It did get students talking about the subject and gave teachers a feel for what students were interested in. In these discussions, however, students seemed to be limited by the original teacher input; they would elaborate on the theme introduced by the teacher, but they very rarely introduced any of their own. The following example illustrates the mixed accomplishments of these initial sessions.*

> (History of Chicago, second quarter, first day of class)
> Student teacher asks for students' preferences for topics. Suggests crime, sports, race relations.

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* For a fuller transcript of this class session, see Attachment 4.

> BSO girl: I want crime in the present.
> WSO girl: I'd like to go into the past.
> BSO girl: Why do you want to do that?
> Teacher goes on to make more suggestions including possible readings, which students reject. One WYC boy asked if the class could study City Planning. A WSO boy responded that it wouldn't be any fun. Teacher and student teacher continued making and asking for suggestions.

As discussed in previous studies (CNS, 1972 a), students seemed much more comfortable and accustomed to a *reactive mode* as opposed to an *active mode*.* That is, they would--in the freedom of the City High atmosphere--sometimes react to what a teacher said but they would rarely initiate themes. In this example the teachers found out that students preferred current history over past history. Students were uninterested in reading any kind of materials that the teacher suggested. They seemed more interested in crime and street gangs than things such as sports, race relations, architecture, neighborhoods.

The teachers did not know, however, whether students were really interested in studying crime or if they were just picking up on that topic because it was presented to them. Except for the student who volunteered an interest in City Planning, no student suggested a topic on his own. Even when teachers directed requests to individual students for expression of interest, they did not respond or they elaborated on a topic the teacher had initiated. Furthermore, only nine out of the eighteen students present actually participated.

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*See Attachment 5 for another example of this reactive tendency.

This example also illustrates the influence of students on each other in this process. Students were often not free in suggesting topics because of other students' reactions. Several students who ventured opinions met with unfavorable response from other students (the girl who wanted to study the past and the boy who suggested City Planning). The nature of this influence will be discussed in more detail in a later section.

The observer talked with the teachers after the class. They were happy with the enthusiasm displayed toward the few topics of crime and street gangs and the evident concern with current events. As shown by their constant probing of students for expressions of interest, however, they were frustrated by the inability or unwillingness of students to suggest topics on their own. They said that they hoped students would come up with more ideas at the next class meeting. This hope was not realized and the teachers assumed the planning functions for the course.

The potential teacher frustration of these encounters needs to be emphasized. Teachers were highly committed to student participation in course planning. They expected students to join eagerly in the process when offered the possibility. When students would or could not participate, the teachers reacted with disappointment.

> (Teacher to observer)
> I tried to get students to tell me what they wanted. It was a real bust... The other day I gave an assignment. They were really happy! I think we need to give them options and ideas and serve as a foil for what they

> want. Kids are much better able to reject
> things. The period of freedom is useful but
> I'm afraid it ends up in too long a waste.

The danger, of course, is that the commitment to student participation in planning is gradually forgotten. After these initial failures some City High teachers seemed to give up on the idea, while others placed their faith in different methods of stimulating student input. A major part of the problem was that teachers assumed students had the ability to contribute to class planning if they wanted. The experiences at City High suggest it is better to think of these activities as requiring skills to be developed.

Once they realized that students might not have the skills necessary to contribute immediately, City High teachers experimented with methods of developing these skills. Teachers tried to get students to explore the possible subject matter, recognizing that student interest in a subject matter might not mean understanding. Two main classes of stimulation of student interest were tried: (1) Leading students to make the connections between the course and their interests or needs and (2) Offering students a taste of the subject in order to expand their ideas about what was possible.

In a Writing Workshop class the teacher knew that the students did not have a very clear idea about the different kinds of writing. Her task was to lead students in almost Socratic procedure to begin to make distinctions between types of writing which they implicitly understood. Only after they began to think about these differences could they make suggestions about what problems they had in expository writing --the intended subject of the course. *

> (Excerpts from first class meeting, Writing Workshop) The teacher explains her purpose in creating the class, to help students with writing problems they might have in other classes. She described the differences between expository and creative writing. Students' attention wandered. One student asked if the class would improve her handwriting. Students joked with each other about their writing problems.

The teacher wanted students to determine what problems they wanted the class to work on-- given the boundaries of expository writing. She learned that many students did not know the difference between expository and other kinds of writing. She first had to set the boundaries. She discovered that students needed an introduction to the subject matter before they could make contributions to planning the course. Given the lack of student response the teacher had to take over the responsibility for at least the first few class sessions.

After the initial teacher disappointments in the lack of student participation, most adopted a more informal method. The teacher would indicate that he was open to student input and that students were welcome at any time to comment on activities or to propose new ones. There was, however, rarely a formal session during the course when student input was sought.

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*See Attachment 6 for a fuller transcript of this class's first meeting.

> (Penal Justice, middle of the quarter)
> Teacher: I have got a tentative setup for us to go to the Parole Board next week. Let's take a vote on how many want to go.
> BSO student: Will it be boring?
> Teacher: What can I tell you? - It's not going to be like jumping rope [an enjoyable activity]. If anyone has any ideas about where they want to go, be sure to tell me.

In almost every course teacherswould ask informally how students liked certain activities and ask for future suggestions. Sometimes they asked these questions when they felt a special need for renewal-- for example when attendance fell or when students would indicate their boredom overtly or covertly.

> (Observer to students on bus to ecology course. Middle quarter)
> Observer: How has the ecology been?
> SO girl: We had a big thing last week. A lot of kids complained they didn't like the movies we had been seeing. F-(Teacher) asked people to come up with other things to do. It's hard! I can't think of what else to do in the winter.

Open-ended courses

Those courses that featured some individualized instruction did not confront student planning in the same way. That is, the teacher did not ask a large group for their interests. Teachers and students meeting individually tried to plan how the student would spend his time in the course. Essentially, the teacher would have to go through the same processes that were described earlier for groups: Trying to find out why the student was in the course, redirecting the student if appropriate, finding out if the student had any strong interest or needs that could serve as a focus, or suggesting possible initial activities in the hope of stimulating the student to eventually become self-directed.

Math lab was such an individualized course. Approximately 85% of the students who took math took Math lab. The teachers created a study area which was well equipped with manipulable math materials and books. Students signed up for several periods a week which they would spend in this area. At first it was hoped that the richness of the materials would intrigue students to such a degree that they would freely explore the lab with teacher guidance and find activities that interested them.

This method represented a mixture of high and low student participation. Students had an absolute say in what they individually would do within the lab. They were limited, however, to the basic plan of exploration in the lab. They were not asked if they liked the possible activities from which they could choose. They were not especially encouraged to ask the teachers for more directed kinds of activities or to seek group kinds of activities.

Most students were dissatisfied with these choices in the math lab. Some urged the teachers to teach them in small study sessions of traditional subjects like geometry. The next semester teachers reoriented the math lab. They went through the process of planning individually with each student. Those who had some idea about what they wanted were encouraged and given suggestions of resources they could use. The great majority, who knew little of math except for the grade school text-book variety, were started in an innovative text series (the School Mathematics Projects [SMP] books). The hope was that this book, along with teacher attention, might stimulate some interest that the students would want to pursue independently. The teachers also scheduled short demonstrations of the materials in the math lab in order to introduce students to them. For some students the strategy of exposure leading to exploration worked out and they developed interest in areas of math they did not know existed. For many, however, independent interest never developed and they continued to work through various books of the text series. *

Teacher role and definitions of school

Earlier reports (Wilson, 1972; CNS, 1972a) describes the views that many students held about appropriate teacher and student roles. Students felt that the planning of a course was one of the teacher's responsibilities. They had a hard time conceiving of themselves taking an active role. There may have been an unstated norm that students would not assume these roles even when teachers entreated students to join.

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* See Attachment 3 for math lab questionnaire.

A student described the situation.

> (Student to observer)
> All our years in school we've been brainwashed. No one ever asked these kinds of questions before.

Some students even resented being asked. They had made their peace with the experience of school, and they knew how to play the role of passive student. New energy would be required to learn another role.

> (WYC girl to teacher)
> I'm getting credit for being a student, not a teacher.

Teachers tried various techniques of weaning students from these role perceptions. They tried to convince students that the City High teacher (and hence student's) role was different than what they experienced at their old schools.

> (Pollution studies, a few weeks into the quarter)
> The teacher has been trying to get a group of students to identify projects that they want to work on. Several groups have had trouble figuring out projects.
> Teacher: Look, you have got to think for yourselves; if I have to spoon feed you, I'm not doing my job.

Students' sterotyped perceptions of school itself made their participation difficult. Formal schooling almost by definition could have little to do with the things that interested students in their personal life.

These subjects were seen as inappropriate to school because school had never encompassed them before and because school was accepted as moderately boring and irrevelant. Views like these made students unwilling and unable to join in planning as teachers would have liked. (Student subgroups differed on how strictly they held these definitions of teacher role in school. For more details see Wilson, 1972 and CNS, 1972a.) Students interpreted a teacher's asking, "What do you want to study" to mean: Out of those topics that are "appropriate to school" what do you want to study? Answering the latter question often did not generate very much enthusiasm. *

Some teachers believed that this reaction was a leftover from the traditional schools. They suspected that students saw school in such a limited way because they were still working with reactions from life "in the walls" (at the old school).

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* There is a question, of course, of what the teachers really did mean in their questions. Had students thought of suggesting topics that were personally relevant, would the teachers have built courses around the suggestions or would they have ultimately been unable to incorporate them into courses and judge them inappropriate? Events at City High rarely confronted teachers with this dilemma because students already had a powerful self censor from previous experiences. Teachers certainly seemed sincerely interested in students suggesting topics for courses.

> (Art History first day of quarter)
> A student teacher was teaching the course. He was avidly committed to the idea that students should select what they wanted to do. He had had a very frustating time because students would not suggest topics. Finally he says:
> Teacher: Remember, you are at City High, not at the old school.

Even after this plea students did not contribute. This teacher had underestimated how deeply students had limited the definition of school. Even though they realized that City High was different, it was still school. The fact that it was "school" made students think of their own interests as inappropriate.

Students' stereotyped role perceptions and their reluctance to introduce their own interests into class planning can be seen in the following excerpts from the first meeting of a course called Topics in Science. The course was team taught by two new teachers who had a deep commitment to the idea of student input. The intent was that the class would co-operatively decide on what topics would be studied.*

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* See Attachment 7 for a fuller transcript of this class meeting.

> (Topics in science, first day of class)
> One teacher asks what the students hope to learn, What they expected when they signed up. No response. Two students tentatively suggested Human Body and Animal Behavior, topics of other popular courses. There are no other responses and teachers continue to probe and make suggestions.
> BSO boy: You are the science teacher. If you got something planned let's hear it.
> Teacher: We want to hear from you first. We can change whatever we've got.
> Teacher suggests students may not know enough to plan the course and students agree gleefully.
> Toward the end of the class teachers again ask for suggestions.
> BSO girl: We're afraid because we might be wrong.
> WSO girl: We're used to having the teacher do all the talking.
> Teacher: I guess it is a difficult process, getting comfortable enough to talk.
> BSO girl: Boy, it's completely different, the teacher asking us.

Both teachers were new to City High when this class started. They really expected that, given the open framework (any topic in science goes) and given teacher help, students would identify topics they wanted to study. They discovered some of the previously discussed problems students had with planning --*e.g.*, they had really wanted another course, they had scheduling difficulties and they took the course just because they needed credits, they were reluctant or afraid to express their own interests, they depended on the teachers for planning. The teachers found it difficult to believe that students really had no interest or expectations. They persisted throughout the two hour class period to urge students to join in planning the course. Only eight out of the twenty students present said anything. The teachers considered the possibility that maybe students did not know enough to contribute. They played with the idea that they should start out by giving the course direction and hoping the students would join in (Maybe M-and I should sit down and plan some things). When they tried that out, however, (the teacher discussed the ways birds divide up territories) they saw students lapse into uninterested boredom and felt queasy that the course might end up being just like traditional courses. They then went back to requesting student input. (Ultimately, because of the lack of student input, the teacher did take the responsibility for planning the course.)

The student response demonstrated how the notions students had of school interfered with the process of students participating. Even when students did suggest topics, they did so very tentatively as though they were answering a traditional teacher question. (We were afraid we might be wrong.) They tried to hide behind their student role of knowing nothing. (We do not even know what ecology is.) Students felt the role of the teacher meant planning the course. (You're the science teacher. We are used to having the teacher doing all the talking. It's completely different--the teacher asking us.) They did not know how to respond.

Some readers may protest that the teachers really did know more about science and therefore should have assumed control of the class as the students wanted.

It should be clear, however, that lack of knowledge about a subject -- especially one as wide as "topics in science" does not preclude interest or questions that would be appropriate foci for study. Students, however, could not make the link between their interest and possible topics for study. When the teacher asked students what they did in free time, (in hopes of showing how these activities might be topics in science) students refused to respond. They could not see what relevance these activities might have to this or any other class in school.

These students felt that teachers, because of their expertise, are the only ones qualified to make judgments about what should be studied in school and how it should be studied. They consequently refused to accept their own or their peers' ideas as equally valid topics for study. Outside of school, of course, they are ready to acknowledge the claims that their own or their friends' ideas make on their energy and involvement. Inside, they are not.

This "yielding of the territory" to teachers does not mean that students fully submit themselves to teacher direction. This yielding rather means that they withdraw and become passive participants. (For example, the passive acceptance of some and the boredom of others shown by students when the science teacher began to suggest topics he was interested in.)

Although all students shared some stereotypes about school, students from certain subgroups held them more strongly. As early reports indicated (Wilson, 1972; CNS, 1972a) SA and SO students had more stake in the traditional definitions of the school than YC students. They had more difficulty than the YC students in accepting the legitimacy of their own interests in this context. Upwardly mobile students in these groups especially had to keep school separate from their everyday life because they held an almost magical faith in school as key to the secrets of success.

YC students were more likely to reinforce each other for making contributions and were more likely to have interests that were similar to those of the teachers. Thus, teachers may also have given more rewards for the expression of these ideas.

> (History teacher to observer)
> The teacher is talking about the reactions of students in a history class.
> Teacher: You know, some of those students are real self starters. They have lots of ideas. After a little help getting started, all you have to do is turn them loose. Some of the others need a lot more help--more direction.

Views about the limited nature of schools were also sustained by student subgroup norms. Students who did make suggestions often received mild sanctions from other students. (For example, in the form of groans and sour looks or sarcastic comments from others in the class.) In part, students seemed to prefer passive boredom to a student-initiated activity which might require more energy and attention.

Students did not welcome each other's participation for another kind of reason. The various subgroups had different interests. Each student implicitly feared that students from other subgroups were unlikely to appreciate his suggestions. Because each class had students from different subgroups, the potentiality for disagreement was ususally there. Since students rarely suggested topics in class, this disagreement was not often overt. As counseling groups (modified home room groups) struggled to find activities that were acceptable to all members, however, this disagreement became more overt.

Arrangements other than courses

Arrangements other than courses might offer more encouragement for students to join in class planning. Most of the previous examples were drawn from courses. Courses, by their very nature, imply some blocks to student participation. When students signed up for a course, they knew that it had a name, a somewhat defined subject area, a credit worth, and a teacher who was known to have certain interests and professional competencies. As has been previously discussed (See paper on course choice, CNS, 1973a), teachers did all they could to undo these potential constrictions-- using purposely ambiguous and provocative course names, specifying that the course topic might range into several disciplines, indicating that credit might be granted in any field through special arrangement, and by consistently teaching courses in areas outside their known specialties. Nonetheless, the fact that these arrangements were "courses" somewhat stymied students' participation.

City High experimented with several arrangements other than the traditional courses. In part these attempts were made because the staff felt that the form of an educational environment had profound affects of what went on among students and between students and teachers-- including student participation in planning. One of these experiments was the counseling group and another was the core course.

Trying to expand the range of possible educational experiences, the City High staff worked during the summer workshop between the first two semesters * to develop the "core" experience. The core was team-taught by several teachers from various fields. Several hours (five-six) a week were alloted to core so that the time usage would be flexible. Similarly, credit was flexible, to be negotiated by students and teachers. (For more details see the course choice paper, CNS, 1973a.) It was hoped that this radical format would encourage teachers and students to break out of the old ways of viewing education. Of particular concern here was whether this unusual format would stimulate student participation. Did the fact that these were not the usual courses enable students to feel more comfortable in making suggestions?

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* The first City High semester ran for two quarters, February to June.

The various teams of core teachers developed plans which differed in approach. All plans emphasized the individual student's responsibility for deciding the focus of his study. Thus, the model for student participation in core was not teacher and whole class planning joint activities, but rather teacher-each student planning activities. This model approximates what went on in previously discussed "individualized" courses like Math lab.

"If I Didn't know" was designed to help students gain skills to attack questions they might have. There were no predetermined limits on what these questions might be and in what field.

> (Catalogue entry for Core Course-Second Semester)
> 104 If I Didn't Know, How Could I learn it?
> Instructors:
> Have you ever wondered what a hospital does with your blood sample? Or what a business executive does behind his huge desk? Or why an employment office refuses to hire somebody? Or how a judge decides to sentence a thief? Or how a repairman fixes your refrigerator? Or why a 4 year old cries so much? This learning core will allow you an opportunity to CHOOSE what you want to learn, get skills to learn it, and actually follow through on your learning through experience in a hospital, repair shop, office, etc.
> Credit: English 3/4 credit; Social Studies 3/4 credit; Area of Student Choice 1/2 credit
> Total Credit: 2

First, the teachers led a few sessions of preliminary activities designed to make students think about the various senses people use in answering questions and about the ways people go about answering questions.

They did such things as blindfolded explorations of strange objects, thinking about the world as seen from strange perspectives (such as that of a worm) and speculation about intended uses of unfamiliar objects.

The teachers, who had divided the students into four groups for these activities, asked each student to indicate what he wanted to spend his time on. Though this process varied slightly from group to group, these asking activities included a raw indication of interest, a thought about the possibility of study, and circulation of a document to stimulate interest.*

Within this framework students then began to indicate their interest. Free from the limited expectations implied by courses, and stimulated by the preliminary activities, many students began to think about their interests, at least superficially. Most, of course, did not express well thought out traditional academic lines of study. Most, however, did indicate interests that were in some respects their own.**

(If I Didn't Know Core-first day) a thorough list of the interests expressed in each group.)
Groups 1 Being a coach
Playing football
How a library works
How to be a key puncher
IBM worker
Model

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* See Attachment 3 for a similar document used in another core, Neighborhood Studies.

** See Attachment 8 for a list of the choices made in the other 3 groups.

Herpathologist (Study of reptiles)
Pilot
Children's Doctor
Singer
Teacher

Students had difficulty accepting the idea that school might help them to do something related to their interests. They were excited to think of the idea but also skeptical.

> ("If I Didn't Know" --first day)
> BSA Girl: What you going to do with all this stuff?
> Teacher: We're going to find you experiences in these areas.
> BSA Girl: (Unbelievingly) You mean you going to find me a job as an IBM worker?
> Teacher: There's no guarantee, but we're going to do what we can.
> BSA Girl: (Smiles with pleasure at the prospect.)

As this process of talking about interests went on, the teachers were happy to see the enthusiam but they also realized that the students might have unrealistic expectations. One teacher tried to get students thinking about possible barriers.

> (Subgroup of "If I Didn't Know" --first day)
> Teacher: You know, there are certain restrictions. Like those of you who are interested in airplanes-- you can't be a pilot right off... but maybe you could work with the stewardesses and ground personnel. Something like the hospital --we've already got a contact who said he wanted people doing specific jobs.
> BYC Girl: Not changing sheets?
> Teacher: That's where the contract comes in.
> BYC Girl: You mean... can he teach us ears, nose and throat?

> Teacher: Remember, there are some restrictions. You can't learn all of what it took some one seven years to learn. Also --how old are you? --There are places where you can't go --mostly labs and stuff. We're working on that, though.

Students varied on how deep seated the expressed interests were. A few had already put a lot of independent energy into thinking and reading related to these interests. Most had a current but somewhat durable interest in the topics. A few seem to suggest an interest just on the spur of a moment, perhaps stimulated by other students' suggestions. Nonetheless, unlike most of the previously described courses, it was an active expression of interests instead of the more customary painful extraction of interests.

The follow-up to this first session was difficult. The teachers had to try to distinguish which expressions of interest would actually sustain involvement over the quarter and which were more fleeting, impulsive expressions. Observation revealed that some students were clearly just reacting to what the person before them said. Also, although teachers did not discuss the suggestion list in detail, some student reactions seem to be taken straight from that list. Obviously, interests with these last two origins might not be a sound basis on which to build a quarter's work. Teachers asked students to give some thought to the option before their next class and be prepared to list three choices. During the next class the teachers worked with students on the ideas of contracts. *

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* For example of core contract, see Attachment 3.

They hoped to give students experience with contracts --both between the student and the outside people who would supervise their field experiences and between the students and the core teachers.

"If I Didn't Know" (like the other core courses) ran into trouble. Core was negatively evaluated by teachers and students alike. The teachers had trouble with logistics. They had difficulty finding experiences relevant to many students' expressed interests. They didn't have the time to establish and maintain the elaborate contacts with resource people and organizations that were necessary. They didn't have time to adequately supervise all the students while out on their experiences-- placements. Both they and students had trouble developing a format that could use these field experiences as the basis of a more comprehensive educational program.

The events of "If I Didn't Know" are nonetheless important for those concerned with student participation in educational planning. These first sessions showed that most students do have interests which they hold with some enthusiasm. Much of the curiosity seems to be centered around the world of work. Students at these ages (most were 9th and 10th graders) are wondering about future occupations. Most are excited about the possibilities and eager for involvement and information. They also could not believe that school could have anything to do with these interests. Traditionally, of course, acquaintance with and preparation for the world of work was one of the main reasons for high school. Students' reactions of mixed skepticism and eagerness suggested that perhaps traditional high schools have lost touch with these purposes. Students had difficulty accepting the idea that the school might actually facilitate in some way the exploration of these occupational aspirations and curiosities.

Although the expressed interests were the glamour occupations that are often typical at this age: pilot, model, coach, entertainer, IBM worker, hospital worker, etc., City High offered the rare opportunity for students to test out these ideas rather than abandoning them or living in fantasy. For example, students interested in aviation got to work with the FAA and students interested in modeling got to work in advertising agencies around models.

The other observed core courses similarly gave students the opportunity to explore interests not limited by subject limitations. One core, "Neighborhood Study" encouraged students to pick a placement in the neighborhood that interested them.

> (Catalogue description Neighborhood Studies)
> #105 Neighborhood Studies.
> This course will study people in their communities and try to answer questions like these: What does it mean to be a man, woman, or child in this community? What do community organizations, churches, businesses, and other institutions reveal about a neighborhood and the way its people live and think? We will learn about people through films, interviews on the street, tutoring children, eating with them, going to neighborhood plays and dances.
> Credit: English 3/4 credit, Social Studies 3/4 credit, Area of student choice 1/2 credit
> Total Credit: 2

The plan was similar to "If I Didn't Know." At the end of the first session teachers handed out interest sheets. These documents had an extensive list of possibilities for placement with an appeal for the student to add any ideas of his own that he might have. Students were also given a choice sheet in which they were to indicate their three most perferred places.

> (Neighborhood Studies -- first day)
> Most students had completed their choice sheets and have left. A few students still remain and are musing over the suggestion sheet.
> Teacher: Come on, now hand those things in. S-- aren't you done yet?
> WYC Boy: I want to take it home so I can give it some more thought.
> Teacher: Alright, but be sure to bring it in next time.

These teachers had assumed that indicating interests was an easy task for students. They did not realize that many students had never been asked to give this kind of indication before and that they did not know how to respond.

In the following sessions the teachers worked individually with each student. They discovered that this finding of placement to coincide with each student's interest was not an easy task. Some placements were overly popular and there was not enough room for all the students who wanted them.

> (WYC Girl to observer --second session, Neighborhood Studies)
> The macrobiotic food store is all filled. (Sorrowfully) What am I going to end up with now?

Again, it was mostly the YC students who fell in the category of too many in a particular placement. It is difficult to tell if this occurred because these students were more adept to discovering and indicating their own interests or because the teachers were more adept at finding placements that interested these students. Perhaps the SA students' definition of school got in the way of seeing placements as being in tune with their interests. Even teachers with backgrounds similar to SA students, however, had trouble finding placements for these students. The teachers tried to work with each student to develop interest but soon, because of time pressures, they had to abandon the efforts.

> (Neighborhood Studies --second session)
> A group of about ten students were sitting around talking and joking. They are waiting to talk to the teacher. A short distance away the teacher is working with one student on a placement. After the teacher is done she leans over to the observer.
> Teacher: I'd need three hours with each student to really do this right.

The teachers got impatient with the students who were too selective. A different Neighborhood Studies teacher told the observer about the WYC girl mentioned earlier who wanted a placement at the macrobiotic food store.

> (Teacher to observer)
> P-- (A WYC girl) is being too picky. She has to learn that she can't count on getting just what she wants.

Paradoxically, the goal was that each student would get exactly what he wanted. The pressures of the situations worked against this goal. Many students--

especially those SA students who had trouble identifying their interests-- ended up feeling that the placement was not their own choice.

> (Observer to BSA Boy)
> The boy has just walked out of the individual placement interview.
> Observer: Hey R-- what you into? Did you get a good placement?
> Angry BSA Boy: (Showing the observer the placement card) This is what they gave me.

It is sad that the student felt his placement had so little to do with his interests. The feeling is so contrary to the ideals of the alternative school movement. The hope was that students would at last have the opportunity to relate school to their real interests.

In-depth observations of these many attempts by teachers to parlay interest into educational sequences brought some puzzling revelations. The leap from interest to educational experience was hard to make.

> (Neighborhood Studies --second session)
> Teacher: What are you interested in? What kind of placement can we get for you?
> SA Boy: No response.
> Teacher: Come on now, V--. You've got some interest. What's fun for you? What do you do outside of school?
> SA Boy: (with some enthusiasm) Sports. I like best of all football.
> Teacher: Maybe we could get you a placement with one of the teams around town. Or maybe we could work with some elementary school kid on PE. How do you like those ideas?
> Student (without enthusiasm) They're alright.
> Teacher: Check back with me later; we'll see what we can set up.

Something was lost in the translation from interest in sports to a placement in a sports setting. Many similar losses occurred in other attempted translations. Perhaps students were reluctant to expand from known satisfactory interests to unknown related experiences. Perhaps their definition of school gets in the way of their accepting interest within the context of school. Maybe their interests are just not appropriate for school activities. Perhaps there are effective ways of going from interest to educational sequences that City High teachers had not mastered. This skill is an important one for alternative schools to learn.

Summary

The belief that people are self-actualizing and competence-motivated (see Rogers, 1969) is one of the most basic foundations of the alternative school movement. This belief, coupled with the fact that students in traditional schools are systematically denied the opportunity to realize their own goals (see Silberman, 1971; Postman and Winegartner, 1969) leads to the conclusion that schooling can easily be improved. Once classroom teachers are responsive to the needs and interests of their students, students will respond to school with joy and enthusiasm.

This paper has shown that such fundamental changes in schooling are not easily made. City High teachers found it difficult to get students involved in class planning. The students could not or would not make their interests and desires known. The first step toward implementing this complex change was seen to be the teacher's attempt to find out why each student had taken the particular course.

Students' perceptions as to why they were in a course ranged from a deep-seated, independently explored interest in the subject to a feeling of being compelled to be in school at all. City High teachers were successful, as innovators commited to student planning must be, in creating an atmosphere in which students felt free to discuss their honest motivations.

City High teachers came to realize that participation in class planning is a skill which most students have never learned and which must be carefully developed. Students relied heavily on their stereotyped perceptions of school, student's role, and teachers' role. They found themselves most comfortable with a passive or reactive role, even when urged by teachers to openly express their interests. Some students resented being asked to take on the extra initiative; some feared their interests were not appropriate for "school." Teachers had to work to overcome these stereotypes before students could function effectively in the new environment.

Teachers found they had to develop methods to stimulate student interest in class planning -- i.e., by describing the possibilities available within the subject, by redirecting students whose interests belonged in other courses, by showing students the connections between their outside interests and possible class subjects.

Teachers also found greater student involvement in settings which were least reminiscent of the traditional schools -- individualized courses, core courses, interdisciplinary courses. Open-ended courses seemed particularly new to the students and in these they were most willing to assume the strange role of joint planner with teachers.

Converting interest into educational activities that expand perspectives turned out to be a difficult task. In the cases where students were able to turn their own interests into course material they were indeed rewarded by joyful school experiences. The process is an important one and should be made available to all students. This paper has shown some important steps teachers and planners can make toward making student participation in class planning a reality.

Attachment 1

A mini-interview * survey taken among a small (but representative) group of City High students revealed the following feelings on compulsion: One quarter felt compelled to be in school; one quarter were ambivalent; and half would choose to be at City High.

Several facts must be noted about these results. The students were responding specifically about City High. Without the option of an alternative school, a higher percentage might have felt compelled. Also, City High students represented a wide diversity of ethnic, racial, economic, ability level and age groups. In settings with different concentrations of these groups, the feeling of compulsion might be more or less prevalent. That is, a school with a majority of WYC students would present a different picture of compulsion than a school with a majority of BSA students .

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* Mini-interviews were short, semi-structured interviews conducted at City High throughout the period of observation to follow up on ideas gleaned through observation.

Attachment 2

This example illustrates how the student's feeling of being forced to be in a setting can interfere with any possible inputs. Main Street: a Study of Neighborhoods was a continuation course from the previous quarter with a change of teacher. Dissatisfied students were supposed to drop it and new interested students were allowed to sign up. The catalogue description indicated that the production of a slide tape presentation about various neighborhoods would be the order of business.

> (Main Street: first day of class)
> The teacher has talked to the students about some of the mechanics of producing slide tapes. He then asked the students how they want to proceed -- what aspects of the production they want to learn about, what neighborhoods they want to study, etc.
>
> (No students replied-- most students looked mute and bored.)
> Student Teacher: Hey R--, Why are you in this course a second time if you got no interest?
> BSA Boy: I don't know. I didn't take this thing; they gave it to me. J-- (his counselor) set it up...
> Teacher: How come everyone is so quiet? I thought no one signed up for this course unless you wanted to do the slide tape. How about you R--?
> BSA Girl: D-- (her counselor) forced me to come.
>
> The student teacher asks one girl who has been especially quiet why she is in the course.
>
> BSO girl: They told me it would be interesting. I didn't know anything about it.

Attachment 3

Sample catalogue entries:

Below are catalogue descriptions of courses that are discussed in this paper. The observation of the first few days of these classes revealed that most students had not used these descriptions to start thinking about the classes.

(Catalogue entry second quarter)

Course Title - 054 Topics in Science

A lab-oriented study of a wide variety of scientific experiences. This will give the student an introductory understanding of all science. Particular areas of study will depend on student's interests.

Meets requirement for: Science. Credit: One half.

Course Title - 036 --Math Lab I and II

Math in a new dimension. Catch up on Math skills you think you missed along the way. Work on a hobby or project that has to do with Math. Get a feeling for algebraic, geometric and other math concepts. Figure out game theory. Logic, Independent study.

Meets requirements for: Math. Credit: 1

Attachment 3

MATH LAB QUESTIONNAIRE

Name ______________________________________

Center _______________ CG _______________ Year ____________________

Previous Math Classes:

Are you taking math lab because:

_____ You just dearly love math

_____ Your Dad filled out your schedule while you were asleep
_____ You want to learn Alegebra
_____ You want to learn Geometry

_____ You don't like math
_____ You need it to graduate
_____ You need it to get into college
_____ You don't need it

_____ You had to have another course to fill up your schedule

_____ Your Mom told you to
_____ You had one year of math
_____ You had two years of math
_____ You had three years of math
_____ You've worked with SMP Book A
_____ You've worked with SMP Book B

Do you have any special interest or problems that we need to be aware of to help you plan your math activities?

Do you dislike reading?

Do you dislike doing problems?

What did you like most in some of your previous math classes?

Attachment 3

CONTRACT WORK FORM

A. What things do I want to observe and do in my placement or independent study? (Write a list of questions or statements about your chosen field.)

B. What things have I been told I can do where I am placed? (List the kinds of tasks your supervisor has suggested after discussing your placement and the skills you might need to complete those tasks.)

Attachment 3

CORE COURSE IN NEIGHBORHOOD STUDIES
Friday Sept. 18, 1970

____
name

____
counselor

Fill in how much of what kind of credit you expect to receive in Core:
english ________
social studies ____________
_________________________ (other)

What do you especially want to learn about in Neighborhood studies?

What special projects and experiences do you want to do?

What would you like to do in a neighborhood. What do people do in their neighborhoods that you would like to learn more about?

Please write on this paper any suggestions of places where
1. You would like to go.
2. You think other students might like to go.

What special interests and skills would you like to work with/on in this course?

NEIGHBORHOOD STUDIES Attachment 3 Bryan, Cotrosim Smith
September, 1970

This is a small list of the many opportunities available for you in different neighborhoods around Chicago. It is almost all volunteer work helping adults who are active in making their neighborhoods a better place to live in. Put a 1 by your first choice, a 2 by your second choice, 3 by your third choice.

UPTOWN

(mostly Appalachian white and Indian; some areas also have blacks, orientals, and Spanish-Speaking peoples)

Uptown Peoples Planning Coalition needs people to help with the office work. Opportunities to learn about how a community is organized; what do street workers do; who makes community meetings and demonstrations happen.

Magic Castle Day Care Center (6)(work with pre-school children)
--help the classroom teacher so that more students have individual attention.
--help in the kitchen during lunch; help the dietician. (Home Ec credit)

American Indian Center. This is the headquarters for American Indians working to help their people and improve living conditions in their community.
--tutor preschool children in the Headstart program.
--work on reporting, layout, publishing, editing the newspaper.

The Warrior
--help in the kitchen during the hot lunch program for the preschoolers. (Home Ec credit)

SPANISH SPEAKING COMMUNITIES

Latin American Boys Club (4)
--organize a group of pre-school children for recreational and educational activities.

Santa Maria Day Care Center. Work with pre-school children.

Association House is a settlement house located in the Puerto Rican community.
--work with the Headstart program.
--work as a nurse's aid in the clinic there.
--social worker's aid.
--Mexican dance class (PE)
--helping to teach English as a foreign language.

Emerson House
--teaching English to welfare mothers who speak only Spanish.

Attachment 3

Howell House (Mexican community)

--10 Metro students to participate in a program with 10 junior high Spanish-speaking students to learn about the Spanish community and to write a guide in Spanish and English to the community and to Chicago.

--help Mexican mothers in babysitting co-op.

SOUTH SIDE

Consumer Welfare Corporation is an organization run entirely by volunteers to educate and help the consumer and protect his rights. Needs students to help with:

--research, planning and promoting consumer education programs in the south side community and/or in your own neighborhoods.

--price comparison surveys.

--typing and filing.

--observing the progress of cases in the city courts against retail crooks.

Woodlawn Service Program

--Day care center: students to help work with staff with children ages three to six years old. Metro students must be 14 or over. Student will participate in staff conferences as well as work with the children.

CORE COURSE COORDINATION

10 to 13 students to help in the administration of the core course; students would get an overall view of what Metro students are doing in different neighborhoods and could become involved in their own comparisons. They would:

--run a core group newspaper, lay it out, interview students, edit it, etc.

--make contacts in the different neighborhoods (we'll teach you how) to increase the opportunities for Metro students' experiences.

--keep a file of the contacts, who is what neighborhood, students' projects, etc.

--compose a bibliography of student reports and of books about Chicago's neighborhoods.

COOK COUNTY GENERAL HOSPITAL

Many interesting opportunities for students over 16 to work through the volunteer service. Volunteers must be committed to helping the patients. Interview with the director can be arranged to determine student interest and suitability in various parts of the volunteer program.

INDEPENDENT PLACEMENT AND PROJECT

We realize that the number of places is limited. Students with special interests not listed above will be encouraged to find and make their own contacts and design their own experience.

Attachment 3

REQUIREMENTS FOR CORE COURSE IN NEIGHBORHOOD STUDIES

1. Hand in a weekly summary every Friday about your week's experience. Tell what you did and how you feel about what you did. Include some of the things you learned.

2. At the end of the cycle, you will write a complete report telling what you learned. Your weekly summaries will be handed back to you to help you remember and to evaluate your progress.

3. During the fifth week of the cycle you will hand in your ideas of a project you would like to do for the course.

4. You will make a contract with the core teachers which tells what you plan to accomplish in the core and how you plan to accomplish it. The contract will include your ideas of a project that you would like to do. There are no restrictions on the kind of project that you can suggest.

Attachment 3

METROPOLITAN HIGH SCHOOL

CORE 104

LEARNING CONTRACT

A. OBSERVATION WORK EXPERIENCE (What will I be doing? Write a description of observation-work experience which student and supervisor mutually agree to.)

B. LENGTH OF OBSERVATION-WORK EXPERIENCE (How many weeks? What day, Tuesday or Friday? How long each day?)

C. ADDITIONAL STATEMENTS OF THE PARTIES TO THE CONTRACT (Add here any restrictions or other statements bearing on the contractual relationship.)

D. This contract is agreed to by the signed parties and will remain in force as long as the above stated conditions are adhered to.

____________________	____________________
Date	Supervisor
	____________________
	Student
	____________________
	Staff Member at Metro

Attachment 4

(History of Chicago, second quarter-- first day of class)
Student teacher: First thing I want to know is what was wrong with History of Chicago last quarter?
BSA Girl: We didn't learn any history; He (the former teacher) spent all his times on English and shorthand.
Student Teacher: Before M--(a new teacher) and I make any commitments, we want to know your preferences: crime, sports, race relations, whatever... recent or far past.
BSO Girl: I want crime in the present.
Teacher: You mean like studying street gangs?
WSO Girl: I'd like to go into the past.
BSO Girl: Why do you want to do that?
Teacher: (to WSO Girl) J-- why don't you move around the table?
WSO Girl: I can hear you.
Teacher: I can't hear you, though. (She moves to the table.) What kinds of things do you want to read? How about you D--?
BSA Girl: I don't want to read nothing.
Teacher: There are lots of things we could read. Newspapers. There are lots of pocketbook novels about Chicago-- The Jungle, Raisin In The Sun-- These are better than textbooks. Does anyone want to do that?
Several Students: No, No.
Teacher: How about historical pamphlets? Maybe we'll ask you each to pick up some from the Historical Society.
Several Students: No, No.
(Side conversation BSO Girl to another BSO Girl)
Who wrote Raisin In The Sun?
BSO Girl: I don't know.
Teacher: How many are you in L--'s Writing Workshop? We may work out some joint projects. (Several students raise their hands.)
BSA Boy: When are we going to eat lunch?
(The class is scheduled from 11-1.)
Teacher: I don't see any reason we have to go till 1... If anybody doesn't like things, tell us. We can see what can be changed. If you are going to miss lots of classes though, tell O-- (the principal). Let's see this list-- are there any people not here? (He checks the list) We talked to a Criminal Courts judge.

Attachment 4

We're planning to visit a week from Tuesday--
Does anyone have any questions?
WYC Boy: Are you going to do anything with city planning?
WSO Boy: (Inside conversation to this student) Hah!
WYC Boy: Why are you laughing?
WSO Boy: That's no fun-- you don't want to do that.
Teacher: (Evidently having missed this conversation) What about architecture? race relations? Any other topics? Neighborhoods? --A lot of people signed up for those courses about the different communities that got closed out. B-- ? (A BSA Boy raises his hand)
BSA Boy: J-- (another teacher) said you could bring in speakers.
Teacher: Sure. A girl said she was at one of those Panther meetings-- one at night-- they have speakers and lock the doors.
BSA Boy: I was there.
Student Teacher: How about the Young Lords (another street gang)? Did anyone ever hear of them? Maybe we could compare these groups. Seems like most of you want to get out of here. (Students are making fidgeting movements) Do any of you have any other major interests?
Teacher: How about you P--? (WSO Boy) Why'd you take this course?
WSO Boy: I want to learn about Chicago-- not the past-- about NOW!
Student Teacher: (To the whole class) It seems like your main interest are crime and organizations.
BSA Girl: That's all there is going on.
Teacher: (To WYC Girl) L--, how about you? (What are your general interests?) Do you want to see the circus at the city council?
WYC Girl: No response.
Teacher to WSO Boy: What about you B--? Student makes no response.
Student teacher: Everyone have something in mind by Friday. What kinds of projects you want to do. You can do it in connection with another course like Writing Workshop.

Attachment 4

Teacher: You can do art too-- like free hand sketches-- you could draw the pollution. You know, Chicago is second in the nation.

WYC Girl and WSO Girl have short side conversation about pollution.

Teacher: We can have films, too-- What time is it? (Looking at his watch)

Student Teacher: We can break up now, but Friday everyone have something in mind.

A reader might wonder why the teacher did not pick up on the comments students made to each other. (For example, the students talking about Raisin in the Sun and the student who was at the Black Panther meeting.) A written protocol is somewhat unrealistic in reflecting what went on. The teachers were simultaneously involved in several conversations and activities. They might not have heard these conversations or been able to break other lines of activity. Similarly time is condensed in the protocol. The reader might wonder about some of the illogical progressions. All the pauses and non-verbal signals of direct activity are missing. In general, it is much easier to point out missed opportunities and logical courses of action in retrospect than it is for the people actually involved.

Attachment 5

Another class experience illustrates this tendency of students to pick up on teachers' suggested topics. Again the teacher did not know if this represented genuine interests of the students or just some kind of superficial response to teacher input.

> On the first day of the anthropology class the teacher was trying to get students to indicate what aspects of anthropology they wanted to study. After a lack of student response, the teacher suggested Africa. Two students briefly discussed it. Then the class was silent again.

Attachment 6

(Writing workshop first day excerpts)
Teacher: What other kinds of writing are there? What kind of writing is done in other courses--essay, tests....?
WSO student: Homework.
Teacher: That is part of what we are going to work on. Writing where you organize your thoughts as clearly as possible. Exposition-it is maybe more boring than creative writing but you run into it a lot more. What kinds of things do you think you should work on? What are some of the problems you have? What are some of the problems we can help you work out? (Asked here to stimulate thought rather than for an actual response.)

Another different thing-instead of my assigning work-we are going to help you with writing in your other courses. (About half of the class has been paying attention. Many others are in and out of the discussion. Sometimes they pick up on what the teacher has said.)
SA girl to another: She would have to help me an awful lot (implying that she never does any writing).
Teacher: Lots of times English has nothing to do with your other courses. We are going to make this course practical-we are going to give you a reason to improve. I want you now to tell me what kind of problems you have--what you want to improve-what makes good writing?

SO student: Forcefulness.
Teacher: That is right. Is writing an essay different than writing a cookbook?
SA girl (one who has been joking and just catches the end): In this class, what do we do? Are we here just for writing?
Teacher: You are here for writing-we are working on

the writing you do in other courses. How to think more logically and how to organize better. We are going to help you acquire skill and to write faster. Do you take a long time -- and it comes out all mumble jumble?

SO Girl: Yea! Right on! (The SA girl who asked the original question is no longer paying attention)

Teacher: Is everyone clear on this course?

SA girl: I can't write; that is why I took the course. (indicating that she means handwriting).

Teacher: We don't mean handwriting, we mean the skills of organizing like we have been talking about. Maybe we can talk privately on handwriting.

Teacher: Do you all have it clear in mind?

SA girl: (friend of the handwriting girl) When I write? It does not come out how I think.

Handwriting SA girl: That is cause you got no sense, girl.

SA girl 1: You aren't much better off. (They continue to joke about each others' writing skills.)

Teacher: You can expect to do one piece of writing a week. You can't learn unless you practice; I can't help you unless you help you.

SO girl: Are you going to grade them?

Teacher: We will go over them together.

Teacher: Do one thing for me. Don't waste this whole week. Write something before vacation and be thinking about what problems you want to work on.

Attachment 7

The teachers are sitting on the floor with the students. The students are spread informally all over the corner of the room as was the City High style -- on the window seat, on the radiator, etc. The teacher started the class by asking some of the students far away to come closer and by asking everyone to introduce themselves.

Teacher 1: Well, what did you all expect when you signed up? (no response) No expectations? Anything? Anyone? (no response)

Teacher 2: No one cares what we do in here? (no response) How many of you just signed up because you wanted science credit? (Two students raise their hands.)

Teacher: Are there any specific directions you want this course to go in?

Teacher: What kinds of things do you want to learn in science or ecology?

YC girl: (joking) Ecology? You mean like going to the lake to find what? There is nothing living there. (Some discussion about deadness of the lake)

Teacher: What do you want to do? There are no limits.

SO girl: (tentatively) Animal and human behavior (the title of another course) Can we do that?

Teacher: Sure,

SO girl: I want to study all the structure of the human body-from head to toe. (Again the subject of another course)

Teacher: Anyone else? (silence) (said with challenge) You don't care?

I guess you're interested in coming to a class that is all organized. Listen, there's no point in me deciding what you learn. That serves no one's purpose but my own. You're awfully quiet. Before we can do anything, you have to decide.

Attachment 7

SO student: We don't even know what ecology is. What does it have to do with things?
Teacher: Anything you say.
SO student: Can we dissect stuff like in biology?
Teacher: Sure.
(Some discussion about not being able to hear the teacher and the glare in the blinds)
Teacher: L--, I never heard you so quiet.
L--(SO student) You're the science teacher. If you got something planned let's hear it.
Teacher: We want to hear from you first. We can change whatever we've got. The first thing we thought maybe we would do is build microcosms, Does anyone know what that is? (heards shake no) It's a small world with all living things. You seal it up and it's self sustaining.
(A small discussion of microcosms)
Teacher: But we want to know what you want first. Anything goes. Is there anything? (No response) You see, in most classes the teacher tells you this is it. Later you find you don't like it.
(thinking to self out loud) Maybe you don't know enough?
(Two students, gleefully because they are off the hook): Yea.
Teacher: Maybe it's too early - we should suggest stuff and you can see if you dig it.
(Discussion of ecology and how it relates to topics suggested, dissection, animal behavior, web of life.)
(Discussion about why some students are in the course-they could not get into another course and they needed science credit)

Attachment 7

The teachers suggest topics they are interested in to stimulate students to talk. They get mostly one word responses.

Teacher: (Almost unbelievingly) What are you doing in your free time? You must have some interest in something?

Student: (jokingly) How about rapid transit riding? (This particular student had an obsessional thirst for information about the transit system; he asked in every class about it- almost to the point of irritating teachers.)

Teacher: Something else people want to know about? I guess M-- and I will have to sit down and plan some things. Maybe we can work at the Museum of Natural History. Like I'm into birds. You can tell your way out of the forest if you get lost by birds singing. Like if you get lost in one of the Forest Preserves. Before when I mentioned it, no one said they wanted to study it-most are indifferent. How about pollution? (no response) Hey, looks like we got someone sleeping.

Student: Wha? No, I'm just thinking. (To stimulate students, the teacher starts going around the room asking students to tell what relationship they saw between some things-- an elaboration on one of the discussions earlier about the web of life.) The teacher then notices that the class period is almost over and returns to the question of what people want to do in the future.

Teacher: What's wrong? Are you afraid to say? You do not know?

The SO girl: We are afraid because we might be wrong.

WSO girl: We're used to having the teacher do all the talking.

Teacher: I guess it's a difficult process getting comfortable enough to talk-maybe we will have to get some dialogue going.

The BSO student: Boy, it's completely different, the teacher asking us. (The period is over and students are starting to leave. The teacher asked them to think about the stuff that they want to do in the course)

Attachment 8

Students' choices for core placements, "If I Didn't Know"

Group 2	Horseback riding Piano Statistician Seamstress Theater Hypnotist Scuba diver Airplanes Treasure hunter Sailing Poll taker
Group 3	Architecture Secretarial War Stock market Congress Hospitals (4 students) Airlines Aircraft mechanic 3 no choice
Group 4	Aviation 3 Photography 3 Child Development Creative writing 2 no choice

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F. INSTITUTIONAL DECISION-MAKING*

A Chronology Of Major Events

Metro High School initiators began the school with many assumptions about student participation in decision-making commonly made in the alternative schools that have been started within the last few years. They felt that alienation and disruption within conventional secondary schools resulted to a large extent from the lack of student involvement in shaping decisions that affected students' lives. They felt that one basis for an effective learning program would be to lift most of the restrictive rules that generally govern students' daily behavior (dress code, hall passes, etc.), to allow students to select their own courses within broad distributional requirements, to involve students in the evaluation and planning of individual courses, and to involve students in making and implementing policies that would affect the entire community. It is this last aspect of decision-making—involvement in decision-making at the institutional level—that is the focus of this section.

Staff assumed that students would come forward eagerly to participate in institutional decision-making when this opportunity was offered them. Further, they didn't want to prescribe the form that such involvement would take, but hoped that the students themselves could develop an appropriate form of their involvement. Below is a list of the major steps that took place in the evolution of this initial idea:

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* This section represents a condensation of a much longer and more detailed analysis of the participant observation data on student participation in institutional decision-making. That document is available as an unpublished Ph.D. dissertation from the University of Chicago submitted in 1972 by Stephen Wilson. It is entitled a "Participant Observation Study of Student Decision-Making in an Alternative High School."

First Semester, Spring 1970: Students generally felt that no government was best, but that if some form of government was needed, the only valid form of government was one based on direct representation. Therefore, a weekly all-school meeting was initiated and was supposed to function as the major decision-making body within the school. The all-school meeting was effective in a few crisis situations, but it proved unwieldy for making ordinary decisions. Attendance at the meetings fell off by the middle of the first semester, and in the absence of clearcut decisions at these meetings, staff meetings and staff committees became the main arena for decision-making. The staff had been meeting almost daily since the school opened, trying to cope with the many problems of the new institution, and had established committees dealing with specific areas in which decisions had to be made (evaluation, curriculum, etc.).

Several faculty members were upset with the gravitation of decision-making to the staff. After the all-school meeting failed, students (encouraged by these staff members) formed a representative student government with two members from each counseling group (similar to a homeroom). However, this organization met only once and quickly faded from existence. The most successfully sustained student involvement came in a structured staff-student selection committee for new staff members, in which requirements for participation were clearly specified.

Summer, 1970: In a staff-student planning workshop for the next year, 16 students were selected at random to participate and paid for their participation.

Fall, 1970: The first part of the fall semester was formed by confusion resulting from the fact that Metro's permanent headquarters wasn't finished and the program had to occupy inadequate temporary headquarters. The staff meetings and the staff commitees again functioned as the major decision-making unit. These meetings were open to students, and staff made periodic attempts to involve students in this work. However, few became involved.

Near the end of the semester, a group of staff and students began to meet to try to develop a new model for an effective staff-student governing body. Under this plan, an "administrative board" was to become the central school governing body. The board was to be composed of representatives from "like groups" formed by both staff and students. A "like group" was any group of five people who felt they had common interests they wanted to see represented. Each like group that wished to form could have representation on the administrative board. This approach to governance was designed to overcome two problems of earlier attempts at government organization. First, the basic unit to be represented was to be a group of people with common interests rather than a diverse group. Second, formation of like groups was voluntary; individuals who wanted to could be permanently represented on the administrative board. Other individuals could choose to ignore the board or could come forward only to influence particular decisions in which they were specifically interested.

Over a period of several weeks, like groups were selected, a chairman elected, and procedures established for the administrative board. The board functioned for about six weeks and then quietly expired. Its demise resulted from three factors: student involvement in the administrative board was generally limited to the small group of students who had been active in past government schemes; it had been hoped by the board's initiators that it could incorporate the already functioning staff committee system and coordinate its work with the principal, but this attempt was not effective; the board was overly concerned about the dangers of centralization of power and the result was a lack of organization.

Third Semester, Spring 1971: The demise of the administrative board once again left the staff meeting and its associated committees as the major arena for decision-making and implementation. By this time, the staff had become fairly effective in working through issues, making clear decisions, and fixing responsibility for carrying them out. Formal student involvement at this point was slight. Some students attended staff meetings and worked on committees. In crisis situations, students discussed issues at all-school meetings and turned out in somewhat larger numbers to work within the staff decision-making apparatus.

Fourth Semester, Fall 1971: Students became angry over two administrative decisions that were made without consulting them. A group of new students provided leadership for another attempt to form an organized group that will represent student interests in decision-making.

This brief chronology will provide a few benchmarks for the analysis of the dynamics of student participation in decision-making in the next section.

The Dynamics Of Student Involvement: Analysis*

The important influences on the development of student involvement at Metro can be organized under six major headings: Student's Initial Approach to Involvement, Staff's Initial Approach to Involvement, Characteristics of the Metro Program, Characteristics of the School System and the City, Staff and Student Approaches in the Developing Program, and Variations in Approach Among Student Subgroups. Along with some of the generalizations, comments from students and staff are presented. They are not intended to "prove" the accuracy of the generalizations, but merely to illustrate the specific nature of the general statement.

Students' initial approach to involvement

Although we will not attempt to review other research and theory in this outline, one distinction made by Etzioni** is extremely useful in understanding the students' initial orientations toward decision-making. Etzioni hypothesizes that organizations develop two major realms of activity: the "instrumental" realm, which is related to the official functions of the organization, and the "expressive" realm, which is related to people's personal concerns. In the school context, "instrumental" activities deal mainly with the operation of the instructional program, while "expressive" activities center around friendships, dating, athletics, informal "rapping," etc. In many organizations, two different structures evolve to deal with these two realms, with the expressive realm having leaders, values, and styles of action that may be at odds with the organization of the instrumental realm. In the traditional school context, it is often the expressive realm in which the adolescent invests most of his energy, and it is leadership in expressive activities that determines prestige with other students. In strictly controlled high schools organized along traditional lines, administration and teachers often attempt to exert strict controls over not only the instrumental realm, but also the expressive realm. Traditional school rules touching the expressive realm regulate such areas as dress, social interaction, movement, eating, and smoking. To defend their autonomy in the expressive realm, students have created separate expressive subcultures, and recently have directly challenged the school's right to regulate their expressive activity.

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*This analysis is based primarily on participant observations and interviews. The attempt to justify each conclusion by relating it to data analysis is beyond the scope of this report.

**Amitai, Etzioni, "Organizational Control Structure." In James March, ed., Handbook of Organizations. Chicago: Rand McNally, 1965.

Coming from traditional school, the major concern of Metro students was to gain autonomy in the expressive realm. Metro staff strongly encouraged this direction, and they considered freedom of movement, dress, expression, association, etc. fundamental to the program's design from the beginning. Thus, in the areas that students cared most about, there was no need for participation in decision-making to gain desired ends. The battle had already been won. At the end of the first semester of operation, all students were asked what they liked most about Metro as compared with their old school. The characteristic of the program cited most often was freedom in the expressive realm: freedom to talk to friends, get up and leave if you were restless, wear what you wanted, eat when you wanted, etc.

The characteristic cited second most often in this same series of interviews was the closer student-teacher relationship at Metro. The staff's willingness to grant freedom in the expressive realm established a degree of trust between teachers and students. The staff's attempt to establish a warmer more personal teacher-student relationship solidified this trust. Staff members were sensitive to student concerns, and by the end of the first semester many students felt comfortable in openly criticizing those aspects of the program they wanted changed. This freedom to criticize was extremely important to students; students generally saw their most desirable role in decision-making not in terms of developing detailed programs and implementing them, but in terms of bringing problems to the attention of the staff, who would then have the responsibility to develop solutions.

> Student: The way you got to do it is to make decisions. Then if we don't like it, we'll let you know. You do something and we'll react. Students don't dig sitting in meetings and stuff. You feel like teachers are talking about stuff and you don't have any idea what it means.

The major concerns of students with regard to school policies might be described as follows:

1. To obtain as wide a field as possible for expressive activity.
2. To be able to complain to the staff about instrumental activities they disliked.
3. To establish the right to opt out of instrumental activity if they wished.

To a large extent the first objective was achieved. In the few areas of expressive activity where freedom was not allowed (e.g. students were not allowed to smoke in the school headquarters because of a Board of Education rule), there was constant minor friction with the staff. The second objective was also achieved almost completely;

almost all teachers were open to student complaints and effectively communicated this willingness to listen to students, even though they did not always solve the problems posed. Many students initially felt that the third objective had also been achieved because of the staff's stated emphasis on freedom in the program. Subsequent efforts by the staff to tighten up the attendance policy have been a subject of continuous controversy in the program.

With their major objectives largely achieved, Metro students saw little reason to become actively involved in a formal decision-making process. Staff members argued that students should carve out some formal decision-making role for themselves since the staff might not always act in the students' best interest. This argument, however, was extremely abstract, and most students were influenced much more by present reality. They saw little need to expend energy in a decision-making process when things were already going their way.

A major factor in students' reluctance to create a formal decision-making structure was their strong aversion to many of the structures that were suggested. This aversion stemmed from their past negative experience with governmental mechanisms and from a set of values that conflicted with the representative decision-making mechanism proposed.

One of the most powerful deterrents to the development of a formal mechanism for student participation in government was the students' strongly negative experiences with student governments in their old schools. In their past experience , such governments had had limited power, been manipulated by teachers and administrators, made and enforced restrictive rules rather than protected student interests, and been composed of students from higher status homes.

> Student: The student council was just puppets for the teachers. They pulled the strings and the student council did what they wanted.
>
> Student: There was one clique that got involved. No one else paid any attention.

Staff and those students pushing student government were never successful in communicating an alternative image of what a government could be to the majority of the students.

> Student: All government is is some guy going around telling you what to do. There are people here nobody is going to force them to do anything.
>
> Student: If we have a student government, they'll start making rules and pretty soon we'll end up like the old schools.
>
> Observer: Why don't you guys get together in some kind of student government and see what you can do about it. (the lack of gym equipment)
> Student: A student government couldn't do that shit.

Especially in the Metro situation where students felt things were going well, many students cited local and national governmental structures with which they were dissatisfied in arguing against a government at Metro. Politically active "youth culture" students cited the war policies of the national government. Many black students cited the actions of the police at a local level. In both instances, the form of the argument was the same: you're copying the kind of government that we already know doesn't work right.

Many students had brought still another attitude from their previous socialization that worked against becoming involved in Metro: the notion that the individual is powerless in acting against larger forces in the society. Even in the face of sincere attempts to get them involved by staff, some student maintained that involvement was pointless. Further, when they did get involved, a small setback confirmed their belief that "you can't fight the system." Finally, a role in actively planning and carrying out decisions was completely foreign to their previous experience; the most many hoped for was a chance to complain. Staff attempts to get students beyond the complaining mode were largely unsuccessful.

Closely related to their distrust of governmental structures, school-wide policies, etc. was a personal ethic that is summarized in two current cliches: "do your own thing" and "hang loose." One of the strongest trends in our interviews and observations reflected student willingness to act on these concepts.

The ideal form of government for Metro, many students believed, was none at all. There would be no government, no rules; only "people dealing with people."

> Student: We're going to have a beautiful anarchy. Everybody's going to do their own thing and leave everybody else alone. We decided we don't need a government.

Following from this theory, if there had to be some form of government, it could only involve direct representation. Most students felt that a person could only speak for himself, not for other people.

> Student: No one can represent me. I'm the only person who knows what I'm thinking and no one else can present my views.

The reluctance to represent other people was related somewhat to the extreme diversity of the Metro population; however, some students felt that they couldn't even represent their best friends. Every individual is unique, and no one has a right to make a rule that might restrict his freedom.

This denial of the concept of representative government, linked in part to students' negative experiences with student governments in their old schools, called into question the motives of those students who wished to form a representative government. Thus, students who privately admitted that they were extremely interested in participating in a student government were reluctant to come forward for fear of being branded as power-hungry by their peers.

> Teacher: Let's elect a representative. Any nominations......No nominations? I guess we'll have to ask [illegible] willing to be ours.
> Student: (feigning great reluctan [illegible] ss if no one wants it, I'll volunteer.

The "hang loose" ethic was also in strong conflict with the notion of a governmental structure. It glorified reacting to the feeling of the moment, and coping with each situation as it arose. It opposed planning, rules, and long meetings. It led students to accept whatever happened with equanimity. If no one showed up for a scheduled meeting, "We'll just have it another time." If the person who was supposed to buy pop for a picnic came without it, the explanation "I just couldn't get it together" satisfied many people.

Further contributing to the reluctance of students to become involved in formal decision-making was the nature of the staff meetings in which many decisions were made. Many staff meetings were long, characterized by extended rhetorical exchanges, and conducted using procedures with which most students were unfamiliar. Much time was expended discussing details of implementation that students felt were trivial. Attendance at a few staff meetings confirmed the belief that the best way to influence decisions was to talk informally with teachers and let them fight it out.

> Student: I'm not going to spend all those hours working on that stuff. These teachers are here til 6 every day. They're paid to do it.
>
> Student: I shouldn't have to worry about that. I'm getting credit for being a student, not for being a teacher.

The process of decision-making came in dead last in terms of enjoyment compared with the opportunities to "mess around," "rap," "play ball," etc. that were available at the same time.

> Student: No, can't. (come to meeting) Me and Karen are going to mess around downtown today.

Staff's initial approach to involvement

As it became clear that the all-school meeting was an inadequate arena for decision-making and as the problems of inventing an entirely new institution mounted, the staff increasingly felt that the survival of the institution depended primarily on their ability to make decisions and carry them out. Student involvement in institutional decision-making, which for many staff members had been a top priority initially, became secondary to finding solutions to pressing problems.

Given this context, many characteristics of the staff, some of which have already been touched on, lessened the likelihood of formal participation by students in institutional decision-making:

1. Staff members had a close relationship with students, were willing to listen to students' gripes about the program, and were often sensitive in reacting to and even anticipating students' needs.

2. The staff felt ultimately responsible for the success of the program; they felt that if it failed, its demise would be perceived as their responsibility, not the students.

3. Strangely, the excellence and creativity of the staff worked against student involvement. Tentative student ideas were often pale in comparison to well-worked out teachers' ideas that grew out of long experience and analysis.

4. However much a staff member was consciously committed to student involvement, his past life experience as a teacher and as a student himself had cast students in a submissive role. Especially when harried and overworked, staff tended to revert to old role definitions.

5. Some staff members were ambivalent about the desirability of student involvement in decision-making and unsure of its limits. This ambivalence was communicated (often in subtle ways) by the actions of the staff in the decision-making process.

6. Teachers had superior skills in the process of bureaucratic decision-making compared with students'. This competence acted as a constant pressure (of which participants were generally not aware) that consolidated the staff role in decision-making vis-a-vis the students.

7. Even when students were present in staff meetings, staff shaped the event. They were always there, and they knew past history of which students were unaware.

Teacher: Do you know what's going on?
Student: No, I wasn't here when you discussed it last week.
Teacher: See, that's one of our biggest problems. We'll never get anything done if it always goes on like this.

Their tendency to assume leadership was complemented by the hesitancy of students to exert leadership and risk being characterized as power-hungry by their fellows.

8. The staff itself encountered formidable problems in becoming an effective body for making and carrying out decisions. They had had limited experience in working in this capacity in previous teaching assignments. They had the following types of difficulties: personality clashes sometimes obscured issues; an initial rejection of

procedural rules allowed discussions to wander aimlessly; those present at meetings were often unclear as to when a decision had been reached; those absent were not always informed about decisions; responsibility was often not clearly assigned for carrying out a decision. In the case of decisions requiring widespread cooperation of students and staff, staff was hesitant to confront individuals who violated agreements. A detailed consideration of these issues is in itself a major topic of our research. It has direct implications for student involvement, however: staff members facing formidable problems of dealing with each other in decision-making often could not cope sensitively with the added issue of student involvement.

This list might give the misleading impression that the staff knowingly throttled student involvement. Quite the opposite was the case. Most spent considerable time listening to student complaints and trying to deal with them, agonizing over the lack of student involvement and trying to correct it. Had the students exhibited a strong desire for involvement, staff characteristics that worked against student involvement would have probably been a minor influence. As it happened, however, they meshed with the prevailing student approach to involvement in such a way as to minimize its chances of occurring further.

Characteristics of the Metro program

It is of course impossible to neatly separate characteristics of the program from characteristics of the students and staff mentioned above. Yet it is useful at least for initial explication to discuss several characteristics of the developing Metro program that tended to work against student participation in institutional decision-making.

Metro was testing a number of new educational ideas that were deemed equally important by staff members to the idea of involving students in decision-making. To some extent, these ideas conflicted with the goal of student involvement. The school without walls concept dispersed students throughout the city and made meetings and communications difficult. The multi-racial and multi-class student body made it hard for the students to speak with one voice on any issue. The attractiveness of the curriculum offerings (e.g. filmmaking, improvisational theater, internships in political organizations) competed for the student's time with decision-making, as did the constantly available opportunities for expressive activity. The school's commitment to try certain curricular innovations (interdisciplinary curricula, use of the city as a learning resource) sometimes limited the field for decision-making.

> Student: We told them we didn't like that core course idea and that it just wouldn't work, but it went in one ear and right out the other.

A second area of difficulty was communication within the school. Communications regarding the time and place of meetings, their agendas, and the status of various decisions were often ineffective at Metro. Sometimes meetings were advertised only through informal channels. Sometimes only staff received notification. In the developing institution, so many signs, notices, etc. were constantly bombarding students that much information was lost, or people tuned out these overloaded communication channels completely. Contributing to this problem was the generally poor graphic quality of many communications (e.g. blurred dittoes, tiny hand-written signs, or bulletin boards with several hundred nondescript notices). This communication problem discouraged the participation of all but the most committed and undercut the legitimacy of decisions that were made without most people's knowledge.

> Student: Who made that decision? I never heard about those meetings; are you sure they told people about them?

As in any institution, many of the discussions and work related to decision-making went on informally. This tendency was accentuated at Metro by the organizational confusion of the new institution and the emphasis on informality that pervaded the school. This informal process inadvertantly excluded students from many important discussions relevant to various decisions. Even though teachers and students had close relationships, teachers tended to eat and relax together. Even formal meetings were often called quickly in response to a crisis or impending deadline. Again, informal channels of communication came into play and shaped the group who turned out.

Announcements of meetings were often not fully understood even when students heard or saw the message. This difficulty was related to many students' limited concept of the influence they could have in shaping decisions they were concerned about. They wouldn't relate a concern they had to an announced meeting with the expectation that they would get something done about their concern by attending. The tendency to receive and comprehend communications was highly variable between student subgroups, as will be discussed extensively later.

Another major program characteristic that affected student involvement was unequal accesses to program resources that might be used to participate in decision-making (e.g. typewriters, xerox, tape-recorders, stencils, sometimes meeting space). This limitation stemmed from several sources. First, there had been no system for checking out materials when Metro opened, and much equipment was stolen. In response to this problem, a check-out system was instituted that depended on obtaining a teacher's permission. Second, some staff members (especially clerk-typists) acted on the assumptions of the traditional school where students had no access to materials. Third, there was a shortage of equipment and materials due to delays in the ordering process within the Board of Education bureaucracy; teachers took precedence over students in using scarce resources.

A student who understood the way things worked and had good staff connecti[illegible] could get just about whatever he needed. But there was no pool of resources set aside for students. Some students took these difficulties as a general indicator of staff insincerity about their involvement or became discouraged in specific attempts to participate in decision-making (e.g. in trying to put out a proposed meeting agenda).

Characteristics of the school system and the city

Metro did not develop in a vacuum. It had to deal constantly with a school bureaucracy whose reaction to the school generally ranged between indifference and open hostility. Neither the school bureaucracy nor the city at large shared Metro's commitment to developing a new vision of the capacities of adolescents.

Key members of the central administrative staff of the Board of Education were consistently opposed to student involvement in decision-making. Their disparagement of Metro's attempts at student involvement was often communicated to the student body. Often as these stories circulated, it became unclear whether the disparaging statements were made by central administrative staff or Metro staff.

> Principal to Staff: I showed the plan for an administrative board to the district Superintendent. She couldn't stop laughing. Teachers and students have equal votes. She showed it all around the office.

The implementation of Metro decisions was often blocked or delayed by the Board bureaucracy. Some students who participated in decision-making did not understand the enervating process of working through and around the bureaucracy and interpreted the delays as resulting from the Metro staff's insincerity. Other students came to understand the process, but became discouraged that anything could be accomplished when it was necessary to fight this giant bureaucracy.

The nature of the "school without walls" put students in constant contact with an outside world that gives limited rights to young people (including elevator operators, policemen, transit collectors, store and office building guards). Metro often took the student's part in these encounters (e.g. protesting to the transit authority about collectors who wouldn't accept students' fare cards). However, the school had limited success in many instances. Again, delay and failure discouraged students from participating in decision-making.

A final aspect of the functioning of the larger society that affected Metro was the compulsory nature of schooling. Since students were compelled to stay in school until sixteen by law and many were under parental pressure to finish high school, some students viewed Metro as the best of a set of limited options. They would ideally have preferred not to attend any school at all, so they had limited interest in shaping Metro beyond protecting their expressive activities and their right to opt out of undesirable instrumental activities.

> Student: You'll let us decorate our zoo, but you won't let us out.
>
> Student: The only reason I stay is cause my mama says I better. She didn't finish, and she wants me to. She said she'd tan my ass if I quit.

Staff and student approaches in the developing program

The main factors that influenced the history of student involvement in institutional decision-making at Metro were largely fixed (or became apparent) in the first semester and have already been described. The subsequent actions of faculty and staff can be seen largely to flow from these initial attitudes and actions. One general pattern of subsequent development was the increasing efficiency of the staff meeting and its committees as a means for making decisions and carrying them out. The staff meeting/committee structure evolved at a time when the first naive hopes for student involvement were dashed, and many pressing problems confronted the school. It grew up with very little awareness of its overall nature on the part of students.

Student: I didn't like the way registration worked.
Teacher: You ought to get to work on the curriculum committee.
Student: What's that?
Student: What do you mean curriculum committee?

Some students did attend staff meetings, and individual committees met some success in involving students in their work. However, many students did not know that these meetings were open to students; and as attempts to turn students out for meetings failed, less and less effort was invested in communicating times and agendas of meetings to the school at large.

Student: What's that over there?
Teacher: It's a staff meeting.
Student: Can we go hear what they're talking about?
Teacher: Sure, they're open meetings. Didn't you know that?

Observer: How's the committee coming? Have any students come to meetings?
Teacher: I gave up on them. Last year, I put up signs and signs and no one showed. I guess they're not interested.

Students who did attend staff or committee meetings often felt like outsiders. The staff as a whole and specific committees developed a way of working together and a large amount of shared knowledge that few students possessed.

> Teacher: You know, we've been through five evaluations now. Our committee is just beginning to feel like we know what's happening. It doesn't make much sense to start all over again. Students are welcome to come help though.

The student who decided to come to a meeting of the staff or the curriculum committee would confront a group of people who shared a lot of experience in dealing with the issue at hand, controlled the meeting, often felt harried and anxious to make progress, sometimes sent out ambiguous signals regarding their interest in student involvement, and were often reluctant to "fill people in" about what had transpired in the past. The articulate forceful student could overcome these dynamics since (it must be re-emphasized) most staff members still talked constantly to students about issues in the school and were anxious for student input. However, the underlying dynamics of formal meetings quickly convinced the average studen that he was essentially a visitor in these meetings.

The solidification of the staff meeting/committee system undercut the chances for survival of the proposal to involve students through the administrative board. In the view of some staff members, those who started the ad board were perpetuating the same weaknesses that were embodied in the all-school meeting and student council approaches. Rotating chairmen, uncertain meeting times, changing representatives. reminded them of earlier decision-making vacuums into which the staff had had to move. Further, some staff members who had done considerable work through the committee system on such topics as evaluation and curriculum were reluctant to throw their lot in with the ad board.

> Teacher: The way I understand it the ad board is just supposed to recommend things. I don't see the use of the curriculum committee and all the work we've done if it's still got to be voted on.

A second major pattern in the later development of the decision-making process at Metro was the shift in concern from decision-making to decision-implementation. The staff became very efficient at implementing the type of decision that required the work of a few people (for example, developing a format for registration). They had much greater difficulty in implementing decisions that required widespread cooperation of staff and students (for example, a prohibition on noisy activities in the conference areas). Staff members were initially extremely reluctant to set up clear limits for behavior and act as "policemen" in enforcing them. Staff members had basic disagreements (which they did not start to clarify until well into the second semester of operation) concerning what the limits of behavior should be and what a staff member's responsibility was in enforcing them.

The issue of enforcing limits within the school raised particular problems for students. Staff had hoped that the entire community of staff and students would enforce agreed upon "understandings." Students did feel a measure of responsibility to deal with students who were clearly out of line, particularly when their action might result in bad publicity for the school. However, students were extremely reluctant to confront their fellows, since it ran counter to the notion that everyone should be free to do his own thing.

> Student: We'd get together in these meetings and make all kinds of resolutions. Like keeping the TV low or talking to people who were cutting. When it got down to really saying something to someone, no one could do it. It just wasn't done.

The diversity of students in the school made this problem even more severe. If students were asked how a decision should be carried out, they often responded that "everyone will take care of himself."

> Student: Who's going to do it. (Put out notes on the results of a meeting).
> Student: You know, whoever feels like it will do it.

Even in the face of considerable evidence that self-regulation was not working (for example, in a period when extensive thievery of girl's purses was going on in the headquarters), student preferred to suffer the consequences rather than institute rules and procedures.

> Student: I got some stuff "ripped off" from my locker. It's something you just live with. You don't bring stuff and leave it around. You don't want cops walking around here, do you?

Further, those students who did attempt to enforce community understandings (for example, about keeping the noise down in certain study areas) were often ignored or belittled by their fellows.

> Student: I'm really depressed today. Two times I tried to talk to people who were messing up. Once there were two kids chasing each other around a room. I asked them to stop, and one asked me, "What gives you the authority to tell me to stop?" Another time there was a guy bouncing a ball against a wall, messing it up. I asked him to stop. His friend asked where was my badge. Then he said, "Yeah, you a policeman or something?" He kept on bouncing the ball. Then he said, "Make me stop."

Even during the early period when important decisions were being made in all-school meetings, many students were not aware of what these decisions were. Further the belief that every man must represent himself led to the argument that if you weren't at the meeting you weren't bound by the decision.

> Student: Who decided it was going to be done that way?
> Teacher: There was a student meeting yesterday afternoon.
> Student: I wasn't there and I can name ten other guys who weren't.
> Now, you know they're not going to go along with that.

As decision-making became centered in the staff meeting/committee system, many students became even less aware of decisions that had been made, and saw them more as externally imposed rules.

> Student: This place is getting worse. They're beginning to push us around and make rules.

It should be emphasized again that most students were enthusiastic about the school and generally satisfied with its operation. An independent evaluation team from the University of Michigan who spent a week at the school during its third semester of operation confirmed this observation. However, observations and interviews in the third semester revealed that the system in which students communicated informally with staff and staff dominated the formal decision-making had some serious shortcomings. First, in a situation where staff were extremely overworked, they could deal only with a portion of the complaints advanced by students. Some students repeatedly advanced problems that were not dealt with. These students began to doubt the sincerity of staff. They were also somewhat intolerant of the difficulties staff encountered in trying to solve problems. As long as they remained in the complaint mode, they didn't face the complexities of finding solutions to problems. Indeed some students had initially developed an unrealistic estimate of the staff's ability to resolve issues and were particularly bitter when this resolution did not occur.

In sorting through the many problems that students complained about, staff priorities did not always agree with those of students. As described earlier, students placed a high priority on issues touching their expressive concerns (for example, the right to smoke, the right to paint your locker); however, some staff members regarded these issues as trivial. Further, the staff tended to select those issues for resolution that they deemed most important in the light of their own values. Thus they more effectively served the needs of students with value orientations and backgrounds similar to theirs.

Variations in approach among student subgroups

Metro probably has one of the most diverse student bodies of any high school in the United States. It was selected randomly from a cross-section of applicants representative of the student population of the city as a whole in terms of race, ethnic group, social class, measured ability, interests, and previous success in school. Since the outcomes of education in traditional schools have been closely related to the background characteristics of students, and since Metro sought to eliminate or at least lessen these disparities, variations among subgroups in every aspect of the Metro program were scrutinized closely. Originally, the focus of research was on racial and social class subgroups within the school. However, observational analysis was used to develop some classifications for students that were based more directly on students' attitudes, actions, and patterns of association within the Metro program. These groupings were related closely to the student's life style and attitudes toward schooling when he entered Metro:

Black School-Oriented (BSO): The Black School-Oriented students conformed to the expectations of their previous schools, in terms of both academic performance and personal behavior. They viewed school in terms of getting a good job and going to college. They tended to complete school work faithfully and had average to superior skill levels and records of past achievement. They came from lower to middle income background.

Black Youth Culture/School-Oriented(BYC): These students had many characteristics in common with the Black School-Oriented group. However, they were more aware of the political dimensions of the Black consciousness movement and talked about success in school as a means for gaining skills that would further Black political development.

Black School-Alienated (BSA): The previous experiences of these students had been characterized by academic failure and conflict with the school. They identified strongly with black students from similar backgrounds. These students also identified with the esthetic elements of black consciousness in terms of dress and music. They tended to come from low-income families and often lived in large housing projects or physically decaying inner city neighborhoods.

White School-Oriented (WSO): These students had the same general characteristics as Black School-Oriented students.

White School-Alienated/Ethnic (WSA): These students had a history of past school experience similar to the Black School-Alienated students. Their family income levels fell in the low to middle range. Members of the group generally saw themselves as "greasers," and thus acted out their alienation from the school in a manner that is consistent with the values of urban ethnic white youth. They were particularly hostile to the White School-Alienated/Youth Culture students.

White School-Alienated/Youth Culture (WYC): These students, mostly from middle income backgrounds, identified with the "counter culture." They tended to be articulate and expressed radical political views. They may have recently failed in school because they were "fed up with it," but their past school records included periods of high achievement, and they were generally above grade level in basic skills. (Referred to in this section as White Youth Culture.)

It should be emphasized that some students can't be clearly classified in any of these groups. It should also be emphasized that labels for the groups reflect their orientation when they came to Metro. Over two-thirds of the School Alienated students have become highly involved in the program; most School Oriented students who were used to slavishly obeying the teacher developed more independent styles of learning; and so forth. Changes in students from different subgroups is a separate topic of investigation.

However, even students who underwent dramatic changes in some respects continued to identify with and employ life styles characteristic of their original subgroup in the school and to interact most with students from their own subgroup.

The existence of these subgroups had a number of effects on student involvement in institutional decision-making. As mentioned earlier, diversity undercut the notion that any student could speak for a significant number of his fellows. Further, when a nucleus of students formed around an issue, they generally represented one subgroup in the school (e.g. the White School Oriented group interested in obtaining more college prep courses). Such subgroups were often criticized for and expressed self-doubts about not being representative of the school, but they found it difficult to interest students outside their subgroup in their issue.

> White Student: This meeting is ridiculous. You're obviously not representative. Just look around and there aren't any black students here.
>
> Teacher: I liked what your activity group planned, but you know what you got to do now--you got to let all kinds of students know about it or you won't get any support.

In the heterogeneous student body, informal information about decision-making (meeting times, hot issues, etc.) was generally shared within subgroups rather than between subgroups.

By the second semester of operation, each subgroup had developed a fairly comprehensive view about what Metro was like, how it "really" worked, and what styles of action were appropriate for subgroup members. Each had a definite view about student involvement in decision-making which it reinforced among its members and into which it socialized new students. The existence of this socialization process strongly influenced the chances that students from particular subgroups would become involved.

It is beyond the scope of this brief analysis to clarify the responses of all subgroups within the school to the attempt to involve them in institutional decision-making. A brief treatment of two groups, however, the White Youth Culture and Black School Alienated groups, will give some understanding of variations in approach to school governance among the different student subgroups.

Almost every student who became involved in decision-making on a sustained basis came from the White Youth Culture group.

> Teacher: How come it's always the same kids who show up for anything.
> I haven't seen more than about eight different kids at these meetings.

They shared the class background and life style of the majority of the faculty. They were tuned to the same political issues as many faculty members and shared the same ideas about the need for freedom in education and for the radical alteration of conventional schooling. In a school characterized by close contacts with staff, they were likely to have the closest contacts. Since they were politically oriented, they generally agreed with the argument that students had to get organized to protect their interests. They had high reading skills and were the best tuned to informal and formal communication about decision-making within the school. Since their views about education tended to coincide with those of the staff and since they exhibited more interest and skills in decision-making than other students, they were the most likely to see their concerns acted upon by the staff. Sometimes they created the impression (usually unconsciously) that their views represented the views of the entire student body. For example, most of the staff, along with the White Youth Culture students, felt that traditional school activities and symbols (dances, class rings, school colors, cheerleaders, etc.) were corny and unnecessary. This convergence of values between the staff and the most salient student group masked strong interest among the School Oriented and School Alienated groups in bringing some of these conventional school activities and trappings to Metro.

> BSO Female: You know we can't carry on if we don't get some support for the cheerleaders. If an English teacher was asking for supplies, you can be sure there'd be some action.

The School Alienated groups (black and white) were the least effective in decision-making. The generalizations below can be applied with minor variations to both the white and black groups. The generalizations below are based specifically on the data concerning the Black School Alienated group. Many influences in their previous background decreased the likelihood of their participating in the formal decision-making process. In their previous schools, Black School Alienated students had generally seen themselves as being at war with teachers and administrators. They had kept their expressive life "underground," rigidly separated from the instructional program. They had almost no past experience with the rhetorical and procedural rituals of formal decision-making. They had generally low reading skills and had largely turned off the traditional school's communication channels. The School Alienated group had a wealth of experiences that taught them they were pawns of fate. What leverage one obtained in influencing one's destiny was largely a result of individual resourcefulness in seizing on momentary opportunities, not the result of establishing a framework of rules within which to operate.

Many students in this group changed markedly when they came to Metro. Over two-thirds became meaningfully involved in the Metro program. They appreciated the friendliness of teachers and the absence of constant harassment. They identified with the school and wanted to insure its survival.

> SA Female to two SA Males who are smoking: Hey, what are you doing, you fool? You want the Board to come down and shut this place down?

With most teachers, they were outwardly affable but still extremely protective of their real concerns. With a few teachers, they formed close relationships, and through these teachers their views about the program were presented in formal meetings.

> BSA Male: I can trust the one's I'm tight with. I can tell them anything.

Yet their approach to the formal decision-making process was much more decisively influenced by their past experiences than by their experience at Metro. They retained their distrust of working with authority and put most of their energy into a largely separate expressive subculture. They attended few formal meetings, were often silent when they did attend, and often left meetings as they dragged on. They were not reached by the school's communication system. (When staff expressed concern about students who didn't respond to communications, their increased attempts at communication generally reached those student in the Youth Culture and School Oriented groups who were already attuned to what was happening.)

> BSA Male: Nobody ever looks at signs. They're always bullshit.

> A counselor announced to the counseling group that there would be a meeting after school to try to discover why people were cutting. Half the counseling group members were cutting and didn't hear the announcement.

The orientation of Youth Culture students to avoid over-centralization in decision-making resulted in disorganization (changed meetings, unclear agendas, etc.) that further discouraged participation from the School Alienated group.

Consistent with their orientation toward externally-administered punishment, many recommended harsh actions (e.g. expulsion) carried out by the principal when asked how a particular problem should be solved. They expressed this view in spite of the fact that some of their number would have been likely targets of this sort of action.

As leaders became identified within this group, attempts were made to get them involved in formal decision-making. These students usually listened politely but indicated by their later actions that they preferred to retain their separate status in the expressive subculture in such areas as dating and sports rather than become involved in governance. This approach was interpreted by one teacher as follows:

> You know, he's a real leader out on the football field. During the student-faculty game he really had those students working together. He's a real fuck-off around here. He never does anything.

The students in this group liked many aspects of the school and had definite viewpoints about how it could be improved. Since they lacked the skills and disposition to work through the staff meeting/committee system, however, they were often perceived as being uninterested in decision-making by some staff members and Youth Culture students or, alternatively, not deserving of representation if they didn't turn out. The notion that people who really care about an issue will show up for a meeting has a strong middle class bias to it. School alienated students were more likely to express dissatisfaction through socially disapproved forms (such as petty vandalism) rather than signing petitions or attending meetings.

The Black School Alienated group devoted considerable skill and energy to initiating several traditional expressive activities at Metro: interscholastic sports, dances, cheerleading. As suggested above, their interest in these activities ran counter to the majority of the staff and the highly salient White Youth Culture students. They worked with a few responsive Black staff members on these projects. In these attempts they encountered two types of obstacles that undercut their faith in the school. First, they felt the Metro staff didn't give priority to their concerns, and in a number of cases this perception seemed accurate. Second, they were especially discouraged by the bureaucratic delays encountered in dealing with the central Board of Education staff, which confirmed their original beliefs about the futility of working with "the system."

This brief analysis should give a preliminary idea about the potency of a student's subgroup identification in shaping his approcah to institutional decision-making.

Data Base

To give the reader an idea of our data base we present below some samples of the information used by the participant observer to arrive at his conclusions. Included are field note descriptions of events, mini-interview responses, and sample documents.

The subsample students were observed both in and out of class. In addition, various formal and informal processes related to the major concerns of the research program were observed. Below are the notes of a participant observer concerning the first meeting of the administrative board, one of the three unsucessful governing schemes that was attempted. These excerpts from his notes again indicate the type of information we have collected. They were also specifically selected to illuminate the differential reactions to student participation in governance by the various subgroups. Only excerpts are reproduced. The statements made in the meeting are on the right. The observer's notes, along with comments he added several weeks later, are on the left.

Field note descriptions

In attendance, at the meeting: seven white teachers, two black teachers. One black teacher who has close contacts with the Black School Alienated group is in the room using the phone. Four consultants to the school. Five White Youth Culture Students (WYC) (only two are official representatives to the meeting). Two White School Oriented Students (WSO) (both are representatives). Four Black School Oriented Students (BSO) (all from the same like group). One Black School Alienated Student (BSA) (working in the same room; half in the meeting).

The black teacher on the telephone leaves after finishing calls. Later, one of the black teachers who attended encourages him to get involved, but he says he doesn't care for that type of activity. The BSA student stays for awhile, listens, and leaves to talk with one of the school secretaries in the next room.

One of the white teachers chairs the meeting.

Chrm: Suggests use of modified Roberts Rules to help get things done.

Based on past experience with rambling meetings.

All students groan except WSO boys.

Chrm: Asks about credentials of people at meeting.

Students are supposed to officially represent "like groups" of their friends.

WYC girl: I don't have a group, but I know friends who could sign up.

WYC boy: You can't do that. It has to be with people signing.

Chrm: Asks BSO girl who she represents.

BSO girl: (Indignantly): Me, myself, and I. That's who I represent.

Chrm does not follow this up.

WYC boy to Observer: This meeting is not representative.

Teacher: Only official people should vote. Anyone can talk.

The principal is not at the meeting, nor will he come to any. He is ambivalent about the board.

The WYC will be concerned throughout about the theoretical problem of the representativeness of the group. SO and SA students will act for themselves without worrying about representation. They will be upset when they personally are not there when something is decided.

Chrm: Asks for agenda items.

Evaluation, counseling groups, tokens for bus travel are suggested.

WYC boy: Can I address the chairman. I don't really represent anybody. The problems Nate (the principal) talked about are more pressing than tokens (theft of purses, vandalism).

More discussion about agenda.

Chrm: Are there any additions or subtractions.

Silence.

A little later.

BSO girl: Would student activities go under agenda? Metro promised us a gym program and we have no equipment or anything.

Chrm: That's what I meant when I asked for additions and subtractions to the agenda.

BSO girl: I'm sorry.

YC students have somewhere learned the nicities of procedure. They are quick to get their concerns into the meeting. BSO feels awkward and apologetic about bringing her concerns into consideration.

Later another BSO girl wants to talk. (Raises her hand).

Chrm: (under building pressure to get things done before people start to leave): No, I'm sorry. Only representatives now.

BSO girl: I am a representative.

Chrm: Who?

BSO girl: I'll tell you who. Lists names.

She does not represent these people in any formal way. She just generated the names on demand. They are her friends and probably would be glad for her to be their representative. She does not feel obligated later, however, to really involve them in the issues being discussed. No teacher challenged her list, although they were all aware of the informal nature of her representation.

Later. The discussion is on the time of the meeting.

BSO girl: The meeting would be 2:30 until what? What if people have to leave for something like cheerleading?

Teacher: I move 2:30 on Wednesday with the agenda known so people will know what they're missing.

Teacher: Seconded.

BSO girl: There should be a limit on the meetings. So stuff will get done. Not like usual.

Chrm: Is there any more discussion?

BSO girl: Yeah, I want. No, forget it. (to observer) I want to have it limited. How do I do it?

Observer: "Make an amendment." You have to make an amendment.

The girl was unfamiliar with the process of parliamentary procedure. It must seem alien to the ways she is used to dealing with issues. Yet the staff member leading faces a real dilemma since many complaints have been made in the past that meetings are too rambling and people leave because nothing is being accomplished.

The second set of observation protocols deals with a meeting requested by the principal with a group of students who would advise him on what the problems were within the school.

The principal had asked teachers to make sure that they have representatives from their counseling groups (similar to home rooms) at this meeting.

Some groups have other things planned and don't send representatives (For example, going to teacher's house for lunch, having sensitivity group training, watching a movie on race relations). Others mention the meeting but no students want to go.

One teacher to her group: Asks who wants to go. No one volunteers. She asks BSA if he'd do it and be sure to report next week on whatever goes on.

The meeting is supposed to start at about 12:30 (when counseling groups start). Two WYC are looking for it. Principal is still downstairs working. Finally, at 1:30 the meeting starts. People finally get together in a corner of the lounge.

Present at the meeting are two WYC girls, one BSO girl, and one BSA boy who are official representatives. Two WYC girls wandered by and became involved.

It is usually the YC who can spot a situation where something might be decided or discussed.

There are more SA students than other groups walking in this area. None of them stop however.

Principal: How do we deal with student body problems?

Discussion

Principal: Suggests maybe we have to get the staff together first.

WYC girl: Challenges principal. Says she doesn't understand why that's necessary.

Principal: What do you think about the headquarters?

WYC girl: Complains that she said a number of times it shouldn't be divided into so many rooms.

BSO girl: Says she didn't understand the drawings last year. Doesn't like the way it turned out.

WYC boy walks by, decides to stay, sits down and listens, later starts participating. Several SA students walk by but do not stop.

Principal: Would it be better to make the third floor into a lounge?

Students: Yeah. (All agree.)

Principal: Says he can't order that it happen. Has to come from students.

WYC girl: Where, from counseling groups? They're nothing.

WYC girl: Even if we went and talked about it in counseling groups, only half the kids would know because the rest are cutting.

WYC girl: Brings up problem of people not knowing what's going on. She adds: Counselors don't even know how much credit we need.

Discussion continues about counseling groups, communication, interdisciplinary core courses, student government, how open are staff meetings, how capable teachers think students are, role of sports in bringing kids together, need for a lunch room.

Significant points at meeting: Dominated by WYC kids. They felt quite comfortable bringing up issues and challenging the principal. The SO and SA students were generally not willing to do so. WYC kids came to meeting even when they were not official. One wandered by, stopped, sat down and began to participate. SA and SO students did not.

I followed up as much as I could about what happened to information presented at the meeting.

WYC girl to another later that day: Nate (Principal) is really concerned about the way the staff is divided. He says that's part of the reason counseling groups are not working. (Goes on to explain other issues.)

BSA boy later that day: Never actually focuses on meeting as a significant event in itself.

Uses knowledge gained at meeting as inside dope to be fit into conversations as appropriate.

A friend wonders what the construction is on the third floor. BSA boy replies it is storage space for a food service.

One week later in BSA's counseling group.

Teacher: What went on at the meeting?

BSA student: Nothing!

Teacher: Come on, now. You must have discussed more than that.

BSA boy: Yeah, they're going to close up the small lounges on the second and fourth floors and make the third floor a lounge.

Notice use of "they".

Teacher: What else?

Silence.

Two BSA students were joking in the corner and caught only part of it.

One BSA boy: Hey, did you hear that, they're going to close the lounge. Now what do they expect us to do. They kick us out of the halls and classes and now no lounge.

Observer: Explained to them that third floor would replace the smaller lounges.

Mini-interviews. Short structured interviews with random samples of students stratified by race and sex provide a further perspective on subgroup approaches to involvement in decision-making. Below are questions related to the topic of student involvement in decision-making that were asked at various stages in the program's development:

Spring, 1970

--Do you think students have much say in what goes on around here? What kinds of things? Have you tried to change anything? What happened?

--Do you sense any kinds of limits? Is there anything students couldn't do?

--If you were going to vote to keep counseling groups or get rid of them, how would you vote?

--Do you trust teachers like you trust students or are there things you're reluctant to talk about with them?

--What do you think about student government?

--What about all-school meetings? What do you think of those?

Fall, 1970

--How do you think Metro has changed since last year? Do you like it better or worse than last year?

--(Asked of new students) What kinds of things have you picked up from talking with old students or watching them?

--What do you think of the core course idea?

Spring, 1971

--How has Metro changed since the fall? Do you like it better or worse?

--If you were principal at Metro, what would you change?

Responses to such questions from a cross-section of students at a time when many were "hot issues" in the school provide another type of specific insight into subgroup variations. For example, here are some responses to the question, "If you were principal at Metro, what would you change? "(Spring, 1971):

> White School Oriented Male: More classes should have books...Lockers. I would get the lockers we need...They should have a grade so you could find out how much you are learning, but I don't think we should go back to letter grades for report cards.

Black School Alienated Male: We don't have course books, no heat, and no lockers. And I don't like that wall downstairs. You have to walk all the way around to the restaurant. It's cold outside. And the food is sure high down there.

Black School Alienated Female: Counseling groups should be abolished because they're a waste of time.

Black School Oriented Female: The whole school. It wouldn't be different from other schools. No traveling. Like regular school, only new.

Black School Alienated Male: I'd put mostly freshman in because they'd be afraid to cut class. Since they've never been to high school, don't tell them their freedoms; just let them find out for themselves. Recreation tables in the lounge like pool. I'd put more security on the equipment.

White School Oriented Female: I'd change what everybody's trying to change --people's attitudes. More space. Open like this. No chairs, people just come and sit down. And a three-cycle year instead of four and make the periods smaller. 50 to 55 minute periods.

Black School Oriented Male: There's not very much to change.

White School Oriented Male: I'd change positions. I don't know if I could stand to be in the position Nate is in. I'd rather be a teacher.

White School Alienated Male: I'd put in a smoking lounge. And say that they don't have to go through all kinds of shit from the board. You have to have a card from your parents...I'd try to get lockers in. Try to get the board to work faster for Metro.

White Youth Culture Female: I would have two base locations. One out in the country and one in the city. More running around. I'd have all the teachers teach like (Names three teachers with close identification with hip kids). I'd have the teachers students together in encounter sessions...... I'd get rid of the word "high school," unless everybody was high on something (smiles).

White School Alienated Male: The student would be more refined. I wouldn't just pick them out of nowhere. So that way the school would survive (it is apparent from other conversations with this student that he is talking about the Black School Alienated group)....I'd have a much bigger social program. First of all much more dances, parties. You talk about how racially divided it is, it's just because people are alienated. They could have picnics and things and get to know each other.

One sees in these responses many influences besides the student's subgroup identification, including individual personality, home influence, neighborhood influence, and specific experiences since entering Metro. One can also see, however, the characteristic attitudes of students from various subgroups that have been analyzed in Section II.

Document file. A file of approximately 4000 documents has been indexed by major topic, source, and date in light of the major areas of study in the research program. The document file provides still another perspective on the issues and events that are of interest and can be subjected to qualitative analysis along with participant observations and informal interviews. Here, for example, are two documents illustrating the mistrust of teachers' priorities that developed among those Black School Oriented and School Alienated students who attempted to develop traditional school activities at Metro. The first is a letter from a teacher to the rest of the staff; the writer is one of the teachers who works closely with the School Oriented and School Alienated black students and is often their advocate to the rest of the staff:

November 1, 1970

Dear Teachers:

You have been accused of being guilty of one of the most serious crimes on earth. It has been said that you lack school spirit. It has been said that you don't care if our potential number one football team has to play in faded blue-jeans and dirty t-shirts. It has been said that you don't care if our cheerleaders and majorettes have to perform in baggy gym-suits and run-over gym shoes.

Show students that you do have school spirit by donating every cent ($ $) you can spare to the athletic outfit fund. Be the leaders they want you to be.

Please?? Donations being received Friday and next Monday.

Thank you,

Mary

The second document is an article by a member of the Black School Alienated group concerning the need for a football team:

Something to Think About

> Why doesn't Metro have a football team? According to Tom Brown (teacher), the reason is "No money. There's not enough money to buy uniforms, equipment, or to hire an assistant coach to help me." ....
>
> Will Metro ever get into the city football league? I, for one, don't think so, and I know why. Yes, I know Tom said no money but that is not the real reason. If Metro has money for space, it can find money for a team. All I ask is for you, (principal), for you, Tom Brown, for you, (Assistant Principal), and you, (Program Coordinator), to try to get Metro a real football team in '72!
>
> October 1971

Some Useful Implications Of The Metro Data

An example from the area of student involvement in decision-making

Originally, we intended to include in this section a comprehensive treatment of the implications of the research on student involvement in decision-making presented in the second section, a presentation of alternative models for student involvement based on these research conclusions. This project proved much too ambitious at this point. Therefore, the six comments below can be regarded as fragmentary comments on the implications of our preliminary results. They should give some further indication of the potential usefulness of our data and provide those involved in alternative schools a few ideas to discuss in the area of student involvement:

1. Although no attempt has been made in this report to relate our preliminary findings at Metro to information we have obtained from other alternative schools, this information seems to indicate that the events and underlying dynamics of Metro's attempt to involve students in institutional decision-making are quite similar to what has happened elsewhere. This conclusion runs counter to accepted alternative school ideology, which holds that each situation is unique and each school must struggle alone with its individual problems. The existence of similar approaches and similar resulting problems in many different situations suggests the possibility that subsequent innovations might learn to avoid some of these mistakes.

2. One might assert, after reviewing our preliminary results and similar experiences elsewhere, that the importance of involving students in institutional decision-making has been greatly overrated and that as long as the staff members

use their authority wisely, there is little need for schemes to involve students. We disagree for two reasons. First, the Metro experience suggests that even an extremely sensitive staff cannot, in the long run, take student desires into account adequately without some organized voice for students in decision-making. As the Metro data indicates, staff priorities for decision-making differed in important respects from those of students, especially those students from the School Oriented and School Alienated groups. Students from all subgroups at Metro were dissatisfied in a number of respects, but initially lacked either the skills, attitudes, or stamina to work through the decision-making mechanism that evolved. The positive effect of staff's willingness to talk with students began to wear off as the problems that students advanced informally weren't dealt with to their satisfaction. Student involvement through the "complaint mode" also made students intolerant of difficulties encountered in solving problems. The evidence suggests to us that a voice for students in decision-making must still be considered an important characteristic of an effective alternative secondary school, although the concept of what an effective mechanism for student involvement might look like must be substantially altered.

A second objection might be raised concerning the desirability of a school operated by a beneficient staff. Such an approach would reinforce the passive orientation toward political participation into which students have already been socialized and would prepare them poorly for dealing with traditional institutions after they graduate. Such results of schooling would seem inconsistent with the goals of any school that seeks to develop skills and attitudes for active political participation among its students. Metro staff initially regarded participation in decision-making as a right to be conferred on students and were discouraged when students didn't begin to exercise that right. In employing this approach, staff underestimated the force of the students' past socialization. The Metro experience suggests that participation in decision-making might be better regarded as a skill to be developed rather than a right to be granted.

3. Program initiators should establish an initial structure for governance that will reconcile the goals of institutional survival and development with the goal of involvement in decision-making rather than hoping one will "emerge." If such a structure achieves these potentially conflicting goals, it will be regarded as legitimate by program participants, even though it might not be the structure that would be suggested spontaneously by the school community. To hope that structure will "emerge" from the community might be slightly simpler initially. However, since the types of structure that are almost always proposed have a history of failing, the long-range effect will almost certainly be alienation, exhaustion, and the drastic curtailment of participation when ineffective methods of decision-making promote crisis.

4. The nature of the decision-making structure should be communicated clearly to program participants initially, perhaps with the provision that it can be modified after six months or a year if people are dissatisfied with it. For example, here is the skeleton of a possible governance structure:

a. A central representative decision-making body composed of staff and students. (Community Council)

b. Standing committees dealing with predictable institutional functions. These committees would encourage student involvement at three levels:

(1) Permanent members of a committee.

(2) Temporary members who are involved to perform a specific task.

(3) A randomly selected panel of students who are consulted about key issues in the work of the committee.

c. Temporary committees appointed by the Community Council.

d. Facilitators who promote the involvement of the specific student subgroups in decision-making.

We think this model has considerable merit (it needs of course to be spelled out in much greater detail), but we are offering it only as an example of the general approach we're suggesting: i.e., the clarification of a specific framework for decision-making from the start. Clear safe-guards can be built into the functioning of the government to guard against centralization of power. The Metro experience illustrates clearly that fluidity of structure does not guarantee decentralization of power; rather it places power in the hands of those staff members and students who have the skills and motivation required to keep track of a constantly-shifting organization, while the large majority of students lose track of how decisions are made.

5. The Metro research suggests four levels of participation in decision-making among students along an informal-formal dimension:

a. Informal discussion and complaining within one's subgroup.

b. Informal discussion and complaining to teachers.

c. Limited involvement in specific activities of the government structure.

d. On-going involvement in the activities of the government structure.

A reasonable goal for the development of student involvement in decision-making might be that all students in the course of their education became able to operate at level (c) and a substantial number at level (d). At the same time, steps should be taken to insure that input at all levels has some influence on the governance of the school. Here are the steps that might be taken at each level:

Levels (a) & (b)	Each subgroup should have representatives who are involved in the formal governance process so that concerns shared informally within the subgroups are advocated within the formal structure. Some staff members should be designated as "facilitators" for student involvement. A facilitator should be chosen because of his ability to communicate with a particular subgroup. He should work with leaders within the subgroup to involve them in formal decision-making, he should be aware of the concerns of the subgroup and when appropriate become their advocate in the formal decision-making process, and he should constantly seek to turn informal complaints into student action within the formal structure. A second way in which level (b) involvement can be improved is for committees within the school to select a random subsample of students for regular interviewing on specific aspects of their work. Committee members could be assigned the job of interviewing students in the subsample individually or the subsample could be brought together for a group meeting. Through this mechanism, high levels of involvement could be encouraged.
Level (c)	Students should be provided with an opportunity for limited involvement on specific issues that they are particularly concerned about. Examples of this type of involvement would include work on temporary committees, involvement in a specific project for permanent committees, a mechanism for presenting concerns to the Community Council.

Level (d)	Perhaps it is unrealistic to think that everyone could be involved at level (d) through a community council or its committees. On the other hand, one might choose to make it a requirement for admission that a person agree to some participation at this level. Whatever position one takes on the necessity of total participation, other important characteristics at this level seem clear: there should be participants from all subgroups within the school at this level, a long enough period of tenure in office to facilitate effective problem-solving, and a rule that limits the amount of time one can remain in a leadership position in the Community Council or committee system to guard against over centralization.

6. Effective mechanisms for communication about governance must be incorporated into the school from the start. Some concrete ways of fostering communication might include the following: individual mailboxes for all staff and students; a technical assistance group who would teach people to design and produce effective posters, notices, etc.; a daily newsletter that would contain any announcement or brief statement that any member of the community wished to make; resources for communication (typewriters, ditto supplies, etc.) set aside for students; a complete list of staff and student phone numbers available on the first day of operation. A key communication role could be played by the "facilitators" suggested above who are in contact with various subgroups in the school. Additional methods must be invented to communicate with the School Alienated subgroup within the school.

7. Research on Metro indicates clearly that certain skills and attitudes must be consciously developed among both students and staff for a governance structure to work. Assuming that no such skills and attitudes are necessary merely masks

the unequal distribution of these attributes in the school community and helps insure unequal participation in decision-making.

The research on Metro reviewed earlier suggests several areas in which a training program for staff and students should be carried out. The nature of the Metro data can provide the basis for developing realistic case studies and exercises to deal with such issues as the following:

a. General procedures for effective decision-making and decision-implementation.

b. Staff actions that undercut students' roles in decision-making.

c. Successful involvement of students from School Oriented and School Alienated subgroups.

d. Development of student skills beyond the complaining stage.

G. CITY AS A RESOURCE

Introduction

Using the city as a learning resource is a key concept in many new alternative schools. These "schools without walls" arrange for students to have all or some of their educational experiences in direct contact with the culture, institutions, and people of the city rather than isolated in separate institutions (schools) in contact with only a specialized class of people (teachers). The impetus to design schools in these ways finds justification in a significant body of educational, psychological, and philosophical thought. A full discussion is beyond the scope of this paper. (See Coleman, 1974; Bremer, 1972; Stephens, 1967.)

There is a danger that this innovative practice, like so many others in educational history, will fade into a passing educational fad if ways are not found for the schools to monitor their experiences carefully and to change when necessary. Evidence (CNS, 1972b) suggests that the experiences of many of these schools are similar and that no well-developed methods or networks exist for those interested in these schools to learn from each other. The Center for New Schools (CNS) has attempted to find ways for these schools to learn from each others' experiences. CNS intensively studied one of these alternative schools without walls (called City High) during its first two years. In order to understand the realities of the schools at a level that is true to the experiences of the teachers and students, we used participant observation and field interviewing. (For more on methodology, see Rationale and Methods, CNS, 1974a).

This paper presents the findings of CNS research focused on the attempts made by the school to use the city as a learning resource. This analysis enhances psychological understanding of schools as organizations and should add much needed hard data to the heretofore theoretical notions about schools without walls. Most importantly, this paper will help those who are now, or who plan to be, working with these alternative schools to plan, to anticipate issues, and to understand what happens as they try to open up the school and the city to each other.

The paper is organized in three main sections. First we discuss the various approaches used by the school to put the "school without walls" idea into practice. Second, we discuss some of the unanticipated effects of being a school without walls. Third, we analyze some of the more general issues suggested by the City High experiences, issues that will be important for future innovators planning such schools.

Models Of Using The City As A Resource

City High's experiences revealed that there are several ways a school can do away with its walls. It is important in working with and analyzing new schools that one be aware of the range of possible situations.

Individual student contacts, core courses

Individual students or small groups of students were put in contact with institutions or persons in the city for educational experiences. These were either short-term single contacts or sequences of contacts. They were arranged by the City High staff or as an independent study project by the student. Regular seminar meetings with staff teachers and students in similar placements or in individual conferences with the supervising City High teacher were utilized to integrate the knowledge gained in these placements.

Ideally this model offers the student an opportunity to make direct contact with the places and persons in the city that address his interests. Furthermore, because it is an individual placement, he often has close contact with the people in the setting who can answer his questions. These relationships can either serve as an apprenticeship for the student or as a more passive observation of events. Teachers hoped that students would come to think of direct contacts with the city as a means of answering questions, in the same way they might think of using a book.

During the first two years, few students independently arranged contact with city resources. They did not think of using the city in this way. In fact, they did not easily think of independent study generally. (See "Course Choice", CNS, 1973a).

Most of these kinds of direct experiences occured in the context of courses organized by City High teachers. In the summer after the first semester * the staff planned interdisciplinary, team taught "core courses" which they hoped would promote use of the city through individual contacts. These courses had large unstructured blocks of time set aside each week, and schemes were worked out to provide the motivation and skills necessary to use the city. These core courses were initiated during the second semester, and enrollment in a core course was obligatory.

The core courses were a significant and complex part of the City High first years. We must restrict our discussion here to use of the city. (See "Planning at Classroom Level", CNS, 1973b for other details). Each of these courses had a slightly different emphasis on using the city.

The catalogue description for "Neighborhood Study" read as follows:

> This course will study people in their communities to try to answer questions like these: What does it mean to be a man, woman, child in this community? What do community organizations, churches, businesses and other institutions reveal about a neighborhood and the way its people live and think? We will learn about people through films, interviews on the street, tutoring children, eating with them, going to neighborhood plays and dances.

The teachers hoped that students in this core course would become more sensitive to the different communities in the city and to the variety of activities that went on in any neighborhood.

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* The first semester of City High operation ran February to June.

They started off with sessions designed to sensitize the students through observation. The school itself was discussed as a community analagous to a neighborhood and students were asked to think of all the various settings of the school. They were sent out in small groups to observe these settings. The entire class later reconvened to discuss these observations.

Even this one experiment to try to learn from the environment forecast a general pattern to come. As was typical of City High and its diverse student body *, students showed a wide variety of skills and orientations toward using these observations as learning experiences.

> (Analysis session in core course after students had observed school)
>
> One SA girl who was supposed to observe the restaurant across the street reported that it was too crowded and that she had returned to the lounge at school to play cards. Another SA student who was supposed to observe a classroom reported that there was "nothing going on, as usual." She added that she didn't see the sense of sitting around there and watching. A few SA boys left school with this assignment, did not go to observe their assigned places, and did not return to the general discussion.

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*During the period of observation, groups of students were identified who shared common orientations and similar backgrounds. At times the analysis makes most sense in terms of the different experiences of these subgroups. The groups are as follows: School Alienated (SA) students had troubled school histories, tended to have problems with basic academic skills and came mostly from lower class backgrounds. School Oriented (SO) students accepted the traditional school demands, did fairly well in schools, and came mostly from middle class backgrounds. Youth Culture (YC) students had erratic school histories, identified with hip values, and came mostly from middle class backgrounds. (For more details, see CNS, 1972a.) In this paper W/B are used to distinguish white and black students within each subgroup--*e.g.*, WSA refers to a white School Alienated student.

> Two SO girls who were supposed to observe the lobby of the school building reported that they were kicked out by the manager. They went down to another office building and observed and talked about the kinds of people they saw going in. Several other SO students claimed that they did what the teachers asked but didn't see anything special. As the teachers probed, these students described some of what they had indeed seen.
>
> A YC student, assigned to watch the elevator, got into a debate with several other students about the nature of that setting. The elevator man was usually gruff and quick tempered with City High students and was generally disliked. This boy, who admitted that he had disliked the elevator man before the assignment, reported that he had gained new sympathy for him. He described the frustrations of being cooped up in a little box that went up and down all day and the people who the elevator man had to put up with. He also reported that he and the elevator man had conversed about the man's family and past, and that he thought that he was basically a nice man. Several other students had trouble accepting this image which differed so much from the one generally accepted. The student backed off from the discussion and said he had to leave early.

These experiences were symptomatic of many issues that were going to surround City High's attempts to use the city as a resource. For example, students from the different subgroups were relating to the activity differently. SA students would often opt out of even starting activities suggested by teachers (the boys who ducked out when other students went to their assigned places). Other SA students were reluctant to accept the legitimacy of these non-traditional activities. They saw them as "dumb" things to do which did not fit their expectations (the girl who rejected watching the classroom). SO students would do their assignments and try to learn what the teachers were teaching. YC students would enter into the spirit of the activities with the most ease but were subject to changes of moods and would sometimes opt out of the activity.

Other issues were forecast in this example. Students would run into trouble trying to use the city for educational purposes. Many settings of the city were not set up to accommodate educational seekers and many people were suspicious or intolerant of youth doing these non-traditional things. (E.g., the observing students who were kicked out of the building lobby.) Teachers would find that supervising and trying to help students integrate this learning in the field was not easy. Even when students were scattered only in the limited vicinity of the school, teachers could get to only a small proportion of students to help them in the field. Some of the students that they would try to help would not be where they were originally supposed to be and some would not be doing the assignment at all.

The general meeting after people returned from the field did not go exactly as hoped. The teachers intended that these sessions would help students to reflect on their experiences and prepare them for later long-term field placements in the community. As we will discuss later, students were unwilling to spend time and energy analyzing experiences. They seemed to have very short interest spans. Furthermore, the informality of the school meant that students strayed in and out of these conversations. The attention problem was aggravated by the fact that these sessions lasted for three hours because the core courses were designed with large blocks of time in order to provide opportunities for uninterrupted time once students were out in their city placements. Neither students nor teachers seemed able to deal with such long classes.

The next session was spent investigating the differences between neighborhoods. Students were urged to discuss their neighborhoods and to compare them. Again, as in the first session, there were brief examples where students fulfilled teachers' expectations about learning from the city.

> Two SA students got into a debate about whose neighborhood was tougher. They described various gang and police activities. Several SO students listened intently-evidently shocked at some of the incidents.

Although there were moments of high interest, these discussions were marked by the general informality of the school which meant that students came and went; they engaged in side conversations, and their attention faded in and out.

The teachers next asked students to think about what kind of questions they would try to answer in the different neighborhoods. They also discussed methods of entering the neighborhoods.

> (Question from hand-out sheet given to Neighborhood Studies class)
>
> How do you get into a neighborhood without getting people mad?

Students were urged to practice interviewing techniques in their own homes before the next meeting. They were to pay special attention to the responses they got both to the content of the questions they asked and to the ways that they asked them. They were also urged to think about which neighborhood they wanted to be placed in.

The next session was placement day. Students were given a list of possible placements which the teachers had already arranged. They were also told that they could try to work out their own interests if they weren't included in the list.

(Hand out, Neighborhood Studies class)

Day care centers
Community centers
Settlement houses
Hospitals
Stores

Students were informed that some could work on a core newspaper to spread the news about what people were doing and learning. Plans also called for regular weekly meetings of students and teachers to compare their experiences. Teachers would circulate through the various placements and help students who were out in the field. Teachers supported students through personal contact with people in the placement and notes asking for co-operation.

This curriculum for use of the city seems well planned and exciting. On paper it would be difficult to design a better plan. Even our brief examples demonstrate that students were having significant experiences and gaining insights that would be impossible from books. For example, the students who gained a new empathy for what certain jobs were like (the elevator man) and those who realized that all neighborhoods were not as safe as their own.

A small proportion of students continued through the whole semester according to the teachers' hopes. They conscientiously went to their placements and core seminars. Their discussions showed that they were learning about the neighborhoods and the agencies where they were working, about techniques of observations, and about themselves. They also grew in their ability to use the city as a learning device as evidenced by their independent continuation in the second semester after the core course had ended.

Most students went to their placements and seemed to enjoy them. What they were learning was not obviously clear, however. Some students stayed away from placements and even more did not show up for discussion meetings. Core courses generally were thought of as failures by most teachers and students. (For more details see CNS paper on "Course Choice.")

Teachers found that they didn't have enough time to develop placements and supervise students along with all their other City High responsibilities. They discovered the students had many resistances (discussed in later section) which made the consolidation and integration of this field learning difficult. The task of leading students to these insights and monitoring the field experiences is a lot more difficult than it appears on paper. Teachers could not justify the time expenditure (one quarter of the weekly school hours), and they found these experiences frustrating. Occasional episodes revealed that some students in some instances were indeed learning from the city in meaningful ways according to the rationale of the school. These few glimpses of success increased the disappointment with the lack of general success. Teachers ultimately felt that they could better work toward the goal of using the city in other ways.

Many students had similar reactions. They could not see why so much time was allotted to core courses. They did not have the feelings of accomplishment which would warrant spending so many time periods.

> (Student to Observer)
>
> Student: I don't know why they made the core course so long. I like my placement, but I think I would have learned a lot more out of three regular courses.

They resented the scheduling difficulties that arosed from forcing all the free choice courses into time slots not allocated to core. They disliked the fact that core was required. Some students ended up in placements that did not represent genuine interest. (For more details on the complex problem of converting interest into educational experiences see CNS paper on "Course Choice.") Also, they disliked teachers' attempts to analyze field experiences.

The other core courses experienced similar blends of success and failure. For another example, see Attachment 1.

Although most people at City High felt core courses were failures, they accomplished several important functions that are necessary to a "school without walls." They opened up both students and teachers to the idea that educational experiences could be organized through individual contact. After the demise of core, several teachers and students continued activities similar to core placements. Some students continued at their placements with an independent arrangement because they enjoyed them and felt they were learning a lot. A few other students , although not continuing at the placement from the core course, became happily introduced to this form of education and sought to arrange other placements for themselves according to their interests.

It is doubtful that many of the students would have thought of these approaches if they had not experienced the core course. Similarly, some teachers who were happy with a few experiences with the core course, tried to continue limited portions of it such as agreeing to supervise students who wanted to stay at their core placements after the core course was dropped. Other teachers trying to remedy some of the specific weaknesses they had identified (the need to guarantee teacher supervision and the need to give students common grounds for discussion), arranged to offer modified placements like core courses--e.g., a course for students who wanted to aid in schools and another one for those who wanted to work in hospitals.

Core also gave teachers a lot of experience in making contact with people in institutions in the city. This expertise was valuable when these teachers later tried to develop other kinds of courses in the city. Several of the specific contacts who had placements for individual students later became involved in offering entire courses for City High students.

In summary, the City High experiences with students' individual contacts suggest several insights about this form of using the city: Students may need much help in learning how to take advantage of placements. Just because a student has expressed interest does not mean that a placement in that field will solve all educational problems. If a student is alienated from school and has a history of avoiding classes, he may similarly avoid his placement. The leap from enjoyable placement to valuable educational experience is not automatic. Careful planning and supervision is necessary in order to maximize student learning. City High teachers never seemed to have the time they needed to develop the placements and to supervise students. Lastly, ways must be found to teach students the independent skills of going out in the city to satisfy their curiosity. Even those students who independently sought contact with the city usually set up long-term placements. They were not comfortable with using the resources of the city to answer specific questions.

Off site courses taught by outside people

One of the motivations for establishing schools without walls is a hope that students would have educational encounters with a wider range of adults than just teachers. Students would then come to recognize and appreciate a larger variety of skills, knowledge, and styles than is usually esteemed in school. It was similarly hoped that exposure to these individuals might provide role models and motivation for some students who are usually turned off by schools. Merely by the expansion of the variety of courses that can be offered, the school might find students' interest increased.

People in the "real world" have an obvious expertise in their field of speciality, and courses they taught right in the work settings would lack the artificiality that characterizes many classrooms. Access to necessary resources would be easier and more economical. Ultimately, the hope was that students would come to realize that education is a life long process that can go on in any setting.

This model differs form the previous one because the outside people were asked to actually plan and teach courses rather than just to provide placements. In the individual contact model the responsibility for consolidating insights and sequencing the learning rested with the student and his supervising City High teacher. In this outside course model, the outside person more obviously assumed the role of the teacher - with the assistance of a City High teacher if requested.

City High offered an array of these kinds of courses in most fields. We will list a sample of them and then briefly describe the experiences of students and teachers in one of these courses. For other detailed examples see Attachment 2.

Improvisational Theater was one popular course of this variety. The catalogue reads as follows:

> An introduction to the techniques of Improvisational Theater. No previous acting experience is required.

The course was taught by an actress in the company of a local professional company. Classes were taught in the early afternoon at the cabaret theater where the company performed nightly. Students used the stage for their various theater activities. Members of the company would walk through and talk with the teacher.

The teacher led the students through several theater warmup exercises. Then she gave the students short acting assignments to develop specific improvisational skills. Students generally tried whatever the teacher suggested and were intent on hearing her comments. When students joked around or got carried away with something, the teacher usually shared their amusement but then got the class back to the task at hand in a business-like fashion. She structured the lessons as she wished.

Conversations with students after the class revealed that the students liked and respected the teacher.

> (Student to Observer on way back to school headquarters)
> Student 1: S--(the teacher) is really great. She knows her stuff.
> Student 2: She introduced us to the actors and is going to get us passes. Isn't that neat?

Clearly the school without walls idea was working in the operation of this class. The teacher was an expert in the skill she was teaching, and her professional standing gave her status with the students. These teachers with obvious expertise have a unique basis of power. (For further discussion on basis of power, see Ravins and French, 1959.)

Even more subtly, the class had an "aura" about it that probably could not be generated in a school setting. The theater was located in the entertainment section of town. The previous acquaintance students had with this area and with the theater itself added to the reality of the situation. Within the theater, the props, the darkened cabaret atmosphere, the lights, and the people combined to make it an excellent setting to learn acting.

There were some problems. Most of the students in this class were from the Youth Culture subgroup and a few others were from the School Oriented subgroup. Some School Alienated students signed up but they rarely showed up for class. (For details about how students signed up for courses that they didn't really want, see Course Choice.) Youth Culture students had a high interest and signed up for every acting class the school arranged-"theater games", "acting workshop", etc. The actors/teachers came from a Youth Culture background and there was immediate rapport arising from the similarity of values. Gradually, as the grapevine spread the word about the enjoyment of these kinds of classes, more SA students signed up and began to participate. We do not have data on what these acting courses were like after SA students participated and what these students' reactions were because this happened after the period of observation. A question might be raised about the limited success of these acting courses in attracting a wide variety of students.

The popularity of these courses caused another problem, however. A perusal of the sample list of outside offerings revealed very few "reading and writing" English courses taught by outside people. The staff grew concerned that students were signing up for all new media English courses (filmmaking, acting) and avoiding contact with other basic English skills courses. They decided to limit the proportion of new media courses that each student could sign up for. This limitation was symptomatic of a certain underlying faculty queasiness about the ability of any outside courses to teach basic skills.

City High's experiences with improvisational theater raised another set of issues about these outside courses. That is, many settings in the city are not well suited to teaching and students.

> (Document reporting comment of teacher of Improvisational Theater)
> The only problem she had was with actors at the theater. Some of them didn't like to be watched during rehearsals. She said the problem was easy to solve. The class meeting was changed so students weren't there during rehearsals.

Students' ability to view rehearsals would have enhanced their education about Improvisational Theater. For some reason, however, such viewing interfered with the theater's primary function (rehearsing) and this access was curtailed. In another acting course, similar kinds of problems occurred. For example, the teacher-actor's primary obligation was to his professional commitment.

> (Observer and Student)
> Observer: B-, how's that drama course coming?
> Student: It's kind of crummy. The teacher's in a play that's going to start soon so the course keeps on getting "postponed."

The same real involvement that made the teacher an expert also raised problems. Such conflicts arose in many outside settings.

Other offsite courses taught by outside personnel raised different problems. Two examples of these courses are detailed in Attachment 2. Some of the problems they raised may be briefly mentioned here.

There is a danger that outside people who agree to teach a City High class may overestimate the students' interest and/or abilities. Our paper on course choice has shown that students do not always sign up for courses based on their interests or abilities. There are bound to be mismatches.

Since outside resource people were not used to teaching teen-agers, they sometimes had trouble reaching an appropriate level for their material. Because of City High's diverse student body, some students were quick to grasp ideas that went over the heads of others. Outside teachers had to develop an awareness of these differences.

In courses that made use of relevant settings in the city–*e.g.*, a science, art, or history museum, students often responded to the settings with a "museum mentality." That is, they walked quickly and passively past the exhibits and soon grew tired and fidgety. Outside teachers had to learn to overcome this mentality before these field trips would be truly useful.

A last problem concerns the time spent in traveling to these offsite courses or field trips. Even on a chartered bus, teachers found it difficult to conduct discussions on the material being studied. Using public transportation, these discussions were impossible. Schools without walls have to come to terms with the time and energy lost in traveling.

The use of outside people to teach courses also raised organizational problems. Some way must be found to locate outside people in institutions who are willing to teach these courses. According to the innovators' plan this function was to be part of the teachers' role. In fact, teacher selection by a student-staff committee was based partly on the assessment of the candidate's ability to locate and develop these outside forces as part of a more general ease with the school without walls philosophy.

> (Document: notes from staff selection committee)
> Points for observation: Point A. How well does the applicant relate his discipline to the school without walls concept?
>
> Question to be asked: Point D. Where would you go to find two ancillary staff members in your field?

Although the ideal called for every teacher to be active in developing these outside courses, experience shows that there were many other functions competing for teachers' time in such an innovative school. Most teachers at City High remained somewhat active in locating outside resources, but increasingly this function was given to people who formally devoted part of their day to it--resource co-ordinators. The task seemed to require public relations skills and contacts which were best developed by a sustained involvement over a period of time. Even these people, however, tried to act as stimulants to the rest of the staff.

> (Document: Staff Memo)
> Please be thinking about outside courses that we could develop.

Earlier papers (Wilson, 1972) have described teachers' abilities to sense student interest and to develop relevant courses. Nonetheless, many students underestimate the difficulty of setting up these courses.

> (Student to Observer)
> The staff haven't developed nearly any of the field experiences they could. We've only got 1 percent of what we might have had. A lot of the courses aren't what they're cracked up to be either.

Many students seemed hardly aware that there was any problem at all in arranging an outside course. They assumed that once someone got the idea, the institutions would gladly set up the course. The specialization of the resource co-ordinator kept much of his activity away from public view so students failed to see what was involved. Although the school urged students to work to establish courses they wanted, few tried and hence got first-hand experience with the difficulties involved.

Once the course was developed, students had to enroll in it. Another paper describes in detail the problems of the course choice process at a school like this. Here we are concerned only with the special problem of course choice process as it relates to these outside courses.

Considering the special nature of these outside courses, little was made of them during registration. In scheduling, most students used a course schedule which listed names and times rather than the catalogue which offered more complete descriptions. On the course schedule the only indication of the outside nature was the word "out" in a column headed "comments." Occasionaly, counselors tried to make special presentations of these courses, but the students wanted to know only if the courses fit in their open time periods and how much credit they offered. The observer paid special attention to student comments during registration times and rarely heard students informally calling attention to the "outsideness" of any courses.

Often no one in a particular counseling group would have had experience with a given course. The decentralization of these courses prevented the grapevine from gaining information as quickly as it did in other settings. A school without walls must search for effective ways of letting students know about outside offerings.

Other registration problems arose from these outside courses. City High, like many of these schools without walls, had a commitment to student autonomy in educational choice as well as to using the city as a resource. The staff occasionally found themselves in the dilemma that students had underenrolled in one of these ancillary courses. For sake of the economics (some ancillary courses were paid for) or for purposes of goodwill, they had to urge students to fill the couses up.

> (Teacher to staff meeting during registration)
> We've got to get more students in Rapid Reading. We'll lose money if they don't sign up...Television Production was a popular course last quarter. We've got to get more students to register or the television station will not offer it again.

Even after these kinds of courses were developed and students enrolled, there were still special problems. Some method of communication between the school and ancillary people had to be established. The original plan called for the teacher in the field most related to the course to be a liaison person. The school found that this plan did not work well. Before the role of resource co-ordinator was established, there was no central clearinghouse for contacts and teachers often duplicated each other's work–e.g., two contracting the same institutions for courses. Also, the way courses were originated caused problems. Often an outside course was not developed by the teacher in the closest field but rather by a personal friend of a teacher in an unrelated field. These facts combined to make confusion in communication. These troubles were further aggravated by the inevitable communication problems that accompany innovation generally. (See Wilson, 1972)

City High then decided to establish the new role of resource or participating organization coordinator. This person would be given some time from teaching and act as specialist in outside courses.

> (Memo describing the task of the proposed
> participating organization coordinator)
> Point 1 Clearance role
> Point 2 Clearinghouse role
> Point 3 Problem clearinghouse role
> Point 4 Initiating role
> Point 5 Catalogue coordinator
> Point 6 Public relations

The creation of this office did reduce confusion considerably. The coordinator kept files of successful and unsuccessful contacts with city organizations. When some outside person called with a question or a problem and didn't have a specific teacher they wanted to talk to, the clerks would refer them to the coordinator.

Even with the coordinator, there were still problems. It was important for City High teachers to have contact with ancillary teachers in their fields. An attempt was made to separate administrative and educational issues.

> (Memo from coordinator to the staff)
> Communication with cooperating staff
> There are two kinds of concerns:
> 1. educational, 2. administrative.
> Teachers should maintain contact
> about educational issues.

It was sometimes difficult to make these distinctions. For instance, were problems with the students' attendance educational or administrative?

Even with these arangements, many of the ancillary people still felt that there was not enough communication. City High staff tried to help the outside people if they wanted it, but the unusual demands of the City High program didn't leave much time. The City High staff developed a manual for the ancillary staff. They also ran workshops for them, but these tended to be few (four a year) and the size often did not satisfy the need for personal help that some of the outside staff felt they wanted.

> (Handout at participating organization meeting)
> There will be three workshops: 1. Setting Goals for students. 2. Evaluation and Credit. 3. Utilizing New Resources.

Teaching was a new activity for some of the ancillary people and they felt unsure. This insecurity was aggravated by certain qualities of City High students–for instance, irregular attendance, erratic completion of assignments, and candor about their reactions to courses.

> (Report of the summer interviews with ancillary staff)
> JM of the newspaper reported that he had some problems with student's attendance and tardiness. Also he felt funny about giving assignments. He would have liked to work more directly with the staff members.

The communication problems worked the other way too. City High staff had trouble getting information from cooperating organizations. They wanted to know about students who were having problems, about attendance, and generally about course activities. The reader might think that these problems would be easily solved, but the decentralization of the school, the multiple other responsibilities of both the City High teacher and the cooperating teachers, and the inadequacies of brief communication to deal with these kinds of concerns all combined to make this communication difficult. Also important was the fact that some of the cooperating teachers had orientations counter to efficient bureaucracies - e.g., some of the people in the arts refused to fill out forms and had unconventional schedules.

> (Observer to City High teacher)
> The teacher is sitting at her desk, puts down the telephone reciever, sighs, and looks exhausted.
> Observer: What's up?
> Teacher: I've been trying to get hold of that guy N- has been working with. (The student had a core placement with a filmmaker.) I've called at all times during the day. Those filmmakers must work only at night.

Off site courses taught by City High staff

A course did not have to be taught by an outside teacher to make use of the city. Many City High teachers were adept at designing courses that included contact with persons and places in the city. The teachers often mixed classroom activities with field activities. Below we present a sample of staff-taught courses that used the city. *

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* See Attachment 3 for more examples of these off-site courses taught by City High staff.

English

Popular Art and Social Meaning--Students study how art can comment on social climate by going to movies, observing wall murals, and talking to artists.

Story, Poem, Song and Playwriting--Students were helped in creative writing. An important aspect of the course was a conscious attempt to expand studentexperiences in the city as background for writing.

Social Studies

Social Violence--The class visited with people who knew first hand about drugs, alcoholism, racism...

Working Man in America--the class visited factories, talked to workers, union officials, and management officials.

American Minorities--The class visited and talked to representatives of the Black, Indian, Puerto Rican, Japanese, and European immigrant communities.

Main Street--the class conducted a study of the city by visiting the various neighborhoods located along one long street that runs through several different communities.

Campaign--the class discussed issues involved in American campaigns by reading historical sources, contemporary polls and by working in candidate's offices.

These kinds of courses avoided some of the communication problems that plagued the courses taught by outside people. City High teachers were more easily in contact with each other than with outside teachers. Hence, news of student problems and student accomplishments were shared in a way that was impossible with outside teachers. More importantly, because teachers had information about student activities in both action courses and more traditional courses, they gained a comprehensive image of the student as a learner.

(Teacher to Observer)
S--(a SA student who rarely completed

> any reading or writing assignments in any courses) was really great yesterday. He's quite an interviewer.

These kinds of courses also lost some of the benefits of outside courses. The image of the teachers in students' minds was primarily that of school teacher. Although the City High teacher might indeed be an expert in the aspect of the city they were studying, students knew that his main association was with the school. Furthermore, especially for School Alienated students, being identified as a teacher automatically created some distance.

Administratively, these courses caused some problems. Traditionally the school office was expected to know where each teacher was at any given moment. Parents and the Board of Education personnel expect schools to have this knowledge. The principal of City High made attempts to satisfy these expectations, but realized that these rules were counter to the spirit of the school.

> (Memo from the principal)
> Please notify the office when you are taking classes somewhere other than where scheduled.

For some of these courses, every other class period was spent away from the headquarters. Indeed one of the main rationales of the school without walls is that classes will be flexible and spontaneous enough to seize opportunities to use the city.

The problem was not limited to traveling classes. Teacher trying to develop courses in the city needed to be in contact with outside people, inevitably had to be able to leave the school building and needed free time in which to do this work. The Board of Education constantly pressured the principal to keep close tabs on his staff.

Staff taught courses that met outside of the school headquarters

The last category of courses we will discuss are those that were taught by City High staff, did not make intentional use of the city resources, but met outside of the school headquarters. In addition to educational justifications, there are economic rationales advanced for schools without walls. * It is clear that much space in the city is not optimally used. Rooms, laboratories, gyms, etc. go empty during unscheduled periods. A school without walls can use this space and save the community the expense of fixed capital investments in specialized educational buildings. In this particular category of use there is no attempt to use the special facilities of the host organization as a resource but merely as a class space.

A sample of locations that were used for these purposes:

Conference rooms at banks, advertising offices,
Church federations, etc.

Empty college classrooms, labs, gyms.

Employees' lounges in an insurance company.

Employees' lunchroom in a department store.

Empty classroom and auditoriums at museums,
schools, churches, businesses.

Unused chemical company lab.

Teachers' homes .

Public parks' tennis courts.

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* i.e., schools without buildings of their own and which attempt to utilize unused spaces in the city.

Theaters

Community centers--e.g., YMCA's

Libraries

Storefronts

There are hidden educational benefits of having regular classes in settings other than schools. We will discuss these in a later section on stimulation and incidental learning. There were some attempts to make direct use of a host institution even if the facilities didn't relate exactly to the subject of the course. For instance, one teacher taught a well structured somewhat traditional Earth Science (geology) course in a spare room at the planetarium. Although the class was concentrating on basic rock types, the teacher tried to get students to be aware of where they were.

> (Assignment handout, Earth Science course)
> What is to be learned at this planetarium?
> Why, do you think, was the institution established?
> To what fields of knowledge is it limited?
> What plan of organization is used to present information within these specialized fields?
> Do the displays change ?
> If yes, how frequently?
> What kind of people work at the planetarium?
> What kind of people visit the planetarium?
> Does the planetarium sponsor any clubs? If yes, what are they? Would you belong to any of them?
> What tools and instruments are here?
> Which of them might be available for your use?
> What is there, if anything, of interest outside the building?
> How do you account for this shape of the building?
> To what kinds of questions would you find the answers at the planetarium?

Students who could find the answers to these questions would obviously learn a lot about this host institution. As will be discussed later, many students were not accustomed to doing assignments. Some SO religiously composed answers to all of the questions, but most students did not.

> (Teacher to Science class)
> Has everyone finished their worksheet on the planetarium? They were due today. Raise your hands if you are done. (Four out of fifteen raised their hands.) Well, alright. We'll postpone our discussion until next week. Be sure to work on it today during break or after class.

The observer found three abandoned worksheets after the class left for the day. The fact that students did not fulfill the assignment did not necessarily mean that they were learning nothing about the institution. During class break students would wander around looking at exhibits. The observer was unable to be present at the next follow up session. The teacher reported, however, that most students had still not done the assignment. The class had an oral discussion about the planetarium. Although it was not quite what he had expected, the teacher believed that he had got the students thinking about the planetarium.

> (Teacher to Observer)
> Very few of the students had ever seen the sky show... Some students told about a way that they had found to sneak in.

In a later section we will discuss the fact that students often did not learn what teachers expected. Obviously, these students learned something about the planetarium people.

There was a danger with these kinds of courses. Some students evidently misunderstood the status of these staff taught classes. They expected all outside courses to have some relationship to their environment. For these students the regular class that just happened to meet somewhere else was a betrayal.

> (SA student to observer)
> This school isn't so great--we just
> go to other parts of the city--but
> the classes are the same as anywhere...
> Penal Justice is the only one that is
> really different.

A School Without Walls: Unanticipated Outcomes

In the previous section, we have discussed the attempts to use the city directly-- *e.g.*, having courses taught by professionals in their fields. However, the creation of a school without walls changes much more than the locations of classes. Many realities of traditional schools are altered in the reorganizations. We will briefly discuss some of these changes and their ramifications.

Fellow students as a city resource

Not every school without walls will necessarily have a heterogeneous student body. Some are established within more or less homogeneous communities. City High, and many others, however, were purposely designed to draw students and teachers from diverse sections of the city. The diversity became one of the major resources of the city that the school could use.

Diversity is one of the unescapable facts of American metropolitan areas. City High intentionally tried to expose students to this variety by broadening the types of people and places that students encountered. Classes were scheduled all over the city and teachers attempted to arrange classes with people from all walks of life.

In addition to this intentional exposure to diversity there were incidental encounters that came from the fact that students themselves came from all over the city. Students not only studied the Spanish community, the American Indian community, the upper middle class community, but also had classmates that came from these sections of town.

Students learned about the city in several ways from their classmates. Some experiences were especially designed by teachers to confront students with the diversity of backgrounds-- e.g., counseling groups (expanded homeroom groups), core courses, and some regular classes. Assignments were given to focus discussion on these different experiences.

> (Written anecdote circulated in course Growing Up in the City)
> One of my first experiences in the city was being thrown out of dances in the White Neighborhood because I was Mex and having the pigs call you Spect and claiming you have no right.

Students also learned from each other by observing each other's life style and language. For instance, typically several groups of students would inhabit different areas of the lounge, playing their favorite music and cutting up in their own style. They also learned from the numerous rap sessions which they participated in or overhead. For example, the discussion of two attitudes in the following example.

> (Discussion before counseling group)
> A Jewish student and a black student were joking about being a Jewish merchant in the black community. Four other students were listening.

Perhaps the most widespread encounter students had with each other was in class. Even when the subject matter was not specifically the difference in student backgrounds, students learned how people from the various parts of the city approached problems. For instance, as the counseling groups struggled to find commonly accepted activities, they inevitably ran into conflicts about what was fun. When classes discussed observation or methods of proceeding, students learned that people from different backgrounds saw things differently than they did.

> (Main Street, class discussion)
> The students had just completed interviews of merchants in one area of the city and were discussing where to go next.
> WSO Student: We can't go to Cageport (a white ethnic neighborhood). People don't like to be stopped on the street by strangers there.
> BSO Student: We could go back to my school.
> BSA Student: What are you talking about, girl? We come up like a gang? People are going to feel like running.

From discussions like these, students may have learned more about the city than from several courses.

Making the abstract concrete

To a certain extent many teachers in regular schools try to tie their classroom activities into the world outside. They urge students to transfer what they learn in class to what goes on outside of school. They read and study about the city. Students writes essays about events outside of school. Teachers talk about occurrences in the city. In the school without walls, however, these same activities may take on a different tone.

There is the obvious difference already discussed in classes specifically designed to visit relevant settings. For example, the City High class studying courts may spend a good deal of time actually observing activities in court. The regular high school class, on the other hand, may visit courts once but for the most part they must just talk and read about them. In this section, however, we are concerned with City High classes similar to regular high school classes in that field work is not included in their plan.

Even these "within the wall" classes partook of the openness of the school. Discussions that would have seemed remote and abstract in a regular school seemed more immediate and concrete in City High classes. For instance, a traditional school teacher telling students about some cultural or political event in his city must realize that their classroom is far away in time and space. At City High's downtown headquarters students could act on the suggested activities more immediately.

> (Teacher in class in City Politics)
> There's going to be a demonstration at the Federal building today at lunch. You might want to check how the police handle it.
>
> (Teacher in filmmaking course)
> How many of you saw the sculpture exhibit that just opened at the museum? (Very few raise their hands.) You ought to go see it. It's just two blocks from here. Go see it after class.

Teachers in regular schools might have been talking about the exact same events, but the option of immediately following up suggestions is not open.

Even when there were not specific events, the permeability of the walls added a flexibility that was missing in many regular classrooms. Teachers and students were quick to think in terms of action--observation, interviews, etc. People were ready to leave the confines of the classroom if necessary.

> (Photography class)
> The class had been talking about textures. One student had described an architectural feature of a nearby building. Another student had debated the first student's judgement. They both told the teacher that they were going to check the building out. The teacher said sure.

A class in a regular school might conceivably be studying photography and a similar debate about textures might have arisen. It was unlikely, however, that teachers or students would think about immediate action research. The teacher might have suggested that students check it out after school or report the next day. Much spontaneity would have been lost.

Market place of ideas and actions

Just as students felt able to go out in the city to test their ideas, they felt able to bring political and community concerns back into the school. The bulletin boards were full of notices about various activities. Furthermore, some students got involved in activist causes.

The reader is warned against getting the wrong impression. City High was not full of activism in the usual sense of the word. Only a few student maintained long term involvements with activist groups--*e.g.*, the Panthers or the Student Peace Committee. These few were constantly frustrated in attempts to mobilize other students even to attend demonstrations.

> One of the school activists spent all morning around school giving out flyers and urging fellow students to attend the noon peace rally. The observer went to the rally and recorded only ten City High students present.

Similarly an earlier paper ("Strengthening Alternative Schools," CNS, 1972a) documented the fact that student concern about issues at the school rarely resulted in student organizations. City High was never successful in getting students to participate in decision-making.

Nonetheless, a significant atmosphere was created at the school. Students felt free to express any concern they had. They could post materials around the school without fear. In fact, they knew that teachers and other students might even be interested and support them in these activities.

> (Students talking to visitors at the school)
> If you want to join a protest, no one will stop you around here. In fact, the teachers might even help you make the sign.

The following is a sample of the concerns expressed by posted signs:

The front page of Muhammed Speaks (the Black Muslim newspaper)
A flyer about the bad food that is sold in the black community.
A flyer asking for donations of clothes to poor people in the community.
A Fred Hampton (Black Panther) poster on the soda machine.
A poster denouncing the war in Indochina.
An appeal to boycott the soda machine because the corporations support the war in Indochina.
An appeal not to ride a particular bus line because the drivers don't honor students passes.
An appeal to organize a lunch concession at the school.

It is doubtful that students at a regular school would feel as free to express these concerns. To a certain extent it is difficult to analyze what aspects of the City High program encouraged this activity. In addition to using the city as a resource, City High tried to cultivate an atmosphere of informality and open communication. Theoretically a school without walls might exist without this informality and this free expression.

Nonetheless, the without walls feature seems to support these student tendencies. Students frequently met people who were advocates of a great variety of points of view. The atmosphere at City High thus may have seemed more of a vital market place of ideas than the usual schools. Students participated in this marketplace to the extent that they expressed their ideas. As previously noted, students did not become nearly as involved in sustained ways as teachers would have expected.

This marketplace aura also allowed teachers to express their concerns more openly than they might have in a regular school. City High teachers took enrichment courses, were members of many organizations, and many were politically involved. Moreover, students became aware of these activities. Students daily encountered a wide variety of people. The teachers did not have to fear that they unfairly monopolized students attention, so they felt freer to express their own opinions.

The showcase

Because City High was unique, it was able to use the city as a resource in an additional unintended way. It was the first school without walls in the city. A lot of curiosity existed about what it was like. The school was provisional and students and teachers alike felt that they had to "sell" the school. Both of these pressures provided students with a particular kind of encounter with the city that they would not have had if City High was not a showcase.

Local newspapers and national magazines did articles on the school. Local television stations filmed features. Movies were made about the school. When the school had crises--e.g., the headquarters found to be in violation of fire code--business organizations organized pressure groups and the local media provided coverage. College students, school administrators, and other interested persons streamed in to visit this innovative school.

In all this activity students encountered people that they would not have in a regular school. Not only did they go out into the city for their education, but the city came into the school. The visitors usually wanted to talk to students and several students became sophisticated in dealing with them. Many students learned the processes involved in media coverage--interviewing, camera crews, reporting, etc.

Another factor of City High's uniqueness was the felt need to sell the school. In several courses, students thought about the possible use of their projects in public relations.

> (Course on schools)
> Students were studying the old schools from which they came. Some students wanted to make a slide tape presentation showing the weaknesses of the old school.
> Student: We'll show the taxpayers what they've been getting for their money.

In public speaking other students got involved in the process of going around to eighth grade classes in hopes of persuading students to apply to City High. Being in a showcase and worrying about public relations are the kinds of relationships with the city that not many young people know.

Blisters, calluses, and complaints

Students at City High spent a lot of time and energy traveling. City High provided public transportation tokens for travel between classes except for those in the downtown area. Students were expected to walk within an area of 10 blocks radius from the headquarters. Some problems quickly arose in regard to this traveling.

Many students--especially those from lower class backgrounds--were traumatized by traveling. They did not enjoy walking and they were financially insecure about the tokens. Travel was a major consideration for some students. It was sufficiently important that some planned their programs around the travels.

> (Teacher to observer)
> Several students dropped out of my City Planning course when they saw there was going to be a lot walking. (The class was going to walk around downtown looking at the architecture.)

Even within classes students would veto activities based on their perceptions of the travel arrangements.

> When one teacher suggested the class go to the museum during the next class period several students groaned. The students complained that the museum was too far out of the way. (It was on the fringe of the downtown walking area.)

This student reluctance to travel interfered with the basic tenet of the school. The plan of the school calls for the students to pick courses and educational experiences on the basis of interest and felt need, not on the basis of convenience.

The token distribution also caused problems. Because of financial limitations, the school had to husband tokens rather carefully. Each student was supposed to receive only the amount of tokens justified by his scheduled of classes outside the walking area. Special tokens were given out for special trips. Students disagreed about a reasonable walking area. Counselors had the responsibility of distributing tokens and debates about the validity of numbers often caused problems.

> (Counselor and SA student discussing tokens)
> Student: I can't walk all that way across downtown.
> Counselor: (Jokingly) Whistle hearts and flowers. I've walked that.
> Student: Your feet are different from mine.
> Counselor: Now come on N--, you're a growing girl.

The once a week distribution system also caused problems. The limited number of tokens did not allow for travel to and from school. Some lower class students nonetheless did not budget their tokens. When they had tokens, they used them to travel to and from school and for short distances within the walking area. Inevitably they would run out and complain that they did not have enough for classes. Some students, realizing they had this problem, arranged to have their counselors give them their tokens at scattered times during the week.

Some of the ugliest encounters between students and teachers at City High occurred over the issue of tokens. A school without walls must realize that it will have to deal with travel. Some counselors "bribed" students to come to counseling groups by giving out the week's supply of tokens only at the end of the period to people who had been there. Students took advantage of teachers by trying to con them out of as many tokens as possible. Some students would cut classes and then sell their tokens. Tokens were customarily stolen out of teachers' desks. Students sometimes extorted tokens from each other. To the students who felt short on money and who disliked walking, tokens were indeed a loaded issue.

In spite of the problems with the mechanics of traveling, many students liked the idea of classes all over the city. They liked being in several different buildings. They liked being able to go on the streets between classes. Some students even complained that there were too many classes in the headquarters and suggested that they be moved out to other places in the city. Students enjoyed the opportunity for activity which travel offered. This travel also allowed a release for students that reduced the discipline problems in the school.

The travel raised another important issue. Although 30 minutes was allowed between class periods, students often came late. The lateness became so endemic that it became rare for any class to start on time. The informal atmosphere of the school undermined rigid starting and ending times, but these tendencies were even further supported by the distance of travel required. When teachers would try to tighten up the vague starting times, they ran up against the reality of some students' traveling necessities.

Another problem was the possibility of getting lost. Many City High classes were in spare rooms that were not in the most traveled section of the host buildings. Even those that were in the main section of the buildings were often in neighborhoods that were unfamiliar to students. Teachers usually tried to arrange to go with the students to the first class in order to show them where the class met. Often, however, students would not go to the orientation trip because they weren't in class that day or they signed up for the class late. Many students were not confident about travel in strange parts of town.

This insecurity reduced some students' eagerness to go to class.

> (SA Student and teacher)
> This particular student was notorious for his cutting. During one of the staffs' special efforts to get students to class, a teacher walked up to this student and started talking to him about his schedule. He asked the student what class was scheduled for the next period. After some discussion the teacher discovered that the student did not know just where the class met and felt somewhat insecure about traveling to that part of the city. The teacher arranged for the student to go to the class with a volunteer college student who happened to be going that way.

Since this student continued to cut the class even after he knew where it was, it is difficult to assess how important not knowing where the class met was.

The insecurity was further aggravated by the realities of the city. As in many cities, areas of the city were informally divided into "territories." Students felt uneasy when they traveled outside their territory. Downtown was acceptable because it belonged to no-one. Outlying areas, however, were more unsure. The existence of well organized gangs in several sections of the city caused similar problems.

> (Drug Abuse class)
> The class met in a halfway house on the fringe of one area of the city. One student complained that he didn't like meeting there because he had to go across a certain gang's neighborhood.

Racial demarcations also caused problems. White students were reluctant to go into certain black areas and black students didn't want to go into certain white areas.

Even though some students were reluctant, they generally traveled throughout the city. Many outside classes were in acceptable areas. Students often traveled in groups which helped to dispel some of the insecurities. Teachers tended to downplay these fears.

> (3 Core course teachers discussing student placement)
> C-- wants to work on a newspaper but not on the south side. To tell you the truth, I'm a little disgusted with all these preferences. (Core teachers felt overworked finding placements anywhere in the city to suit student interest, let alone those with geographical specifications.)

It was difficult to assess the real level of fear and the real level of danger. In the two years of study the observer heard only about three actual occurences of physical assualts. There were numerous verbal attacks, of course.

Peoples' feelings are important. The observer occasionally felt uneasy looking for a class in an unfamiliar neighborhood in which he was a racial outsider. Students' comments indicate that they undoubtedly had similar feelings. These reactions are one of the unhappy uses of the city that the school was forced to make. Conceivably, the problems of travel might be much worse and the school without walls must be prepared to deal with these concerns.

Subgroup differences in participating in the rationale

Part of the hope of the school without walls rationale is that it would rectify the lopsided middle class bias in traditional schools. By seeking learning experiences in all kinds of settings, the school would illustrate to all students, including lower class, the educational value to be found in different settings. Similarly, by providing courses which involved a wide range of skills (not exclusively reading and writing), the staff would help lower class students to recognize hidden abilities. Finally, by exposing students to a wide range of people besides traditionally middle class teachers, students would broaden the standards by which they judge themselves and others.

The teachers tried to act on this rationale. They sought settings, institutions, and people which represent the full spectrum of the city's resources. Not all subgroups of students, however, entered so eagerly into the spirit of the school without walls.

SA and SO students did not willingly accept the expansion of acceptable educational experiences entailed by the school without walls rationale. They wanted to cling to traditionally accepted definitions of school activities. This orthodoxy was especially important to those students who came from upwardly mobile families who are counting on the school as a gateway to economic upgrading. The attempt of the school to deviate from its traditional middle class mission was a threat. Those SA students who were not upwardly mobile nonetheless seemed to want to have a traditional school to reject.

These attitudes hampered participation in the school without walls rationale. SA and SO students were unlikely to suggest courses or settings to be included in the school program. They relied heavily on teachers to fulfill their traditional role as planners.

> The staff was having problems finding a place in which the cheerleaders could practice. They had been searching for several days. One teacher had just called several contacts in the search for a place. An SO girl who was sitting nearby hesitatingly said that she knew of a church auditorium in her neighborhood. She protested that she didn't think the school would want to use it. The teacher told her that she shouldn't feel so hesitant and that the school was dependent on students' suggestions. The teacher asked the student whether she wanted to contact the church herself or did she want the teacher to do it. The auditorium was eventually used as a practice place, after the teacher made the contact.

SO and SA students did not have confidence in their ideas or connections. They were used to the school being a distant and somewhat aloof institution, not one that they, their families and their communities could directly participate in.

YC students, on the other hand, accepted the link between their communities and the school. These students had lots of suggestions for courses, places to meet, and participating teachers. Their parents often had connections that were useful to the school. The students arranged courses such as rug making, folk dancing and cooking. Some classes met in the church where one student's father was the director. These students could get the school to come to their "turf" in a way that other students did not think of.

> One student-run course was set up in a church where one student participated in a teen-age program. Before the class started this student and some YC friends were sitting on the roof smoking in a familiar hangout spot.

YC students' parents were also quicker to get involved in the educational program. They were not caught in the traditional parent-teacher association mode of thought.

> A YC girl talking to friends said that her mother was considering teaching a women's lib course, in response to a more traditional charm and beauty course that was being offered by one of the staff teachers.

The task of teaching SO and SA students to see the educational opportunities in their everyday surroundings is not easy. The tendency seems to be for these students to discount the educational value of their own background. The staff of a school without walls must find ways to lead students away from these attitudes.

Emerging Issues

The previous section tries to make sense of the total City High experience in regards to using the city. Schools without walls are established for certain explicit reasons. The opening up of the city is believed to increase student motivation and increase understanding of the world. We analyzed City High's methods of working toward these goals.

In this section we discuss the major differences between schools without walls and regular schools. The school that uses the city must address itself to political questions in a way that regular school do not have to. Because of its activities, a school without walls might not easily fulfill the informal social needs of students that a regular school does. Finally, the city is asked to change in certain fundamental ways.

In reading these analyses, the reader must keep in mind certain basic facts about City High. For the sake of providing useful information we have been ruthless in our reflections on the school. We have not softened reports of failures to reach some goals, because candor was judged to provide the most information. In spite of some lacks of success, both students and teachers enjoyed their days at City High. This satisfication with daily school life is a signficant accomplishment in itself. Also, the total effect of experiences may actually add up to more than the sum of the parts. Students may have gained competenciesand attitudes that don't show up in this analysis. Finally the staff was not static-- it was constantly seeking to move closer to its goals. There were signs that they were solving some of the problems we discussed.

Stimulation and motivation

One hope for the school without walls was that it would motivate students in a way traditional schools could not. It seemed likely that the school would articulate with student interest better than a regular school. Since the courses were built around active involvement with the city, they would seem more relevant and less artifical than regular courses. The variety of experiences and people would in itself offer more hope of satisfying students' intellectual desires.

To a certain extent these hopes were overly optimistic. The involvement with the city did increase student motivation and satisfaction with the school, but not to the point that all motivational problems were overcome.

Various subgroups of students had different reactions. School Oriented students always went to classes and did assignments. Involvement with the city did not change these patterns. The motivational effects were probably most pronounced with Youth Culture students. These students had generally been down on regular schools. Some had cut classes and seemed on the verge of dropping out. The classes in the city helped to renew these students' interests in school.

> (YC Girl to visitor)
> If it wasn't for City High I would have dropped out last year. At Q-- (her old high school) all we ever did was read old textbooks. Here we are learning about relevant things.

In spite of their enthusiasm, some of these students continued to have erratic attendance patterns. For School Alienated students the involvement with the city made school bearable but it did not solve the alienation problem. These students found an occasional class that they liked and attended (probably more than in a regular school) but they continued to cut a lot and to skip assignments.

Thus City High discovered that classes in the city were not a cure all for problems of motivation. Students continued to drop out of school. Students continued to cut classes. For a while this was difficult for the faculty to accept. They could not understand why students would cut an action course in the city--some of which were even based on students' indicated desires.

The staff generally took a therapeutic attitude toward cutting. They were more concerned about the discovery of why a student cut and adjustment of the student's classes to motivate him to attend rather than in disciplinary action. This patience, however, ran out first in regard to courses that involved use of the city. Because these courses least resembled traditional school classes, teachers were less sympathetic to student avoidance. Some of these experiences were in fact arranged because students indicated interest. The core teachers expended time and energy to arrange appropriate placements. Even these students, however, occasionally cut their placement.

> (Core teacher to Observer)
> Sometimes I don't understand these students. I broke my back getting them just the placement they wanted and then they don't show.

The teachers felt the need to get stricter with outside courses for other important reasons. Many of the participating organizations did not understand why students would cut. The school was afraid of losing goodwill and cooperation.

> (Core teacher to student)
> At 12:45 the teacher discovers a student in the halls who was supposed to be at a placement at 12:30.
> Teacher: SJ, what are you doing here?
> Students: My mother woke me up late.
> Teacher: We're going to lose these placements if you don't keep your appointment. Do you want that? One more chance and if you miss, we will have to drop you.

Finally, the staff came up with a rather strict policy in regard to courses in participating organizations. Acceptance of these principles served as recognition of the fact that an outside course would not intrinsically motivate a cut-prone student to attend.

> (Staff memo from outside course coordinator)
> Our experience with participating organizations and cooperating teachers has shown that a more clearly defined policy on attendance is necessary. While many of us have convinced those outside of the values of our program, they have in turn become concerned and even intimated breaking contact with us since students have more than a causal attitude about attending their classes.
>
> Problem: 1. Students simply don't attend class.
> 2. Content is boring and irrelevant, therefore students didn't attend the class.
> Result: The participating organizations and co-op teachers are disappointed, hurt, frustrated, and we lose that person as a part of City High.
>
> What to do? This is a problem, the responsibility for which rests on all of us. Therefore, we feel a need to define a definite policy on attendance and an enforcement of that policy as it relates specifically to classes taught by cooperating teachers.

Courses out in the city were supposed to serve one other important motivational function. The staff was concerned about basic skills learning. Since the school drew students from all over the city, many students lacked proficiency in the basic skills of reading and writing. Involvement with the city was ideally to provide natural settings in which students would see the real needs for these skills and seek to learn them.

The City High staff quickly realized that students were not developing these skills. Many of the courses featured other methods of communication. Students seemed able to get by without reading and writing. Many of the outside people assumed these proficiences and did not design their courses to teach basic skills. Indeed the reason they entered the school program was not to teach basic skills. Students themselves-- including those who had mastered basic skills-- exerted pressure on their teachers to use other methods-- e.g., verbal reports, photography, drawing, etc.

Teachers grew increasingly concerned about the core courses and many other courses out in the city. Many felt that they were violating their obligations to the students, especially to those in lower class backgrounds who would not make it without proficiency in basic skills. The staff made its decision to emphasize reading and writing in all the courses they taught-- including those that featured a lot of involvement with the city. Thus, students were required to read background material and to write reports or reactions to their experiences. Many students resisted these attempts and pleaded for the teachers to accept other kinds of work. During the period of observation the problem of relationship of basic skills to these courses did not get entirely solved. Those students who had the most problems reading and writing would refuse to read or write.

The English teachers also tried to address the basic skills problem. They soon realized that many students were avoiding reading and writing by exclusive selection of other kinds of English courses--primarily those out in the city featuring drama, speaking, or filmmaking. (See the earlier subsection on offsite courses.) The teachers introduced the requirement that one half of English credits in any year had to be earned in reading and writing courses.

Those analysts who believed that involvement with the city would motivate students to read and write were both right and wrong. Many times a course indeed brought students to the point that they wanted more information or they wanted to communicate some discovery. Usually, however, when a teacher tried to convert this motivation into reading and writing, he failed. Rarely were students' desires for information or communication stronger than their distaste for reading and writing.

There is no simple relationship between courses out in the city and motivation. We have discussed how they might increase motivation. In some situations, they can actually serve as barriers to student participation in courses. The energy required for a cut-prone student to travel across town to a class is considerably more than that required to go across the building. An earlier subsection discussed the trauma of travel. Similarly, the amount of energy required to conduct an independent investigation in the city is more than that required for a more traditional classroom exercise. The city does not neatly present its materials and there will probably be less direct supervision. One student, soon after the start of City High, reported her difficulty with the initiative required and the beginnings of her anger with the teachers for setting up such a situation.

> (Student response to course evaluation in the 10th week of school) If I had enough initiative, I'd spend a good deal of my time at the library taking out the things I'm supposed to be learning... I wish the teachers would start teaching instead of being so caught up in doing their new innovative thing.

To this student the failure of the teacher to spell out explicitly what had to be done was distressing. This distress might be desirable if it ultimately resulted in the growth of the student's independent skills.

For some students the open-ended opportunties did result in their growth. Energy expenditure for them was a joy of discovery rather than a chore. A school without walls must be aware of levels of interest. For students with a high level of interest the lengths of travel across the city and the difficulty of abstracting information from city sources were just pleasant goads rather than barriers. City High had several success stories with students of this type.

> The girl who was interested in animals did a lot work at the zoo, read extensively about animals, and ultimately got a job with a veterinarian. She said that she may be a veterinarian one day.
>
> The boy who was interested in records and popular music studied the music business, visited local radio stations, got a job as an assistant disc jockey in a local educational radio station. He also acted as disc jockey for school dances.

> A girl interested in Greek culture visited institutions in the Greek community, learned some basic Greek language, learned how to cook Greek food, and read Plato and Aristotle (in English). She tried to understand how all of these aspects of the culture were related.

For students with lower levels of identifiable interests, however, the requirements of a school without walls were troublesome. It was hoped, of course, that involvement with the city would excite students and help them to identify their interests. For some it worked that way. If it didn't, however, students would have as much difficulty learning as they did in the regular schools.

Outside teachers often expected students to come to their courses with high levels of motivation. As students cut their classes or didn't do assignments, some of these people withdrew their cooperation from City High. Some complained that City High did not specify clearly enough to the prospective students what was involved and agreed to accept only highly motivated students in the future. (On the inevitability of less than fully interested students ending up in courses, see paper on course choice.) A few of the cooperating people agreed to take on students at any level of interest and to work with them in the school. This attitude, however, was not typical of the way outsiders approached working with students.

Incidental learning and overstimulation

Some of the most obvious realities of traditional high schools are the walls--both literal and figurative. Students spend from morning to late afternoon within limited confines. The kinds of people encountered are limited in age and occupation. The contacts between classes are limited to physcal settings within the school. The walls keep the students in and other influences out.

In schools without walls, however, these realities have changed. People encountered are not limited to those who might be in the school. Similarly the physical settings are not limited to the halls, cafeterias, classrooms and the like. Students traverse the city in their travel between and during classes. (See the earlier subsection, "Marketplace of Ideas.")

It is difficult to assess exactly the educational benefits of this experience in the city. Marshall McLuhan (1964) suggested the most important learning in the contemporary world comes from non-linear encounters with a wide variety of experiences. The patterns of City High students' days certainly fits this outline--e.g., one hour around a factory, the next around a church, and the next around a theater. City High students counterparts in the regular schools were not having similar experiences.

As we discussed in the section on the different approaches to using the city, classes were held in places that did not necessarily have any organic relation to the subject of the classes. Students may have been learning about this diversity of settings nonetheless. Often students showed curiosity about the surroundings, although as with the the planetarium incident discussed earlier, not always the kind of curiosity the teachers would have desired.

Students learned their way around the many areas where classes met-- especially downtown where the school headquarters was. For many, these classes offered the first opportunity to observe what went on behind the scenes at different institutions-- banks, offices, museums, stores, etc. This new sophistication was especially important for students who rarely ventured outside their own neighborhoods.

> (Student anecdote completed for assignment in Growing up in the City)
> The assignment asked students to write on an important event that happened to them.
>
> A students' written reponse: One special incident that happened in my life was coming to City High because I didn't know anything about downtown, I didn't know my way around Montgomery Wards I loved coming to City High because I can learn from City High about the city and almost everyday I go to a different place so I can learn about what I see.

Students also encountered people and activities that they wouldn't have in a regular school. Occasionally they even became involved in some ways with the local people.

> (Class meeting in empty university classroom)
> As students enter the building there are a lot of posters around announcing a noon rally for law students. In the elevators one of the City High students asked a college student what is going on. The college student turns out to be one of the organizers of the protest. He asks what the City High students are doing around the university. After some discussion of City High the law student agrees to come and talk to the City High class about what they are organizing.

* * *

> Several City High classes met in the conference rooms of a small downtown church. This church offered social services to the street people who inhabited that particular rundown area of downtown. City High students listened to the rap sessions of these people and the habitués of the church sometimes joined in City High classes.

A regular school, of course, systematically tries to keep these kind of people out of the school. For some students, however, these street people added an element of interest in school life that is often missing.

> Two street people from the church came back to the student lounge with some City High students. These visitors talked about the abuses of the local police. One claimed that he had been arrested and jailed several times and related his experiences to the students.

Much of what these people had to say seemed exaggerated and biased. Their talk, however, fascinated students from all subgroups including some SA students who were usually withdrawn and uninterested in classes. City High, with its penetratable walls was at least exposing students to a wider diversity of experiences than a regular school.

Just as the walls did not keep out people, they did not keep out literature from the city. Students were constantly exposed to the printed fare that characterizes downtown streets.

> (Sample of handouts found around the school)
> Notice of a wig sale.
> 30 point program for the National Socialist Party (Nazi party).
> Announcement of meeting of local peace committee.
> An invitation to visit Sister Faye, noted palm reader.
>
> The student who brought in Sister Faye's announcement showed it to friends. They then got into a debate about the validity of spiritualism.

In addition to this chance influx, material produced by other students also added to the stimulation. The school newspapers ran articles about students' activities in the city in addition to the usual high school activities.

> (Articles in student newspaper)
> Students help paint mural on lower Waller Street.
> Class visits ad firm.

There is a danger, of course, in assuming that exposure necessarily means understanding. Adults in the city are constantly bombarded with similar stimulation and the amount of learning that occurs is questionable. In fact some psychologists warn that over stimulation may result in insensitivity. For protection people "tune out."

Two special characteristics of these schools without walls work against this unfortunate outcome. The atmosphere is specifically geared to learning from the surroundings. Unlike the adults walking casually through the city, the students spend much of their day between these encounters intensely trying to learn from the city. Presumably, this attitude about the city extends to non-class time. Secondly, the school provided informal places and free time in which students could interact about these casual encounters.

Ultimately, even with our year and a half of intense observation, it is impossible to determine the total effect of this incidental learning. Theoretically, all these chance happenings combine to enrich students' understanding of themselves and their enviroment. The incidental learning and the intentional teaching interacted to give students the sophistication lacking in a more cloistered framework in the school with walls. Unfortunately, there are as yet few social science techniques developed to assess these subtle changes.

Trying to analyze what happens in the city

Teachers hoped that the school without walls would involve students in realistic, multi-disciplinary learning about their environment. It was intended that the wide range of educational experiences offered by City High would help students to understand themselves and their world better than they would through regular classroom experiences. (See Chin, 1974 for a discussion of how people learn from field experiences.) Observation revealed that even if students were interested and did show up for classes (as the majority of City High students did), there were discrepancies between what the teachers thought should happen and what actually did happen.

Students seemed unwilling to analyze the experiences they were having. Teachers hoped that students would build on these encounters. The involvement with the city would offer real, wide ranging, relevant materials that students and teachers could discuss and think about together. Students would consolidate their thinking through reading, writing, and further investigation. They would increase their knowledge about the materials and their sensitivity to what they were observing and participating in. In a manner reminiscent of John Dewey's model of pragmatic thought, students would go back into the city with tentative hypotheses have even more perceptive encounters, and come back to start the whole process again.

Students were adept at the initial stages of this process. Many enjoyed entering into new and unfamiliar settings. They often had intuitive understandings of how the institutions worked. They were perceptive in observing those aspects that were personally relevant.

> (Student reporting back to core discussion group after the first week in the field)
> I didn't like the way they treated the animals at the animal hospital. Do they have to act like they do?

> (Two students to core teacher after school)
> We really had fun at our placement teaching those kids. I didn't know little kids were so smart.

Many were skillful in interacting with people in the setting and extracting information.

> (Teacher to observer)
> Yesterday we went over to M-- street. S (a student) really got those people talking into the tape recorder.

These anecdotes illustrate the numerous great beginnings that students had with the city. This raw experience seemed ripe for development into insight and further growth. (For example, with the illustrations above: the institutional realities of hospitals, the life of professionals, developmental psychology, recognition of one's skills.) When teachers tried to lead students further along these paths, however, they met a great deal of resistance.

Students were unwilling to analyze in the way teachers expected. They seemed to want constant action and input of new experiences. This attitude characterized all subgroups.

> (Topics in Science)
> The teacher has asked students how they want the course to be run.
> SO student: Last year all we ever did was talk. This year let's do stuff, not sit around. (She was in a regular school the year before.)

Teachers tried to stimulate small groups of students to share their experiences and to reflect together. Many students saw this as the worst part of the experience.

> (SA student to observer)
> Core is too long. Working is alright if we didn't have to come and talk about it.
>
> (Main Street class)
> The students had decided to go out and interview people in various parts of the city. The teacher suggested that students role play the interviews. Pairs of volunteers were selected and the rest of the class was supposed to listen and afterwards discuss the contents of questions and the methods of interviewing. Students seemed very eager when they were role playing, but grew bored and inattentive when anyone else was role playing. The teacher had a lot of difficulty getting any of the other students to react to the role playing.

Teachers also tried to work with individual students independently to get them to analyze their experiences. These attempts usually ended in failure. Many students, though they showed up at placements, would not show up at these analytical sessions. When they showed up they were often unable or unwilling to think abstractly about their experiences.

The reader may wonder why students reacted in these ways. Part of the problem was the general dislike for reading and writing that we discussed earlier. The paper on "Course Choice " described students' avoidance of these kinds of activities. Students had these feelings partially in reaction to unhappy experiences in their old schools where the use of these skills had seemed artificial and boring. A good part of their reaction, however, seem to come from a more general assessment made about the ultimate value of these skills. Students seemed to think that there were quicker and just as efficient ways to communicate. Teachers often felt, however, that reading and writing were essential for helping people to organize their thoughts and analyze their experiences.

Even beyond the resistance to reading and writing, however, there was a more general obstacle. Many times teachers would have been happy if the students were willing to verbally analyze their experiences. Students seemed unwilling to concentrate on this activity. They saw it as a waste of time. They didn't like "too much talk" any better than reading and writing. We have earlier, (CNS, 1972a), described this general attitude as the "hang loose ethic." In all their dealings with the world students attempted to stay cool: not to become involved in anything in a sustained, concentrated way. This attitude affected relationships with activities as well as with people. Students wanted a high flexibility in which they could get into and out of activities with ease-- which they could use to keep the stimulation rolling in. The analysis that teachers wanted called for students to stay with the task in a continuing fashion that violated the "hang loose" ethic.

Students were willing to get involved with issues and ideas but only in their own way. They prefered single, intense encounters rather than a regular series of associations. They valued intuition and feeling more than rational consideration.

It is possible that involvement with the city served to overstimulate students. The tendencies the students had for action rather than reflection were even more strengthened because the school accepted the validity of these modes of learning. The city constantly impinged on the school's program. Students came late to classes or didn't show up. Later they would offer as excuses the fact that something else had attracted them-- the park, the museum, a demonstration... The school without walls concept had sought to foster student's use of these city resources, witho[illegible]ecognizing, however, that these resources would be drawing students even when th[illegible]dered it undesirable.

Day dreaming is a normal occurrence in any high school. Looking out the window is a time honored tradition. This activity is possibly even more encouraged when the window overlooks the city. Similarly dawdling on the way to class is one of these traditions, and the dawdling is stimulated when the path goes through the city with all its attractions.

The overstimulation may have worked also to limit the style options open to teachers. Students seemed uninterested in basic skills and knowledge. They didn't see the use of these round about methods when issues could be attacked more directly. Teachers found that suggestions to get background materials on topics of study were unwelcome. One teacher whose style was particularly traditional sought to teach standard high school subject matter. Both he and the students were dissatisfied and he left after the first semester.

> (Ecology course)
> The teacher was trying to teach basic biological cycles.
> Students refused to accept his approach.

> YC student reacting to this ecology course: Web of life-- flowers growing and all that. That's not relevant to what we want. We live in the city... We want to catch smoke stacks (people violating the pollution law).

A new science teacher the next year had more success with the same topics because he used action methods. Even those teachers who were popular and generally used action methods found student resistance when they tried less active methods.

These hang loose tendencies are not limited to City High or schools without walls. Social critics lament the generalized loss of intellectual discipline. City High teachers grew apprehensive about students' unwillingness or inability to analyze their experiences as these adults would have liked. As the next subsection on political orientation will explain, this failure to analyze seemed especially regrettable because much of what the teachers wanted students to reflect on would significantly shape the future life of the students and their communities.

It is possible, of course, that the teachers and social critics are caught in their own limited ideas about intellectual functioning. McLuhan suggested that the non-linear, experience stimulation seeking methods of the students results in a better understanding of the contemporary world than the old linear methods. To a certain extent it is impossible to judge until these students have entered the adult world of affairs. One student about to graduate summed up her experiences and the questions she had about what it had added up to.

> (YC student to observer)
> You know, I've had a lot of different experiences and been around a lot more than if I had stayed at R-- (the traditional high school). The only problem is I feel like we never *really* got into anything.

Political orientation

Related to the desire to lead students to reflect on their experiences is the necessity of consolidating a political orientation. What would be the spirit of this reflection--appreciation or criticism? Unlike its more domesticated counterparts, the school without walls cannot easily avoid these decisions. In their offsite courses students are constantly being bombarded with the views of individuals with varying perspectives. These individuals are accustomed to operating as advocates for their positions and do not feel obligated to maintain any neutrality. Similarly, the uncensored flow of events in the city seems to demand a coherent approach from the staff more than the controlled flow of events within regular schools.

Being a public school, City High had an obligation not to be lopsided politically. Perusal of the list of outside courses reveals the attempt to fulfill this obligation. Businesses taught about how they worked and consumers' organizations also taught courses about how businesses worked. The Penal Justice course learned from both ex-cons and prison officials. The staff was constantly questioning, however, their own political orientation in their relationships to students. This smorgasbord was not the total solution.

After a day of observing classes, a visitor remarked on what she sensed to be the political orientation of the program.

> (Visitor to observer)
> It's not a very revolutionary program, is it? Seems like the students are being fitted up to take their places in the institutions, not to change them.

She had just interviewed a lower class student about his program. When asked what he liked best, he replied Computer Science, a course in which he learned keypunching and basic programming. She expressed concern to the observer that without an overall approach or without critical commentary on the various courses in the smorgasbord, students would come to accept unquestioningly whatever they were offered.

Most of the teachers at City High were not radicals. Almost all, however, wanted students to become critical and questioning citizens. They realized the danger pointed out above. In the second year of the school they made special attempts wherever possible to lead students to question their experiences. This approach was especially prevelant in the ill-fated core courses (discussed earlier) in which students met weekly with teachers in analysis sessions.

The attempt by teachers to get students to question their world is one of the most fascinating pages of the City High story. These events are significant for anyone involved with alternative high schools. They are even more important for those concerned with the political development of youth.

The reader must remember that the students of City High were drawn by lottery from all the neighborhoods of a large city. An earlier paper (Wilson, 1972) has shown that reasons for applying to City High were as diverse as the backgrounds. The students were not uniformly those with radical political orientations so often portrayed in the media as students of alternative schools. Rather they had the full range of lower and middle class political attitudes typical of Americans. Included were representatives of the ghetto and the "silent majority." For those who are concerned about fundamental political change, these students represent a much more realistic target than the self-selected audiences that changers often encounter. Some students shared teachers' values and orientations and were familiar with the kinds of political questions the teachers wanted to ask. Most were not.

One major problem that teachers encountered was the reluctance of students to engage in any kind of analysis as discussed in the previous subsection. Students seemed even more undisposed to political analysis, however, than to other kinds. Teachers found that students were not accustomed to questioning. They accepted what officials and others in power did without a thought of challenge. Some students who had these attitudes were those who were constantly exploited by the system.

> The City Planning teacher gave students an assignment to devise a plan to keep cars out of their neighborhoods. Most of the students could not even conceive of such an act. They had no idea that citizens might wield that kind of power.
>
> A City Politics teacher invited a councilman in for a class meeting. The students didn't ask any of the questions about city government that had been brought up in the local newspapers. In a discussion with the class after the councilman left, the teacher discovered that many of the students never thought to question city government.

In situations like these, teachers tried to show students that citizens didn't have to be powerless. The teachers found, however, that they were fighting against deeply held student attitudes born of years of experiences around their homes.

Teachers did not limit their attempts to teach critical skills only to students from poor backgrounds. Youth Culture students shared many political attitudes with the staff--for example views on ecology, peace, black power-- but were often unreflective about the contents of their views. The staff tried to increase student insight about these views and the organizations that promoted these policies, to draw students' attention to the wide areas of grey between extreme positions.

> One radical Youth Culture student was particularly active in the school in distributing literature and talking about radical causes. During one conversation with this student, a teacher pointed out that the student always talked with other Youth Culture students and that the "exploited poor" he was always talking about included many of his classmates with whom he rarely interacted.
>
> One group of students in Core chose to work with a draft counseling and resistance group. The core teacher met with the group weekly and prepared a list of questions to guide their observations. (Excerpts from questions)
> 1. What are they trying to do?
> 2. Who comes to be counseled?
> 3. What are their motives?
> 4. What neighborhood do most come from?
> 5. If all of them are from the same place, why?

Even though the teachers often agreed with the students' views, they wanted students to grow more sophisticated. In the first example, the teacher was trying to get the student to think about the basic contradictions between his abstractions and realities. In the second, the teacher was trying to show the students the social class limits of the draft resistance. These students occasionally gained the insights the teacher pointed to, but often they, too, refused to be analytical.

Teachers ran into other obstacles. Students often held basically different values than the teachers. The differences totally altered the ways the two groups perceived experiences--affecting what was considered important and influencing decisions about what actions would be desirable. Radicals would complain that these students were not really aware of their positions and that they needed their consciousness raised. Others might suggest that such an attitude is an imposition of one particular value orientation.

> (Teacher of course on Working Man to observer)
> We went to visit the M-- factory. The kids were really impressed. (The factory had lush workers' lounges and cafeterias.) They couldn't understand why the workers would need a union.

The teacher thought issues of salaries, job security, and bargaining rights were more important than the immediate facilities.

> (City Planning)
> The teacher has been talking about traffic and suggested controlling the number of cars.
> SA Student: What's so bad about cars? When I get a big one, I want to be able to drive it through the neighborhood.

The teacher thought neighborhood safety, control of noise and pollution were more important than private car ownership.

> (Core course discussion)
> Several girls had placements working part-time at an insurance company. The students complained about the demands of the supervisor and the "slave" nature of the work. When the teacher attempted to get the students to reflect on this experience--why the secretaries were all women and most of the supervisors were men, and what might the company or the workers do to make the work more interesting--the girls refused to think about these issues. They pointed out that the secretaries had fun during coffee breaks and that they owned nice clothes. Even though working was not fun, it might be worth it. Furthermore there was a chance that some of the students might get part-time paying jobs in the company

during the summer and they didn't want to rock the boat.

These encounters highlight the basic dilemma for those trying to bring about political change. The teachers wanted to give these students the skills and critical faculties to break out of the cycle of unsatisfying jobs and low pay. Try as they might, however, their approach was alien to the students. Those who are seriously concerned with helping students from these backgrounds must confront these basic realities.

The City High staff tried to promote a very permissive and informal atmosphere around the school. This atmosphere had benefical implications for teacher-student relations and for some learning activies (see "You Can Talk to the Teachers"). Some staff, however, grew concerned that the informalities were not always in student's best interest. The staff had to decide how students should conduct themselves in outside participating institutions. Some teachers felt that they should let the students explore the limits of informality even in these settings. Students should be encouraged to question the norms of conduct if they wanted. Other staff members felt that the school should teach students how to conform to the expectations in these settings. This concern was especially urgent for black staff members who felt that black students could not afford the luxury of violating important norms of conduct.

> (Staff meeting)
> Teacher: I'm sorry kids aren't getting into the "real world". Both the structure and people are different than here at City High. We can talk about the NG (department store) guy -- we can laugh it off--he doesn't know what's going on in youth but he really represents the real world. (The teachers

> had been discussing the fact that the man from the department store had complained about students' dress and manners.) We run the risk of the kids becoming very frustrated if we don't set them straight about how things are.
>
> The teachers then debated about the danger of teaching kids to always fit in. Several didn't want to push conformity. Several felt that some conformity was essential to student survival.
>
> Teacher 2: Take N-- (a black SA girl who was loud and rude.) No one on the staff will take her to the side--Me, as a black man, I can't be that way (can't ignore her actions)--we have to teach students that there is a time and place: a where and a when.

These discussions illustrate a basic controversy about the best policies for working with students from low income backgrounds. Many believed that the teachers have a responsibility to concentrate on teaching basic skills and social competence to help the student to make it in the world as it is. Others believed that teachers should work to give these students a different set of skills and talents--radical consciousness and the ability to work to change the world rather than to fit in. City High teachers adopted a policy by which they tried to do both, but underlying their activity the basic questions remained unresolved.

While teachers troubled over these issues, most students worked out solutions for themselves. Those who felt that they would come into conflict with the various institutional requirements avoided them in their schedule--e.g., they avoided placements calling for business dress. Most institutions turned out to be fairly informal about the demands on students. Most students almost unconsciously adapted their manners and clothes in the situation required.

Neither the school nor the city will be the same

In urban society many settings evolve as specialized ecological niches. Limits are defined for the activity that people expect to go on. The strengths of these expectations become apparent when something interferes with the usual functioning.

A school without walls disrupts these usual patterns. Schools are characterized by many non-academic realities which are usually taken for granted. These patterns evolve in high schools from the developmental needs of adolescents, of adults' images of these needs, and from the organizational facts of high schools. Because of its unusual structure, a school without walls cannot automatically assume these forms.

Other settings in the city likewise set up traditional patterns of behavior. City High entered many of these settings and tried to add a new function--educational inquiry. Most often these settings found ways to accommodate these unusual functions. Sometimes, however, the adaptation was difficult. These conflicts illustrate the ecological obstacles to the spread of the school without walls idea.

Social scientists such as Coleman (1960) and Conant (1959) have pointed out the elaborate social and activity structures which characterize the non-academic side of American high schools. Some psychologists suggest that their scope should be reduced because of the demands they make on students' energy and involvement. Others protest that these activities and friendships play valuable roles in adolescent development in our culture.

City High found that students were not easily able to set up the usual non-academic world that characterizes high schools. Traditional activities had a difficult time functioning. Similarly student friendship and social interactions did not quickly take the customary forms. Several unique facts of City High's existence may account for these problems: (1) City High was a new school. Student subcultures might have this difficulty in any newly born school. (2) City High drew its students from all the neighborhoods of the city. The heterogeneous backgrounds may have created some obstacles that would not face students in a more homogeneous school. (3) The explanation that we will concentrate on here is the fact that a school without walls introduces effort, space, and time demands that significantly alter the normal situation.

Because classes met all over the city, students could not count on seeing each other during the day as in a regular school. Also, because they were offered more range of choices, students often had radically different schedules.

> (Counseling group discussion)
> SO Girl: Sometimes this place gets me down. You can't meet people like you could at S-- (her old high school)... There you all have the same schedules--here there's no chance, everyone's got different classes--all over the place.

Friends got around this difficulty by selecting the same schedules. (For a discussion of the educational implications of this practice, see "Course Choice.") For meeting people who were not already friends, however, the courses in the city made trouble.

After school gatherings of friends also were hampered. Because students' last classes might be in different sections of the city, they would have to reconvene somewhere else. Much travel and effort was involved for just casual get togethers.

> A student had just heard about a party. He was distressed when he found where it was going to be.
> YC Student: I don't think I can make it way upthere. It'll take me at least an hour on the bus.

Some of the students solved these problems by selecting friends who lived near them.

> (Counseling group discussion)
> SO Girl: To a certain extent you pick friends who live near you--who live where you can get to.

Some friendships did form. For these friendships it seemed the offsite nature of the school program might have intensified them more than at a regular school. Friends could arrange to be together in a much wider range of situations than they could in a regular school. Similarly, since some of the school assignments involved exploration of the city, friends could share school work together. Finally, the intensity of the friendships might have been increased by the effort required to maintain them outside of school.

Generally the without walls feature of the school seemed to dislocate normal friendship patterns. Although there is little direct data on friendships in their neighborhoods, shy students at the school had difficulties forming the few friendships they would have formed at a regular school. Everyone formed fewer, although maybe more intense, friendships. There were signs at the end of the period of observation that friendships were being formed more easily.

Several explanations can be offered: Even though the school activities were decentralized, students came to know each other after repeated common courses. As students grew older (most were ninth graders when the school started), social interaction grew more important and getting around became easier as students became old enough to drive. The ultimate consequences of the friendship patterns is still unclear.

Activities did not form in the usual ways either. Since the school expanded the range of what kinds of experiences deserved credit, many activities that were extracurricular in a traditional school were included in the regular program at City High. Students did not always welcome this change because for some, attitudes towards classes and activities were different even if what was done in each was exactly the same. (See Wilson, 1972)

Another influence on activities was the time demands for teachers. Since they had the responsiblity for developing and maintaining outside courses, much time that might have been directed to extracurricular events was given to these other activities.

Other important influences were the decentralization of the school and the lack of certain facilities--such as a gym or an auditorium. Students had difficulty convening after school for activities.

> (Counseling group discussion)
> The students complained that they couldn't make the meetings of a proposed student government because they would have too far to travel from their last class.
>
> (SO Student to observer)
> My mother won't let me stay after school. With the ride on the bus, it's dark when I get home and she don't like that.

In spite of these difficulties some activites did form. Many students were eager to create sports programs. During the period of observation, the most successful were the basketball team, soccer team, and the cheerleaders. Each of these had constant problems--*e.g.,* finding places to practice and to perform. Whereas these activities did function as rallying points for the students involved, they didn't do as much to consolidate the student subcultures as they might do in a regular school. The decentralization of the school and the diverse class activities students were involved in seemed to prevent the school from rallying behind the teams and from much interest being aroused.

> (Observer and student)
> The observer is looking over a flyer announcing a forthcoming basketball game at another school's gym.
> Student: (The student is on the team) We're never really going to have a home court... People don't feel much like going out there to watch us.

For many students the excitement and the enthusiasm attendant to activities were just as important as the actual events themselves. The school without walls had trouble generating this traditional atmosphere. For some students-- mostly YC--this lack was not important and there were signs that other kinds of activity structures were evolving related to school courses--*e.g.,* crafts, yoga, filmmaking, drama. For other students, however, the lack of traditional activites--namely teams and dances--was a major consideration.

> (SA Student to observer)
> The student was especially interested in basketball and was frustrated by the lack of well supported teams. He was transferring out of City High.

> Student: There's no teams and school spirit here. This isn't a high school.

Just as the organization of City High disrupted the usual configuration of schools, it threatened to disrupt some settings of the city. Much of the city was not prepared for the students or the uses they wanted to put the city to. Institutions seemed to adapt once they were contacted by the school staff but less structured areas--e.g., the streets and public places did not accept the validity of the educational activity in traditionally "non educational" places.

Students were constantly harrassed by the police. Teenagers on the street during school hours were suspect. Their presence was ecologically inappropriate, and when students explained the educational nature of their street wanderings the police rarely believed them. Usually a telephone call to the school satisfied the police, but occasionally the police had a need to bring the students to the principal. These public expectations were slow in changing.

Many public places had limitations on the behaviors that were acceptable within their confines. The staff hoped that through their experiences at City High, students would become more perceptive about the settings that they saw everyday. In various courses, therefore, the teachers asked students to enter the settings as observers rather than as participants. Some settings refused to accept students on these terms. Numerous times students were kicked out of restaurants, the Federal building, lobbys, etc.

> One group of students in a core course subgroup had decided to study the airport. They wanted to know what went on late at night. A group of seven with their student

> teacher supervisor arrived to observe one night. Within a half hour the police had grown suspicious of them, invoked curfew laws, accepted their story reluctantly, and restricted them to one group of chairs in a particular waiting room. The airport would not let itself be studied as students wished to study it.

Many times, of course, students were accepted in settings or at least ignored. There was enough negative reaction, however, to indicate that the city did not always welcome the quester after knowledge.

Even those institutions in settings which did accept students set limits on how far they were willing to deviate from their routines. Individuals were sometimes unwilling to answer questions if they had other business.

> (Neighborhood studies)
> Students had been asked to go to similar institutions in different neighborhoods to compare prices and services offered. Students who went to banks complained that the tellers were sometimes not too eager to answer their questions.

Even those institutions that made special arrangements with the school were not able to change their functioning enough to satisfy some student curiosity.

> A local newspaper taught a course about journalism. The class met in a conference room at the newspaper. Speakers from various departments of the newspaper were brought in to talk and students were occasionally taken on tours of the newspaper plant.

During course evaluation time students complained that they never really got to see reporting in action. Attempts had been made, but the newspaper had been unable to arrange this.

This subsection illustrates some basic differences between a school without walls and one with walls. The traditional school is ecologically specialized for high school students. It is an insulated refuge formally set off for educational activities and informally specialized for adolescents' social concerns. Control is the dominant mode. The attempt is made to screen carefully what goes on within the walls. Students are kept in and the city is kept out. The teachers are masters within the walls and can control material and people. Adolescent social interactions and activity participation is encouraged and supported by the creation of a fairyland atmosphere in which the influence of the world is temporarily suspended.

The school without walls, on the other hand, takes a different approach. There are still specialized aspects but much student time is spent in areas designated for other major purposes. The school does not control the flow of information and persons. The teachers are not masters in many situations. The students see that different people are dominant in different situations.

> (Student to Principal)
> Student: O--, I had trouble at the art museum. They wouldn't let me take pictures. Will you do something?
> Principal: What do you want me to do? There's nothing I can do. They have their rules.

Similarly, the school without walls cannot easily set up the adolescents' subculture sanctuary.

It is difficult to assess the implications of these differences. Some educators believe that education goes on best in cloistered enclaves where events can be carefully controlled and sifted. The school without walls innovators believe that these artifical settings,in their attempt to control, actually prevent revelant and significant learning. It has become evident, however, that the internalized ecology of the city is a powerful influence on what people expect to go on. It will be important to monitor what adjustments the schools without walls and the settings of the city make to these expectations.

All of these emerging issues, first seen when the ideal of a school without walls was put into practice, will be important for future innovators to understand.

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Attachment 1

Another core course, "If I Didn't Know, How Could I Learn It"? was described in the catalogue as follows:

> Have you ever wondered what a hospital does with your blood samples? Or what a business executive does behind his desk? Or why an employment office refuses to hire somebody ? Or how a judge decides to sentence a thief ? Or how a repairman fixes your refrigerator? Or why a four year old cries so much? This learning core will allow you an opportunity to CHOOSE what you want to learn, get the skills to learn it, and actually follow through on your learning through experience in a hospital, repair shop, office, etc.

Teachers spent early sessions sensitizing students to the various ways people can answer questions.

> (If I Didn't Know) Teachers presented unfamiliar objects to groups of students. They showed students how various senses could be used to answer questions about the objects and how the objects were used. They also showed that various strategies for asking questions seem to offer more success than other methods.

In later sessions they urged students to think about questions they had. Resulting lists indicated that much of the curiosity centered around the world of work. Students seemed enthusiastic about a chance to explore their interests. The teachers taught students the concept of contracts as a method of negotiating with future placements about the role of the student in the institution. The next session was spent in arranging placements. Plans for weekly seminars and supervision were similar to those in the core previously described. The resulting variety of students' accomplishments were also similar.

The list of placements is impressive. Students worked in schools, hospitals, insurance companies, the Civil Aeronautics Board, lawyers' offices, stores, etc. Again, the plan on paper was more satisfying than the real results.

A third core course was called "Communication." Its catalogue entry was the following:

> Students will learn the "what" and the "how" of communication. They will begin by listing the things they most want to know about communication and then learn about them. For example, someone interested in finding a job will participate in and observe job interviews to see how people communicate in these situations. Someone interested in television will work in a television studio.

Initial sessions were designed to get students thinking about the ways people communicated. Students in later sessions were urged to develop ideas for placements. They were then sent out to explore a select list of institutions to see what kinds of resources were available in the city. Their next session was spent developing research interests and places in the city where students might pursue them. The list of placements is again impressive: Students had placements including working in an educational radio station, studying animal communication, interviewing jazz musicians, observing in the Greek community, interviewing the Black Panthers, working with computers, cooking, and talking to poets. The overall experience for both students and teachers, however, was similar to the other core courses.

Attachment 2

Two offsite courses taught by outside personnel will be discussed in this attachment.

Introduction to Electricity was described in the catalogue as follows:

> An introduction to the basics of electricity
> taught at Illinois Bell training center;
> includes construction of class projects
> and some field trips.

The man who taught this course for the telephone company had been a lineman and then had been promoted to a public relations position. The course was taught in a classroom usually used by the company to train telephone repairmen. The building was just a few blocks from the school headquarters. Students customarily had to indentify themselves for the security check point at the main door of the building. The guard at the door on the day that the observer went did not know about the City High class and had to call the supervisor before he knew where to send the students. Everyone sat around a big table in the class. All around the room was electronic equipment and various kinds of scientific charts. Down the hall was a lounge with vending machines that company trainees used during breaks. Students also used this lounge for their breaks and for pre-class socializing.

At the beginning of one class a student asked what one of the devices in the room was used for. The teacher explained its use and then started talking about the principles of radar. The students seemed interested and asked several questions. The teacher then informally drifted into the math (powers of ten) that might be necessary to figure out radar problems. (Figuring out the distance of an object by the time necessary for the return of the radar signal.)

The teacher used a style not typical at City High, an aggressive style that included verbal personal attacks, sarcasm, and insults. He did it in a friendly spirit and most students seemed to accept it in that way.

> (Sample of teacher comments, Introduction to Electricity)
> Now come on E—, here's a problem that's your speed.
> Where's your work? Come on now don't fall asleep.
> Now here's a problem for our ladies (there were only 2 in the class).
> Girls, I know this is hard for you, I'll try to make it easy.

This class had a significant attraction for School Alienated students. A high proportion of those who signed up for the class was from this group, and those who signed up showed up more consistently than they did for other classes.

> (School lounge, end of lunch time)
> Two SA boys walk up to two others playing cards.
> Student 1: It's time to go over to O's class (O was the teacher of Introduction of Electricity.)
> Student 2: I guess I'll have to break my usual habits and go to class.

Students liked this teacher and viewed the course as a personal relationship with him. (It is probable that most of the students did not even know the course name--always referring to it as O's class.) The teacher came from a background similar to these students and used a style that they knew well. His language and his mannerisms were comfortable to them. One of the benefits of a school without walls, of course, is that it can put students in touch with people like this teacher. It is difficult to determine, however, how much of the favorable reaction of SA students was attributable to the personality of the teachers and how much to the fact that he was not formally a "teacher." SA students, even though friendly with City High teachers, seemed to have a norm which distanced anyone who was defined as teacher.

The course was not totally successful from the teacher's point of view. Even though his attacks on students were levied in a joking manner, he seemed genuinely disappointed when students didn't do their work, were not paying attention, or couldn't solve simple problems. In a conversation with the observer he revealed his perspective:

> (Teacher to observer during class break)
> Teacher: I'll tell you. The most important thing to see is that these kids get interested in something--anything! I don't know if some of them are going to make it.

In interviews with City High teachers, he revealed that he had not originally started the class with these goals.

> (Report of interview with teacher, Principles of Electricity)
> O--indicated that he originally wanted a disciplined "navy" style course. He had plans for

Attachment 2

> teaching a structured course in electricity. After he met the class he felt he had become a lot looser. He was more concerned to stimulate interest in any field of electronics... He didn't really know what to expect before he started the class.

Outside institutions often agree to teach courses because they believe they have a subject matter that is interesting to students. They often overestimate the specificity of these interests and students' ability to deal with the material.

The last course we will describe is called Human Body. The catalogue read:

> A thorough study of the human body, making use of hospital facilities and teaching by discussing problems of medicine.

The course was taught by interns at a local medical school.

Early sessions met at the school headquarters. Coming directly from medical school, the interns led students through a consideration of the various systems of the body. A standard high school biology text was used as a resource for illustrations and background information. The interns ran the sessions in a very structured way barraging students with information and questions to probe their understanding. They often used technical terms and moved at a fast pace. The observer wondered how much the students were grasping. Students' responses to the teachers' questions indicated that they sometimes did not understand. Students' pattern of attention seemed highly variable--they would intently be listening to what was said and then they would appear to be wandering. Interviews revealed various students' reactions to the course. During one semester's evaluation students were asked what courses they liked and disliked. One student named Human Body as one of his favorites.

> (Student evaluation at counseling group)
> The way the interns explain things, they can get you interested even if you don't like the subject.

Another student named Human Body as a disliked course.

> I don't like Human Body. I can't keep up with the teachers--they go too fast.

These reactions highlight some speical problems of these courses. Again, as with Introduction to Electricity, the teachers had an expertise which they were eager to share with students. They similarly had experiences which would enrich the course for the serious students. (The interns illustrated their discussions about the various body systems with comments about patients that had problems with those particular body functions.) They expected students to be eager and able to take what they were eager to give.

A danger exists that outside people will not correctly diagnose how students are approaching their course. As indicated by the students' comments, it is difficult to assess whether the high level of the outsiders' offering goes over the students' heads or just forces students to reach a little higher. With a diverse student body such as that of City High, reactions depended on the students involved.

In later sessions, the interns had Human Body meet in an empty classroom at the medical school and used specimens and equipment to illustrate points they were making. Again, as with other courses of this nature, the surroundings contributed to the aura of the course. As students went to class they had to pass halls, laboratories, and classrooms filled with biological paraphernalia. Doctors and nurses shared the halls and lounges with them.

The interns also included field trips in their class planning. On one trip they took the students to a local science museum to look at exhibits on the body. This kind of activity was popular in these kinds of courses and had special dynamics that it is important to analyze. Some outside courses were almost completely composed of trips to relevant settings. The outside teacher served as a knowledgeable planner of the trip and as a coordinator of discussions before, during, and after. Two examples of these kinds of courses were "Penal Justice" and "Drug Abuse", both popular courses. Penal Justice was taught by a former convict who was a social worker for the State Board of Corrections. He arranged for students to visit the courts, a judge, a lawyer's office, a police station, a city jail, a prison, and a halfway house. Drug Abuse was taught by a social worker for the Drug Abuse Board of the state. The class visited hospitals, several halfway houses, and a mental institute.

A description of Human Body's visit to the science museum should illustrate the "museum mentality" with which students approached field trips. The interns arranged to meet their students at the school headquarters from which they would all go together via public bus to the museum. A few students who had classes in other parts of the city were not able to meet at the headquarters and made arrangements to meet the class directly at the museum. On the bus the interns tried to discuss the last class session but the city noise and seating arrangements made this impossible. Other attempts to use bus time--even on chartered busses—usually met with the same lack of success. Schools without walls must consider these latent costs. Much time is spent traveling and this time is not easily used for specific educational purposes.

Once at the museum the class went to the section on the human body. Although the interns were generally aware of what was there, they obviously did not specifically plan for this session. They indicated that they were looking for a certain exhibit but couldn't find it. Students made various guesses about where they thought it was. On the way to this exhibit the interns frequently stopped in front of displays to talk about them. (Often the class had not studied these particular body systems.) The pattern of inter-reaction was as follows: The interns would walk to a display, the students would follow, the interns would use somewhat technical language to explain the display, they would ask questions of the students whose attention was waning or wandering, and then they would move on to the next exhibit. Most student interaction was with the teacher; they rarely made comments to each other about the subject matter. Gradually students became museum weary as indicated by their moving very slowly, sitting on benches, talking with each other, and ceasing to look at the exhibits.

The interns had specific exhibits in mind that indeed fit in with recent lessons. They found it difficult, however, to pass up comments on other exhibits

Attachment 2

while they were there. Similarly, students seemed to become restless. After staying at any particular exhibit an unspoken pressure to move on could be felt. Both teachers and students seemed caught in the "museum mentality."

To a certain extent the logistics of the situation set up this problem. Ideally the intems would intensively use each exhibit as it became relevant to the lessons. This kind of useage is impractical, however, because the museum was not that accessible. Moreover, since effort had been expended to get there, it seemed a shame not to deal with as many of the exhibits as possible--thus the attempt to "cover" what was seen.

The staff of schools without walls must realize that many students will approach field trips to museums with these preconceived modes of coping. Students may be unwilling and unable to focus intensively on just a few purposeful selected aspects of the setting. Using museums in new ways may be a skill that has to be carefully taught.

Attachment 3

Some courses taught by City High staff using off-site locations:

Art

Filmmaking--in addition to watching films, the class talked and visited with filmmakers.

Photography--the class used the city as subject matter for their photographs.

Contemporary Art--the class visited museums, galleries, and private collections. They studied the process of selling art and tried to determine what gets accepted by collectors.

Language

Learning Spanish in the Community

Let's Speak German--in addition to traditional language learning activity, students worked each week in community organizations where these languages were spoken.

Physical Education

Folk Dancing--as part of the course students were required to go to dances in various communities around the city.

Math

Data Processing--the class worked with computers and data preparation at the Board of Education offices.

Numbers & Guessing--students learned the technique of estimation and probability by testing the theories on real problems in the city--for instance, estimating the numbers of people at a demonstration.

Science

Animal and Human Behavior--the class studied the behavior of animals in zoos and human beings in various settings.

Ecology--the class studied the natural history museum, local parks, and other places where animal and plant life can be found.

Pollution Study--the class studied the air and waters of the city as well as the social agencies trying to deal with pollution.

Attachment 3

English Communications:

Anarchy and non-violence taught by a poet
Improvisational Theater taught by an actress in a local professional company
Television production taught by an assistant director of a network TV station
Company newspaper taught by the public relations official ofa local corporation
Psycho drama taught by a member of the State Mental Health Association

Social Studies:

Newspaper writing taught by a reporter on a large metropolitan daily
Drug Abuse taught by director of a State Agency
The Stock Market taught by a broker
The M-Community taught by an official of a community organization.
Penal Justice taught by a former convict who is now a social worker with the State Corrections Board.

Math:

Applications in business taught by an accountant
Probability taught by an insurance company staff
Sports Statistics taught by public relations people from a local team

Science:

Human Body taught by the interns at a local medical school
Marine Biology taught by the staff of the aquarium
Introduction to Electricity taught by the staff of the telephone company
Kinetics of Television taught by a local TV station staff

[illegible], Vocational and Language:

Modern European Art taught by the staff of an art musuem
Drawing taught by the staff of a local arts council
French Conversation taught by a foreign counsel
Typing taught by the staff on an insurance company
Principles of Advertising taught by the executive of an advertising agency
Scale Model Building taught by the staff of an architectural firm
Records & Recording taught by the staff of a local recording company

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VOLUME III

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A MULTI-METHOD STUDY OF THE DEVELOPMENT AND EFFECTS OF AN ALTERNATIVE HIGH SCHOOL LEARNING ENVIRONMENT

Center for New Schools*
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CHAPTER 7. USE OF DOCUMENTS

Introduction -- The Origins And Structure Of The Chronology

In the initial plan for the Metro evaluation we decided to collect documents to provide an historical perspective and a record of the events which made up Metro's history. This effort was seen as another way of collecting basic information about the school's functioning.

The chronology in Appendix E was built upon documents collected by the Urban Research Corporation consultants during the two and one half years from the beginning of URC's work on the development of the school through the third semester of Metro's operation -- from December 1968, through June 1971.

The document file was built from two sources: (1) the working files of the URC consultants; including letters, memos, drafts of reports and contracts, and records of phone calls and visits; and (2) the URC collection of documents produced by Board of ,Education personnel, including the Metro staff. The Board of Education documents were collected by the URC staff, who attempted to keep copies of everything pertinent to Metro's development and operation.

At first documents were collected if they related to the day to day work of the URC consultants. In October, 1969, we decided to more carefully collect information to provide an historical account of the school's progress. This decision can be seen in the increased number of events recorded in the chronology at that time, particularly phone calls and visits. Starting in February 1970, Steve Wilson began collecting a separate set of documents which he used in his participant observation analysis. This collection was also used in preparing the chronology presented in Appendix E.

Due to the hectic pace, complexity of events and processes, and the overriding demands of working through a series of crisis, we were not able to develop a system of classifying the documents while they were being collected. Thus, the documents were merely accumulated during the period of study.

In the fall of 1971 we made an attempt to categorize all the documents according to a set of categories, such as staff selection, space needs, etc. Limited resources and problems of complexity made it impossible to categorize more than half the documents according to this system and further found that by sorting documents into such groupings, we were losing the overall understanding of the continuity of the school's life that the documents could give us. Thus, we decided to build a chronology of events, presented in Appendix E, based on our document file. Accordingly a 5 X 8 card was made for most events reflected in the documents. The whole document file was analyzed to identify all the events of the December 1968, through June 1971, time period. Documented events which had some importance in themselves or which served as part of a series or whole which had significance were recorded on the cards.

Events of minimal significance were not included in the chronology. Judgments were made about the importance of events by people who had some involvement in Metro during the time period covered in the chronology.

All of the events presented in the chronology in Appendix E are preceded by one or more letter indicators. These indicate the general category or categories into which the events fall. Thus, a person reading or rereading the chronology with a particular eye toward seeking out those items which relate to the selection of new participants in Metro, for instance, would seek out those preceded by the letter E.

The categories were developed through trial and error, trying to find a simple system that helps the reader identify important issues represented by the events. Some of these choices of category are a clear reflection of the documents and the perspective they represent. For example, URC was constantly concerned with the School Board, and the document file reflects that concern. Another example is that the period of time covered was the first two years of Metro's history, when the issue of selection of new students and staff was of particular importance. Thus this issue was isolated as a coding category.

An explanation of the code follows:

A - Relationships with the School Board

B - Relationships with other external agencies and persons

B1 - Participating organizations

    - B2 - Parents
    - B3 - Newspapers
    - B4 - Accreditation
    - B5 - The building
    - B6 - Colleges
- C - Program development and school life
- D - Selection of new participants
- E - Administrative details of the school
- F - Crisis
- G - URC: Evaluation/research

Throughout the first few months of the chronology CHS and Metro were used interchangeably, reflecting the two different names by which the school was then called. As usage settled the name of the school firmly as Metro, the term Metro becomes the one used exclusively in the chronology.

The terms School Board and Board of Education, as they are used in Chicago, refer often to the administrative staff of the school system as well as to the appointed Board of Education.

The titles of persons listed in the Cast of Characters, where given, are those held at the first date of reference in the chronology.

The name "Edpurc," first appearing in a July 15, 1969, entry in the chronology, is the shorthand term which was commonly used within URC to refer to the Educational Division of Urban Research Corporation (or URC), or those members of the URC staff most directly involved in the planning and implementation of Metro.

Products Of Document Analysis

This chronology in itself is one major product of our efforts. As presented in Appendix E, it gives a concrete historical framework for Metro's development, in which the forces delineated by other types of analysis interplay. We have reproduced the full chronology as Appendix E in the copies of this final report submitted to the National Institute of Education and will make it available under specific written agreement to researchers studying alternative schools. Because the chronology indicates the names of specific persons, we will not make it generally available as part of our final report.

A second use of documents has already been illustrated extensively in Chapter 6. Documents have been used to develop our understanding of important issues in the school as an integral part of participant observation (see for example, Section D of Chapter 6 concerning Course Choice).

A third use of documents is illustrated in the relationship between the initiators of the school (consultants from the Urban Research Corportation) and the Board of Education personnel was extensive, we have developed an analysis of the documents. This analysis is presented below, after which we summarize our conclusions concerning the strengths and weaknesses of using document analysis as a research method.

Relationship Of Urban Research Corporation And The Chicago Board Of Education

Introduction

Metro was unusual among the alternative schools started at the end of the sixties because the initiators of the school were neither employees of the Board of Education nor parents seeking a better alternative for their children's education. The Urban Research Corporation consultants were educators from outside the school system, working for a Chicago business that wished to influence the Chicago public school system by establishing a new and effective school program. The relationship that developed between URC and the Board of Education had critical effects on the development of the new school. The school would not have come into existence without the initiative and perseverance of the URC consultants. Neither would it have been possible without the approval and overall support of the Board of Education, specifically of the General Superintendent, Dr. James Redmond. To understand the social and educational processes of Metro, it becomes key to understand something about this relationship.

It is well beyond the scope of this document to present a comprehensive treatment of the complexities of the URC-Board of Education relationship. Rather, we will briefly present some of the highlights of the relationship from the planning period and some generalizations and comments from the implementation period. In making the presentation we will refer when appropriate to the chronology already presented. This section, then, will demonstrate some of the ways the chronology can be used and some of its limitations. In presenting a more complex and comprehensive view of the dynamics of this relationship we have drawn from both the chronology and URC's analysis of events and processes as they happened and as they were leter evaluated by the URC staff. It should be remembered that URC's role was controversial in the minds of some, particularly the School Board staff. This presentation is built from documents collected by URC and (since the research team was a part of the URC staff) it reflects some of URC's biases.

We will present four highlights from the planning period to demonstrate the development of the relationship. We will summarize some of the issues concerning URC's participation in the implementation of the school program during the rest of the period covered by this research. And finally we will consider how the document files may be useful in presenting complex issues of Metro's development.

Some highlights from the planning period

(1) URC initiates the Metro idea and the Board of Education accepts it. Donn Kesselheim had been a principal at New Trier High School in Winnetka. He had worked some with key staff members of the Chicago

Board of Education and was generally held in high regard by them. He then worked for Westinghouse Learning Corporation and for the National Alliance of Businessmen (see December 17, 1968) and gained the acceptance of Chicago business leaders concerned with education. In January 1969, John Naisbitt, President of URC, agreed to hire Donn to work on developing Donn's idea that Chicago should have a school without walls similar to the Parkway Project in Philadelphia (see December 18, 1968; January, 1969). John Naisbitt indicated that he was interested because he thought that his young corporation should be directly involved in action that would improve the quality of urban life.

Donn began talking with businessmen and with key staff at the Board of Education about the possibility of developing a new alliance in support of an educational program that would directly involve the Chicago business community in the education of Chicago youth (see December, 1968, through spring, 1969). Dr. Redmond viewed the possibility very positively at that time (see February 6, 25, and 28; May 5; and October 28 -- all 1969). He particularly focused on Metro as a vehicle for gaining business involvement and support.

Donn, working with the American Friends Service Committee, organized a summer pilot program, the Summer High School in the Loop, to give the idea a trial run (see June, June 1 and 30, 1969). The Board agreed to award summer school credit to students in the program -- the first step in the Board's acceptance of the Metro idea.

After several discussions with Donn and businessmen talking with the General Superintendent and his staff, Dr. Redmond proposed that URC be authorized to develop plans for an experimental Chicago Public High School for Metropolitan Studies (see July 7 and 9, 1969). On July 9th the Board accepted without much discussion Redmond's proposal. After seven months of work on the development of the idea URC had gained legitimacy both for the idea and for seriously negotiating a contract with the Board for URC to provide the services necessary for the establishment of the school and the implementation of its program.

(2) URC and the Board of Education negotiate a contract. URC began preparing contract drafts based on the assumption that the school would open in September of 1969 (see July 2, 18, and 23; August 6, 19, 20, and 22; and September 11, 1969). The Board repeatedly delayed discussion about the school due to a financial crisis facing the system in the fall (see July 7 and 23; August 14 and 27, 1969). While no contract had been negotiated, in anticipation of a fall opening URC had hired three additional staff members to assist with the planning of the school's program (see June, 1969; July , 1969).

The URC thrusts were (1) to get the Board to act and (2) to draw up a contract that URC felt would allow it to develop the school along the lines it envisioned. The initial drafts of the contract prepared by URC proposed that the school be administered as a URC project, supported by Borad of Education funds through the contract. The delay in action on the part of the Board was extremely frustrating to the URC consultants (see August 29, 1969; September 8, 1969). URC finally called a Board member and reminded him of the earlier resolution and indicated that URC had made no progress in getting the central staff to take action (see September 8, 1969). The Board member raised the issue at the next meeting and the General Superintendent then began moving to consummate an agreement by the following meeting (see September 24, 1969).

Throughout this effort, many drafts of the contract had gone back and forth between URC, and the Board's attorney and central staff. (See July 2 and 30; August 7, 11, 19, 20, and 29, 1969.) The Board's attorney disagreed with the original notion of the relationship of the school with URC, in which URC sought significant authority in actually running the school. The final contract provided for URC to furnish specified services to the Board of Education in the establishment of the school. The final contract was in effect a compromise between granting the original autonomy desired by URC and what the lawyer and other school Board personnel wanted, which was services limited to specified projects and discrete activities (see October, 1969). As the delay continued URC had changed its position to propose that the school open later, eventually settling on a February opening as the best remaining option (see August 15, 19, and 22; Septermber 11, 1969).

URC partially reconciled itself to the change in the relationship of the school to URC by the argument that URC would have more effect on the school system if it had to deal directly with the administrative limitations which the school system perceived for itself. URC was convinced that the school's autonomy would be crucial to its successful operation and was concerned that the contractual relationship which developed would constrict that autonomy.

(3) Metro is placed in District 27, against URC's recommendation. URC generally perceived that the most effective relationship between the new school and the Board of Education would be that the school's principal would report outside of the line structure to either the Deputy or General Superintendent. A working relationship developed during the contract negotiations between URC and Evelyn Carlson, the Associate Superintendent for Educational Program Planning, who understood the educational concepts behind the school. She was designated official liaison with URC during the period of negotiation and URC hoped and expected that she would become the key liaison between the Board and the school (see October 1 and 31, 1969).

At a meeting on November 5th between Donn Kesselheim and Dr. Redmond, Dr. Redmond indicated that Bessie Lawrence, District

7, would be the supervisor of the new school's principal (see November 5, 1969). Redmond saw that decision as being consistent with a recent report on school staffing (see November 4 and 5, 1969) and with his overall decentralization plan, which he valued highly. URC became aware that its assumptions about the line relationships for the school were not shared by the General Superintendent.

On November 10th, Donn Kesselheim wrote a letter presenting URC's recommendation that the principal not be responsible to a District Superintendent (see November 10, 1969). He argued that Metro was a city-wide school and that it would be inconsistent to then assign it to a specific school district. He proposed three alternatives, himself favoring the creation of a special metropolitan district which would include Metro and other special magnet schools.

On November 12th, at a meeting between Redmond, Byrd, the three Area Superintendents, and the URC consultants, Redmond raised the issue of the line of authority through which Metro's principal would report (see November 12, 1969). He did not refer to Donn Kesselheim's Letter of November 10th. He argued strongly regarding his position on the importance of decentralization and that new programs such as Metro should not be exceptions to normal line relationships. Thus, he saw that the school should be placed in one of the twenty-seven districts. The question was then raised by the Area Superintendents as to which District the school should be placed in. It was decided by the Area Superintendents and Redmond that since the school was located in the Loop, and since the only other school in the Loop was Jones Commercial High School, which reported to Bessie Lawrence in District 7, therefore Metro should also report to her. URC left the meeting frustrated and deeply concerned that a key decision had been quickly made without giving consideration to their recommendations.

As a result of this decision URC began to consider very seriously how to present its recommendations so they would have the greatest influence on decisions to be made by the Board staff (see November 13, 14, and 18; December 4, 1969).

On November 17th Dr. Redmond responded to Donn Kesselheim's letter of November 10th, again without referring to any of the issues which Kesselheim had raised in the letter, simply stating that Metro would be responsible to a District Superintendent -- that this decision must be made (see November 17, 1969). On November 24th, Evelyn Carlson, who was not at the meeting on the 12th, informed URC that a decision had now been made to place Metro within District 7 in Area C (see November 24, 1969). URC, aware that the General Superintendent had made a key decision about the Metro school without any apparent consideration of URC recommendations, wrote a letter to him regarding other issues, such as the process for principal selection, which URC had assumed would be made in such a way as to give URC and the school considerable autonomy for its development. The memo listed six specific procedures for URC's involvement in decisions then pending which it viewed as essential if URC was to contribute in a significant way to the establishment of a successful Metro program. Kesselheim requested a response from Redmond on these issues and a meeting with him if he did not agree with what URC was assuming (see November 25th and December 3, 1969).

The implications of the decision to place Metro in District 7, Area C, were not only that the school would be treated administratively like any other school already in operation, but also that it was assigned to a specific District Superintendent who had not been involved in any of the planning for a school about to open. This decision was the beginning of an antagonistic relationship between the school and the District Superintendent.

(4) Metro gets a principal, following URC's recommendation. URC was convinced from the earliest planning that the selection of Metro's principal would be a key decision that would affect Metro's development. URC began interviewing possible candidates in June of 1969. URC also felt, given the political and educational climate of the city at the time and the projected student body composition that it was desirable for the principal to be a black male (see November 10; December 8 and 9, 1969) and that he possess a working knowledge

of the Board structure and be interested in new approaches to schooling.

Following the decision that the school would be placed in District 7, URC strongly recommended a procedure to Dr. Redmond for URC's direct involvement in the principal selection process (see November 25, 1969). A four-person committee, consisting of two URC consultants and two Board people, who were Dr. Bessie Lawrence and her Area Superintendent, George Connelly, interviewed candidates and made recommendations to the General Superintendent (see December 4 and 5, 1969). The committee split, with the URC consultants favoring Nate Blackman, a principal they had interviewed earlier, and Lawrence and Connelly favoring another candidate.

After the interviews Donn Kesselheim wrote to Dr. Redmond, dismayed that it was impossible for Redmond to see him before Redmond made this selection a meeting which he viewed as essential and previously agreed upon (see December 8, 1969). Redmond then called a meeting for December 9th between himself, Byrd, and Kesselheim (see December 9, 1969). A major issue discussed was whether the Metro principal should be black. Redmond appeared to be testing Kesselheim as to how crucial URC viewed this decision to be. Kesselheim left no doubt that URC felt this decision was of great importance to the success of the school and to effective URC involvement. Kesselheim left the meeting expecting Redmond to go against the URC recommendation. The next day, Dr.

Redmond called, informing URC that he was going to recommend Nate Blackman to be the principal of Metro. The recommendation was approved by the Board on that same day (see December 10, 1969).

From these four highlights of the relationship between the Board of Education and URC we can draw these conclusions:

(1) URC played a decisive role in the Board of Education's decision to establish Metro High School.

(2) URC could rely only on its wits and careful homework in influencing key decisions regarding the school's development. Its main source of power to influence decisions came from the General superintendent's perception that the business community could make a contribution to public education and that the development of Metro required skills not readily available from the Board of Education's staff.

(3) The combined decisions to place Metro in Dr. Lawrence's District and to not accept her recommendation as to principal established a pattern of antagonism between her and URC and between her and the school. These decisions also established that neither the line bureaucracy nor the outside consultants would have unchecked freedom in influencing decisions regarding Metro's development; rather they would be held in tension, checking each other, with Dr. Redmond and other members of his downtown holding the final decision-making power.

(4) It became clear during this period that Dr. Redmond and the URC consultants had basic differences in their perceptions concerning the nature of Metro and how it would function. URC saw the school as testing a broad new approach to education that would use a wide variety of community resources and saw it as an opportunity to bring decision-making about the way the school functioned down to the teacher, student, and parent level. Dr. Redmond, with his focus on the school as a means for involving business in education, did not share these conceptions. He was unwilling to change what he saw as the orderly procedure of school system functioning to assist Metro's development.

(5) In this situation, URC spent considerable time developing strategies to (a) maintain as much autonomy in program development for themselves and for the staff and students of the school and (b) get the Board of Education staff to make decisions and provide services on a timetable that would allow the school to function. These were continuing themes in URC-Board of Education relationships and later in the relationship of the Metro staff with the Board of Education.

(6) It became apparent during this period that along with the tasks of assisting the school's program development, URC (and later the Metro staff) would have to spend considerable time developing and carrying out strategies for dealing with the Board of Education administrative hierarchy.

Some generalizations and comments concerning the implementation period

Patterns of relationships established during the initial planning period were played out many times during the first year and a half of Metro's operation. It is beyond the scope of this summary to spell out all the events that filled out the relationships within the patterns already established. When Metro opened in February 1970, the patterns of relationships became more complicated because they were now between three parties: URC, the Metro staff, and the Board of Education. Two generalizations can be made regarding the relationships after the planning period: (1) the relationships between URC and the Metro staff went through three phases and (2) URC often served as a buffer between the Metro staff and the Board.

The three phases of URC's role in the URC-Metro staff relationship may be described as initiating, advising, and "turn-keying." While, throughout the period of URC's being under contract with the Board, URC consultants worked on a daily basis at the school with the Metro staff, the nature of their role changed with time and Metro's development.

The first phase ran from the opening of the school to about the end of the first semester of operation. Due to Board delays in the selection of principal and staff, it was impossible for the staff to become oriented to the philosophy and procedures of the school by its opening. The URC consultants played a key decision-making role in the early weeks of operation since they were the only people who had a clear viewpoint about what the school should be like. At the end of the first semester the staff and principal, having gradually taken on more initiative, had become knowledgeable and comfortable about Metro and wanted the URC consultants to relate to the school in their formal role as consultants, putting the day to day decisions in the hands of the staff. Donn Kesselheim and Mike Greenebaum left the URC staff in June, 1970 (see June 30, 1970), and in discussions with Dr. Redmond the new role for URC was formalized. Dr. Lawrence, the District Superintendent, was in full support of the lessening influence of URC on Metro.

This second phase continued throughout the second semester. At the beginning of that semester Metro was not settled into its new space, creating many problems for the school (see August 28; September 16; October 12-16, 19-30, and 26, 1970). The confusion resulting from this crisis again put URC in an initiative-taking position. When the crisis was over URC again receded to a more background role.

The third phase covered the third semester. URC's objective during this semester was to continue developing in the staff the capability to carry on all the functions URC had been performing for Metro so that by June, 1971, the staff would be completely independent. By and large this goal was accomplished. The degree of URC's success at this can partly be seen in the role URC played in its relationship to the staff during the space crisis which began on March 18, 1971, and ended on April 23, 1971 (the entries in the chronology between these dates coded B5 and some of the entries coded B refer to this space crisis). The staff took the basic initiative in making decisions and developing strategies in the handling of the crisis. URC provided resources of time and experience in supporting the staff's efforts. This was a different pattern from previous crisis where the staff would fall back and call on URC to take initiatives, such as during the time when Metro was in temporary quarters in the fall of 1970. When URC left the school in June, 1971, both Metro staff and the URC consultants agreed that the school was ready for complete independence from URC's involvement.

It should be emphasized that while the overall pattern of transition in URC role reflected in the documents is clear, it was not accomplished without considerable conflict and trauma at specific points in the period under study. For example, near the end of the first period, Mr. Blackman, the principal, began to assert his decision-making role. While URC consultants were supportive of this change in general, they often found it difficult to draw back from former patterns of influence and sometimes fell without thinking into such patterns (e.g., when a staff member would come to one of the consultants for a decision that should have been by the principal).

Later, when the URC staff was attempting to turn all systems within the school over to the staff, the consultants still exerted considerable influence on staff members (e.g., by offering opinions in staff meetings) and staff members viewed them with a mixture of respect and distrust. Near the end of the period under study, this tension between URC and staff was heightened when some staff members developed the conviction that URC was going to try to extend its contract to work with them even if Metro wasn't expanded. Relationships improved in the final weeks when it became apparent that the consultants did not intend to do this.

URC often served as a buffer between the Metro staff and the Board of Education, resulting in the school having greater autonomy than would have been the case if URC had not been present. There were several incidents and issues, when the District Superintendent would make a decision contrary to the school's perceived needs or when the Board of Eduation central staff would simply not take action on an issue that needed resolution, where URC was able to successfully intercede. Some examples were the issue of accreditation, the attempts to secure equipment and supplies, and the use and payment of ancillary personnel. It would have been impossible for either teachers or the principal, within their lines of authority, to question action taken or not taken. While the buffer departed with URC in June 1971, patterns had been established which allowed Metro more autonomy in a manner somewhat more consistent with its own principles and not those of the Board's bureaucracy. Finally, URC in its middle position between the school and the Board frequently drew frustration and irritation from the Board and the Metro staff toward itself rather than toward each other.

The sketch we have presented in this section of the relationship between the URC consultants and the Chicago Board of Education is on the one hand considerably less detailed than the chronology and on the other both broader in scope and more focused. Its breadth comes from covering events and issues not presented in the chronology. It focuses on only one strong current running through Metro's history during the period of URC's involvement with the school. In Metro's life many events, processes, and crisis were ocurring simultaneously at any given moment. While the relationship between URC and the Board of Education was perhaps the single most important factor in the establishment and development of Metro, we hope the reader will realize that any other thread running through Metro's first two years also has a broader, richer, more complicated history and texture than the chronology allows one to see.

Implications

From the experience of collecting and analyzing information from documents we have come to the following conclusions on collecting historical information about a school's educational and social processes:

(1) We found that organizing the documents around categories or themes limited the presentation of the rich data available. The documents in themselves represent end products and often miss the process. By using the documents to identify events we came closer to reconstructing the historical processes behind Metro. Finally, presentation by events of a school's development has been demonstrated by other CNS work to be an effective way to make information useful to other practitioners. The chronology, then, consists of events arranged by date.

(2) Systems for categorizing documents should evolve from the beginning. The basic arrangement should be by date. A coding system by general topic allows some access by general topic within the chronological structure. Codes should be added to the collected documents and these codes should change as knowledge and perceptions of the processes involved become richer and more complex. The computer system described in Chapter 3 provides a mechanism for easy retrieval of such information.

(3) A major effort should be made to collect documents and written records of events from the variety of perspectives that exist in and around a school -- teachers, students, parents, school administrators, district administrators, consultants, and community people.

(4) It would be useful to prepare event cards from the documents about every three months, rather than after two or three years. This would allow for filling in gaps and fleshing out events represented by documents while memory is still fresh. It would provide useful feedback to the participants as well as serving as a useful check on the quality and thoroughness of the documenting effort.

Limitations

In reading the analysis E in this chapter and the chronology in Appendix E, several limitations become apparent. First, the chronology does not offer a complete and balanced representation of the flow of events in the development of Metro and it should not be read as intending to. In the process of building the chronology we discovered that a few documents were missing, some important events were not documented, and sometimes less important events were better documented than more important events. The emphasis, by amount of detail given, on a particular event in the chronology does not necessarily correlate with its importance in the development of Metro. As described above, some documents have not been used at all in building the chronology.

Second, the perspective of the chronology is basically that of URC. URC staff both collected the documents from which the chronology has been drawn and prepared the chronology.

Third, the chronology is like the tip of an iceberg. Since many underlying processes and concerns are not developed in the written documents, they are not well represented in the chronology of events. The chronology is sometimes a guide to the larger processes at work in the development of Metro, but cannot be viewed as a detailed map of these processes themselves. For example, only a little of the complexity and commanding importance of the relationship between the Board of Education and URC is suggested in the chronology. Some other processes whose importance is underrepresented in the chronology are: interpersonal differences in views and tensions between URC staff members as well as with other personalities interacting in the Metro arena; the give and take of decision-making as it happens in meetings -- the chronology records the results, not the process; and the ways in which the URC staff gave day by day support to the Metro staff in the gradual building and development of the Metro staff's self-sufficiency in operating Metro.

Chapter 9 suggests ways that the collection and analysis of documents can be combined with other methods most productively.

CHAPTER 8. KEY SUBSTANTIVE FINDINGS AND ISSUES

This chapter is not a complete summary of the important findings of the research. Indeed, one of our key findings is that the effectiveness of a program like Metro depends on the details of implementation of a large number of specific activities, such as the way tokens are allocate for travel to community-based classes, the skills of individual teachers in group counseling, and the process by which the nature of a specific learning experience is clarified for students on the first day of class. It is for this reason that we suggest a model for assistance to schools in Chapter 10 that organizes such detailed information around a set of approximately seventy critical activities.

This chapter examines a few selected results of our research, emphasizing both conclusions solidly established by our work and issues that require further exploration. In this discussion, we focus on six questions in turn:

1. What were some characteristics of the Metro and control students at the time Metro began?
2. What were some major characteristics of social structure and process that distinguished Metro from conventional schools?
3. How were some of these changes perceived and valued by Metro students and by groups within the student body?
4. What are some ways in which Metro students overall were different from control students overall as a result of their respective high school experiences?

5. What were some differential effects of the Metro and control experiences on various subcategories of students?

6. Overall, what are some key issues raised by the research with implications for the development of alternative high school learning environments?

What were some characteristics of the Metro and control students at the time Metro began?

Many of our responses to this question come from the pretest questionnaire data:

1. In their sex and race distribution, they closely mirrored the composition of the high school population of the Chicago public schools. Metro was 53% black, 43% Anglo, and 4% Latino and were evenly split between males and females.

2. Their socioeconomic range was wide, with substantial representation in each of the socioeconomic status groups employed in the analysis. Black students came from somewhat lower socioeconomic status backgrounds than Anglos, but the difference was not a radical one.

3. The students were also diverse in the level of education attained by their parents with 60% of parents not having attended college, 20% having graduated from college.

4. Both black and Anglo students had appreciable rates of father absence from the home, with black students (60% absent) significantly higher than Anglo student (26% absent).

5. The students expressed somewhat less identification with their parents than a more representative sample of American students tested by Kandel and Lesser, but the differences were not great (and did not change in the program).

6. The distribution of students coming from various tracks in their previous high schools generally reflected the distribution of Anglo and black students in tracks in Chicago public high schools, except that Metro had somewhat more honors and regular track students.. However, the overall pattern in Chicago public high schools is that substantially more black than Anglo students are in remedial tracks and substantially fewer black than Anglo students in honor tracks. Metro overall had 37% who came from remedial tracks, 41% from the regular track, and 21% fro the honors track. In reflecting Chicago's overall racial distribution of students from the various tracks, it had 2 1/2 times as many blacks as Anglos from the remedial tracks and 3 times as many Anglos as blacks fro the honors tracks. (Ther was no formal tracking system at Metro itself.)

7. More than half the Metro students came from schools that were almost all their own race.

8. About 75% of all Metro students said that realistically they planned to attend at least some college.

9. Overall, in responding to questions about their values, students ranked helping people and a secure future high and political activism and participation consistently low.

10. The average Metro student entered Metro months below national averages in measured reading achievement and months below national averages in measured math achievement. These averages however conceal an enormous difference in measured achievement and below the national average in math. The average Anglo student was months above the national average in math. Thus the overall distribution of students ranged from substantial numbers below the sixth grade level to substantial numbers achieving near entering college level.

Other information about the entering student body is supplied through other research methods. Mini-interviews indicate that most students came to Metro either to escape an undesirable former school or with a vague desire to try something new. Few students came to Metro with a fully worked out commitment to the school-without-walls notion, although this assumption was often made by staff.

Case studies suggest that many Metro students were marginal to the peer social structure in their own neighborhood and school and felt that it didn't mesh with their own interests and goals.

An important set of generalizations about the entering student body was established through participant observation during the program. This observation indicated that identifiable subgroups within the Metro student body had before they came to Metro, developed beliefs and styles of action related to school that significantly influenced their responses to the Metro program. These subgroups can be described as follows:

> Black School-Oriented: The Black School-Oriented students conformed to the expectations of their previous schools, in terms of both academic performance and personal behavior. They viewed school in terms of getting a good job and going to college. They tended to complete school work faithfully and had a wide range of skill levels and records of past achievement. They came from lower to middle income background.
>
> Black Youth Culture/School-Oriented (Black Youth Culture): These students had many characteristics in common with the Black School-Oriented group. However, they were more aware of the political dimensions of the black consciousness movement and talked about success in school as a means for gaining skills that would further black political development.
>
> Black School-Alienated: The previous experiences of these students had been characterized by academic failure and conflict with the school. They identified strongly with black students from similar backgrounds. These students also identified with the esthetic elements of black consciousness in terms of dress and music. They tended to come from low-income families and often lived in large housing projects or physically decaying inner city neighborhoods.

White School-Oriented: These students had the same general characteristics as Black School-Oriented students.

White School-Alienated/(White Youth Culture): These students, mostly from middle income backgrounds, identified with the "counter culture." They tended to be articulate and expressed radical political views. They may have recently failed in school because they were "fed up with it," but their past school records included periods of high achievement, and they were generally above grade level in basic skills.

White School-Alienated/Ethnic (White Ethnic): These students had a history of past school experience similar to the Black School-Alienated students. Their family income levels fell in the low to middle range. Members of the group generally saw themselves as "greasers," and thus acted out their alienation from the school in a manner that is consistent with the values of urban ethnic white youth. They were particularly hostile to the White School-Alienated/Youth Culture students.

What were some major characteristics of social structure and process that distinguished Metro from traditional schools?

Below we have listed some of the differences in social structure and process that distinguished Metro from conventional schools. Note that these are the differences that have emerged given the particular emphases of our research and given the resources we had to analyze our data, and thus they should not be seen as an exhaustive list.

1. As indicated by the characteristics of Metro students cited above, Metro brought together one of the most diverse student bodies in the country in terms of race, socioeconomic status, and previous school experience. During the period under study, students formed friendship groups that were largely divisions within the major student subgroups described

above. Within these groups students found a much higher degree of interpersonal communication and support than they found in traditional schools. The relationship between subgroups was generally one of "live and let live" with students not hassling and intimidating each other, but also not forming close friendships across subgroup lines with high frequency.

2. Metro was considerably smaller than other Chicago High Schools, first with enrollment of 150 and then and enrollment of 350. Smaller size allowed for flexibility and an ability to deal with issues on a face-to-face basis that would have been extremely difficult in a larger school. The shift from 150 to 350, which was accompanied by the confusion of being housed in inadequate temporary headquarters, was regarded by many students as resulting in a distinct decrease in the cohesiveness of the school community.

3. The open space physical layout of the school in which no space was completely set aside for any one role group was an element of the school that facilitated the changes it instituted.

4. The flexible time organization of the school, which included study periods of varying lengths, free periods, and time for travel also facilitated the innovations.

5. The school received initial support from the General Superintendent of schools and his key staff members. Since it was placed in a geographical district within the school system to report to a

District Superintendent who was hostile to the program, the school was involved in repeated conflicts with the District Superintendent and other middle level administrators over the school's autonomy to develop its program and its prerogatives for obtaining needed logistic support from the school system. This conflict absorbed large amounts of time for the principal, the teachers, and the consultants who advised the school.

6. Through the initiatives of the consultants who helped start the program, the General Superintendent selected a principal for the school who was supportive of the school's innovations in educational practice.

7. The initial group of teachers in the school and those who augmented the staff later were carefully selected by planners and participants in the program based on their perceived commitment to the school's philosophy. Such control over staff selection is normally not permitted in Chicago public schools. The teachers chosen were young and energetic. Most had had a few years of urban teaching experience, although some came directly from teacher training programs.

8. A norm was established among teachers in the school that they expected each other to work long hours, staying at the school until five o'clock each evening and devoting many evenings and weekends to the school program. During the period under study, tension over this time commitment mounted, resulting in some teachers drawing back from this extensive commitment and others "burning out" and leaving.

9. The traditional school is characterised by a high degree of specialization and a low degree of interdependence. Metro's staff was highly interdependent and took on as a group many tasks that had been reserved in the traditional school for specialized personnel. The consultants who started the school emphasized this concept, seeing it as a way to counteract the fragmentation they felt was a problem of traditional education. The tasks teachers undertook included planning and teaching individual courses, making institutional decisions, implementing institutional decisions that often involved developing totally new systems (e.g., for evaluating students), counseling students in groups, counseling individual students and talking with them informally, helping students plan their programs, making contacts for outside courses, monitoring the quality of outside courses, dealing with crises in the school's development, etc.

The large number of tasks they undertook resulted in a role overload which put severe strains on them. During the study period, they sought to deal with this overload by becoming more efficient in some tasks, delegating others to specialists, and opting out of some tasks. At the end of the study period, the staff was about evenly divided concerning the importance of maintaining wide involvement in the different aspects of the orginally developed staff role.

10. One major goal of the school was to involve both staff and students in institutional decision making. Attempts to involve students in decision making met with limited success and so decision-making power evolved to staff meetings and committees.

11. One of the key organizational innovations that distinguished Metro from convential schools was the much closer teacher-student relationships in the school. Drawing from the data collected using various research methods, these relationships can be characterized as follows:

a. Non-authoritarian: Lacking rigid superior-subordinate norms and rules.

b. Non-compartmentalized: allowing communication between teacher and student on almost any subject of personal concern, not limited to "school" topics.

c. Encouraging dialogue: encouraging honest two-way communication between teacher and student not censored becaused of role relationship.

d. Warm: characterized by a high degree of positive and supportive expression of affect.

e. Individualized: attempting to respond to individual student interests, personalities and backgrounds with respect assignments, standards of performance, and teaching interactions.

f. Not time-bound: encouraged at any time the teacher was in the school without formal scheduling and by many teachers during evenings and weekends away from school.

g. Allowing criticism of the teacher: encouraging students to voice criticism of courses and the school program.

This new basis for student-teacher relationships introduced a major conflict for teachers between the open, accepting, and humanistic thrust of the new role and the need to set limits and standards for student in both their academic work and in other aspects of their functioning in the school. Teachers became aware of this conflict and struggled with varying degrees of success to reconcile the two aspects of their role that were in tension.

12. Another major organizational innovation was the freeing of students from the rules about personal action that characterize convential schools. Metro students were allowed to eat when they wanted, wear what they wanted, go to the bathroom when they wanted, meet informally with friends during free time, move around the city during free time, get up and leave a class. One major effect of this change was the reduction of tension between students and teachers, who did not have to spend their time attempting to enforce such rules.

13. Another major organizational change was a great widening of the learning experience options available for students beyond the traditional high school curriculum. These learning experiences met for one or more ten-week periods, and there were generally 150 of them to choose from. They were generally classes of 5 to 15 students taught by a Metro teacher, an outside resource person, or in some cases a student. The courses were generally developed by Metro teachers or outside resource people with some student suggestion and input.

Students were free to choose from the 150 learning units offered, within constraints of subject matter distribution to fill Board of Education requirements for graduation. These requirements, combined with scheduling problems and difficulties of communicating the nature of curses to students, placed some appreciable limits on student freedom of choice, although their range of choice was still quite great in comparison to traditional schools.

14. An important part of the varied academic offerings of Metro were courses meeting in and using the resources of the city. During the period of study, about 60% of Metro courses met outside the Metro headquarters and many other courses made regular trips into the community. Of courses meeting outside the headquarters about half were merely using meeting space and the other half made some direct use of the resources at the meeting place (e.g., a course in modern art at the Museum of Contemporary Art). Some courses meeting outside and using outside resources were taught primarily by a paid Metro teacher, some by an outside resource person, and some by some combination of Metro and outside teachers. Individual placements of students were tried extensively in one attempt to develop "core courses," but this attempt was dropped. Independent study was available to students but was primarily taken advantage of by White Youth-Culture students.

The fact that Metro students were exposed to varied persons, situations, and organizations in the city through this aspect of the program is supported not only by participant observation but also by significant differences between Metro and control students on the Experience in the City scale administered as part of the questionnaire.

15. Another significant innovation implemented by Metro was a counseling group, a group of fifteen students meeting several hours each week to discuss personal and adademic issues, carry out group activities, plan academic programs, and handle administrative details. This innovation

had been dropped by the end of the period of study. It appeared to fail largely because staff lacked sufficient skills in group counseling. However, the formation of the group had the benefit of encouraging a close personal relationship to develop between teacher and student and this individual aspect of the counseling was continued.

16. Individual learning units generally adopted a mode of group discussion, often supplemented by direct city experience (*e.g.*, going to felony court to watch trials). Through initial group discussion, teachers attempted to involve students in setting the direction of their learning units, but these initiatives were resisted by students. Over time, most teachers adopted a strategy of setting up an initial structure or set of experiences for students and providing an opportunity for them to modify this structure are various points.

Within classes and within the school generally there was a strong norm that encouraged students to express their own opinions and beliefs. There was a higher level of interest and involvement in Metro classes than in traditional classes, both on the part of teachers and students (although there were variations in student response discussed below).

Because of the emphasis on student involvement in setting class directions, the nature of student-teacher relationships, and the general emphasis on freedom at Metro, there was a tension in classes concerning the setting of limits and expectations. This problem did not relate to "discipline," with which Metro had comparatively little problem in classes. It related rather to attendance, setting of assignments, completion of assignments, and quality of work. Most teachers tried to steer a middle course between holding certain clear standards and being responsive to the perceived interests and abilities of individual students.

17. There were important differences observed between the responses of various student subgroups to the major innovations offered by Metro. The White Youth-Culture group responded most enthusiastically and naturally to the emphasis on active choice and participation in institutional decision-making, course choice, classroom decision-making, learning in the city, and egalitarian student-teacher relationships. They were followed closely by the Black Youth-Culture students.

The Black and White School-Oriented subgroups were at first troubled by the responsibilities that had been thrust on them, but most made an adjustment to the expectations of the new program, even if they did not embrace its innovations with the jest of the Youth-Culture groups. The Black and White School-Alienated students found many aspects of the program in conflict with their values and styles of action. They resisted the open-ended formats for involvement in decision making at the institutional and classroom level. They often related to the course offerings as a series of requirements to be dealt with in the traditional manner. They did not enter as frequently into the discussions that characterized Metro classes. Although most developed a trusting relationship with at least one teacher, they did not display the general trust in teachers that other subgroups developed. They perceived, in many cases accurately, that their concerns (*e.g.*, their concern about the need for dances, sports teams, and cheerleaders) were not acted on in the way the Youth culture students' concerns were.

The process of completing this summary makes the point with which we began it all the more obvious -- no brief summation can capture the complexities of the patterns of social process that determined the shape of the major changes that were attempted at Metro. To gain a level of understanding useful in implementing these processes effectively, one must understand them in the detail with which they are presented in Chapter 6 and in other parts of this report.

How were some of these changes perceived and valued by Metro students and by subgroups within the Metro student body?

Since overall student opinion on this subject was tapped through questionnaries, in-depth interviews, mini-interviews, and a follow-up study, we can speak with a great deal of confidence on this subject. First, we review the major results derived fro each method. Then, we combine them in an overall picture of student opinion.

The questionnaire showed highly significant differences in student opinion concerning the climate of traditional schools as compared to Metro, centering around three variables:

1. Institutional rigidity: the traditional school was characterized as authoritarian and inflexible, with students and teachers acting out a ritual in which they had little investment. Metro was seen as lacking this rigidity.

2. Metro was seen as characterized by high interest and involvement on the part of students and teachers, while the traditional school was not.

3. Metro was seen as encouraging the independent thinking while the traditional school was not.

In-depth interviews indicated the valued characteristics of both the school overall and teachers in particular. With respect to school climate overall, students perceived Metro as encouraging significantly more freedom of expression in class, more cameraderie with fellow students, higher interest in the academic program,fewer limits in academic choice and better preparation for the future.

As explained in Chapter 2, the phrasing of the question concerning student-teacher relationships in the in-depth interviews made it an invalid indicator of Metro-control differences. However, dimensions mentioned by students as being positively and negatively valued are useful in this discussion since they can be related to other results. Students positively valued teachers who were willing to engage in an open two-way dialogue with the student, who were willing to allow this dialogue to range over any topic of interest to the student rather than limiting it to subject matter concerns, who were warm in their relations with students, who were interesting and original in their approach to teaching, who were not authoritarian in relating to students, and who were not unfair in dealing with students.

Another related set of desired school characteristics describing Metro emerges from the mini-interviews. At the end of the first semester of Metro's operation, Experimental I students were asked how Metro was different from their old school. Students most frequently mentioned the freedom to talk with teachers (which included the freedom to discuss personal concerns and the freedom to criticize the teacher and the school). They also mentioned frequently the freedom to make small personal decisions, the opportunity to express oneself freely, and the friendly relationships among students.

A year later a sample of Experimental II students were asked the same question in a mini-interview. They mentioned most frequently: closer relationships with teachers, lack of petty rules, better student-student relationships, and freedom to move around the city.

Follow-up interviews with Metro students five years after they entered Metro revealed the following as the most salient characteristics of the school: freedom from petty rules, interest in class and other academic content, preparation for the future, positive challenge, and camaraderie with other students. With respect to student-teacher relationships, students valued non-compartmentalization, dialogue and warmth. One difference between earlier interviews with Metro students and follow-up interviews was the greater number of negative statements about Metro, although positive comments continued to significantly outnumber negative ones. The negative comments were in the areas of freedom from rules (it didn't give us enough structure), preparation for the future (it didn't prepare us enough for college), positive challenge (it was too easy), and camaraderie (some tensions developed among students as the school got older).

Participant observation is another major source of evidence on student perceptions of the Metro experience. Since overall results are consistent with those derived from other methods, we will not review these results in detail, except to say that they confirm the types of results obtained by other methods. Participant observation findings are discussed below in differentiating these overall results with respect to student subgroups.

Summarizing the differences between Metro and the control schools that are perceived as most salient by students based on confirmation by several research methods, we identify the following:

1. Student-teacher relationships characterized by dialogue, non-compartmentalization, warmth, and lack of authoritarianism.
2. Freedom from petty rules and restrictions and an organization not characterized by rigidity and authoritarianism.
3. High interest and involvement on the part of students and teachers, both in class and out.

4. Encouragement of students to express individual opinions and to think independently.

5. A lack of tension in student-student relationships and a positive state of student camaraderie at least among groups of friends.

6. Mentioned with somewhat lower priorities and mentioned only in results obtained with one method were feeling of preparation for the future, freedom to move around the city, and expanded course choice.

It is important to note some patterns in these results. The emphasis of students in noting positively-valued characteristics of school environments is overwhelmingly in the area of interpersonal relationships. It is the interpersonal characteristics of teachers' interactions with students and not their academic competence that is mentioned. High interest and involvement likewise reflect an affective interpersonal dimension, as does the expression of individual student opinion, and positive relationships with fellow students. Aspects of the academic program are mentioned much less frequently, and the school without walls notion is also mentioned seldom. This pattern of results is especially interesting because participant observation established that during the study period Metro was not merely a "free school," where people sat around and rapped. It was attempting several significant academic innovations. However, it was dimension of the interpersonal that was most salient and most immediately valued by the students. One might believe that students alone should not set the direction for their education and thar one should not let short-term needs obscure long-term ones. It is difficult, however, in thinking about future school design to ignore the thrust of student priority that comes through so strongly and consistently in our results.

Information about variations in these overall patterns of student perception among subdivisions of the students come primarily from participant observation and from computer analysis of the school climate scale. As has been discussed earlier, participant observation suggests that while all six student subgroups had some aspects of Metro that they positively valued, those who had the most positive overall opinions about such characteristics of Metro were (1) the White Youth Culture Students, followed by (2) the Black Youth Culture, (3) Black and White School-Oriented, and (4) the Black School-Alienated and White Ethnics. Thus, for example, participant observation indicated that while students in most subgroups valued non-compartmentalization and dialogue in student-teacher relations, the White Youth Culture saw these characteristics as permeating almost all student-teacher relationships at Metro, while the Black School-Alienated student perceived these characteristics only in her relations with one or two teachers. Further, White School-Alienated students would freely express individual opinions, while many White Ethnic students were usually silent in class.

Partially supporting these patterns established from participant observation are the results from the Perception of School Climate scale from the questionnaire. The White Youth Culture students were most critical of their previous schools and highest in their average rating of Metro. In contrast, the Black School-Alienated students registered the smallest difference between their rating of their previous school and their rating of Metro. Further, there was a statistically significant difference between the posttest ratings of Metro by the Black School-Alienated and White Youth Culture Group without taking pretest scores into account as co-variates. However, there was no statistically significant difference between the two groups on a comparison of posttest scores with pretests as covariates.

A second question asked of the Perception of School Climate results was whether there were differences for black and Anglo students. In this analysis (unlike the subgroup analysis described above), we can use Control I data for comparison. The results indicate a highly significant Experimental I versus Control I difference and, further, a racial effect in which Anglo students in the Metro sample rated Metro significantly higher than did Metro blacks.

We can summarize the above discussion of differences in perceptions of characteristics of Metro by saying that as a group Metro students saw Metro as significantly different from control schools on the dimensions discussed earlier, that this was true across racial and subgroups, but that for Anglo students and especially White Youth Culture students the difference was greater and for black students generally and for Black School-Alienated and White Ethnic students particularly the differences were less extreme.

What are some ways in which Metro students overall were different from Control students overall as a result of their respective high school experience?

Clear comparative data to deal with this question comes from the questionnaire and test data collected after three semesters of the program, the study of student credit records four years after Metro's opening, and the follow-up survey conducted five years after Metro's opening. The major results of the Experimental I versus Control I comparsion after three semesters of Metro operation were as follows:

1. Metro students made significantly greater gains in reading achievement, gaining at a rate greater than the national average over the period under study, while control students made minimal gains.

2. Metro students perceived the climate of Metro (as compared to their previous schools) to be characterized by significantly more of the attributes which Metro's originators hoped would characterize its climate. Differences were large and highly significant. A factor analysis of results indicates that Metro students were perceiving three main areas of difference between Metro and their old school: an absence of Institutional Rigidity, the presence of High Interest and Involvement, and the encouragement of Independent Thinking. Comparison with control students indicates that they perceived the presence of Institutional Rigidity, absence of High Interest and Involvement, and the discouragement of Independent Thinking.

3. Metro students after 18 months at Metro had had significantly more contact with a variety of people, institutions, and situations in the city than had control students.

4. Control students made relatively greater progress in math than Metro students, a difference approaching significance at the .05 level. Although control students made gains at less than half the rate of the average American student, the Metro students did even worse, actually losing ground on the test rather than gaining any.

5. No important differences between Experimental I and Control I students were observed on scales of Self Image, Sense of Control, Identification with Parents, Nature of Hoped-For Life Accomplishments, and Characteristics of Ideal Job. As discussed in more detail in Chapter 10, we attribute these non-significant results to the fact that the instruments used were inappropriate, in view of extensive participant observation evidence of a high degree of interpersonal input at Metro that might be expected to affect some of these areas.

The second point at which we gathered information was in the study of Metro student credit records four years after Metro opened. Since we did not have access to Control I credit records, no comparison was possible with control data. The analysis shows that overall 56% of the students who originally entered Metro graduated from Metro, while 23% dropped out of Metro, 11% transferred from Metro, and 10% left without clearly stating whether they were dropping out or transferring.

The third point at which we gathered information was five years after Metro opened in a follow-up study in which we attempted to interview by telephone all students in the original Experimental I and Control I samples who had completed the pretest questionnaire. The results of this follow-up study with respect to Experimental I versus Control I differences were as follows:

1. About half of the original samples were contacted in the follow-up, and they generally reflected the racial and socioeconomic distributions of the sample as a whole.

2. For both Experimental I and Control I, about 80% of the follow-up students contacted reported they had graduated from some high school. This figure is 25% higher than the previously reported information on Metro students based on credit records, which indicated 56% of the Metro sample graduated from Metro. Even allowing for those students who left Metro but graduated from another high school, these figures indicate that those contacted in the follow-up overrepresent high school graduates. Using information from both sources, we estimate that about 70% of students who were in the Experimental I and Control I samples graduated from some high school. Assuming the same bias is operating in both Experimental I and Control I, one can still conclude that the overall percentage of students graduating in the Experimental I and Control I situations was the same.

3. More Control I students than Experimental I students attended some form of postsecondary education (76% as compared with 63%). This difference did not approach statistical significance.

4. Experimental I students who did attend some form of postsecondary education were more likely to attend more competitive four-year colleges as opposed to Control I students who were more likely to attend two-year colleges and vocational programs. This difference was statistically significant at the .05 level.

5. Experimental I students continued to rate the characteristics of Metro's school climate and student-teacher relationships significantly more positively than Control students rated the climates of their conventional schools.

6. There were no significant differences between the socioeconomic status ratings of Experimental I and Control I for jobs held since high school and job expected in ten years.

Many of these results speak for themselves. Some patterns and interconnections among them can be reviewed more cogently after we present additional information in response to the next question concerning differential outcomes for specific subcategories of students.

What were some differential effects of the Metro and control experiences on various subcategories of students?

As discussed earlier, we identified six student subgroups in the Metro student body (Black School-Oriented, Black Youth Culture/School-Oriented, Black School-Alienated, White School-Oriented, White School-Alienated/Youth Culture, and White School-Alienated/Ethnic). We predicted there would be substantial differences on variables tapped by the questionnaire and achievement tests between these subgroups both at the time they entered Metro and at the end of the period of study. It was further predicted that Metro would have a differential effect on the subgroups. To test this line of argument, the Black School-Alienated students, whom it was predicted were benefiting least from Metro, were compared to the other subgroups. It was also predicted that White Youth Culture students were benefiting most from Metro. Concerning their relative status when entering Metro, the following patterns among subgroups were observed:

1. On the pretest, Black School-Alienated students ranked significantly lower than every other group on tests of reading and math skills, but not significantly lower on other variables. They were not as critical of their old school on the Perception of School Climate Scale as were some other subgroups.

2. Consistent with our predictions, the White Youth Culture students on the pretest ranked highest of all subgroups on Self Image, Preference for First-Hand Learning, Experience in the City, Reading Achievement, and Math Achievement. They were the most critical of all subgroups of their old schools. These mean differences were not subjected to significance tests.

3. The mean rankings of subgroups on Reading and Math Achievement when the program began were consistent with our participant observations. The ranking of group means on both achievement tests were as follows: White Youth Culture, White School-Oriented, Youth Culture, White Ethnic, Black School-Oriented, and Black School-Alienated. These mean differences were not subjected to significance tests.

Concerning the relative status of subgroups on the posttest without respect to their pretest scores, we observed the following:

1. The differences in Reading and Math Achievement between the Black School-Alienated student and the other subgroups was still statistically significant and had increased somewhat.

2. The White Youth Culture students ranked highest of all subgroups on Self Image, Sense of Control, Preference Achievement, and Math Achievement. They rated Metro highest of all subgroups on the Perception of School Climate Scale. These patterns were not subjected to significance tests.

3. There were statistically significant or almost significant differences between the Black School-Alienated students and the White Youth Culture students on these same variables: Self Image, Sense of Control, Preference for First-Hand Learning, Experience in the City, Reading Achievement, and Math Achievement.

Concerning the measurement of differential program effects between subgroups (i.e., analyses of posttests with pretests employed as covariates), the following patterns were observed:

1. There were no statistically significant differences among subgroups on any variable once pretest scores were taken into account as covariates.

2. In examining gain scores, there was some suggestion that the Black School-Alienated students were lagging behind other subgroups somewhat. They had the smallest gain scores among Metro subgroups on Sense of Control, Perception of School Climate, Experience in the City, and Reading Achievement. On the other hand, they made the largest gain in Self Image and their gain in Reading Achievement, while smaller than other Metro subgroups, was larger than the average gains of either Anglo or black students in the control group.

Concerning the comparison of black and Anglo students in the Metro and control groups, we observed the following patterns:

1. There were highly significant Anglo-black differences on pretests in Reading and Math and significant but weaker differences in Sense of Control and Self Image regardless of whether students were in Experimental or Control.

2. Earlier it has been observed that there were Experimental I versus Control I differences that can be attributed to program effects in Reading Achievement, Perception of School Climate, Experience in the City, and Math Achievement. This further analysis indicates that with respect to these treatment effects:

    a. The difference in Reading Achievement can be attributed primarily to the effect of the Metro experience, although the gains for Anglo students were somewhat greater than the gains for black students.

    b. The difference in Perception of School Climate reflects both a strong treatment effect in which Metro students scored significantly higher than controls and a racial effect within the Metro sample, in which Anglo students scored appreciably higher than black students.

c. The difference in Experience in the City was a treatment effect not influenced by race.

d. The difference in Math Achievement was substantially a racial effect in which black students regardless of treatment did more poorly than Anglos. Metro black students were especially weak in Math Achievement during the study period.

3. At the end of the study period, an examination of posttests without pretests as covariates indicates that there were still strong racial differences regardless of treatment in Reading and Math Achievement level.

Drawing on both the study of Metro credit records and the follow-up telephone survey of Experimental I and Control I, we can present several additional conclusions about differential effects of the Metro and control experiences for various subcategories of students:

1. There was great disparity in Metro between the graduation rates from Metro of students from the six student subgroups. 75% of the White Youth Culture students who entered Metro graduated, 67% of the Black School-Oriented, 62% of the White School-Oriented, 16% of the Black School-Alienated, and 11% of the White Ethnics. This disparity in graduation rates was significant in a chi-square test at the .001 level. We have no comparative data for Control I since we could not establish subgroup classifications through observing Control I students.

2. Based on the telephone follow-up study, somewhat more Metro blacks than Control blacks graduated from some high school (86% versus 72%) and somewhat more Metro Anglos than Control Anglos graduated from high school (89% versus 79%). These results did not approach statistical significance.

3. More Control Blacks than Metro blacks attended some form of postsecondary education (77% versus 56%), but this result was not significant at the .10 level. This difference was accounted for by more Control blacks attending two-year and vocational programs.

4. Both Metro blacks and Anglos were very positive about the school climate of Metro and the student teacher-relationships there. Black students were slightly more positive than Anglo students, even though somewhat fewer black students finished Metro.

5. There were no appreciable differences in the socioeconomic status of the jobs the Anglo and black students in Experimental I and Control I had held since high school, nor in the socioeconomic status of jobs they predicted they would hold in ten years.

Drawing from the results presented with regard to differential effects of Experimental I and Control I and differential effects of both experiences on subcategories of students, we can make several overall observations. First, there is a frustrating decrease in the availability of information as the study proceeds from the intensive multi-method analysis of the first three semesters to the more limited follow-up information. The study of the first eighteen months underlined the complex interrelationship of process and outcome and the need to look at a variety of outcome and the need to look at a variety of outcomes; yet in the credit analysis and follow-up we have only basic information on graduation or non-graduation, college attendance or non-attendance, etc. Just as serious, no aspect of our study adequately measures, in our opinion, the intricacies of interpersonal and affective growth, which were a major area of focus in the Metro program and, judging from participant observation, one of its major areas of success. Thus, the study is open to a justified criticism that it measures least adequately differences between Metro and control that might have important effects on students in later life. For example, Metro teachers tell of two students who as a result of their Metro experience launched careers as, respectively, a successful actor and a successful photographer. These students would show up in our data only as two who did not go to college.

With these sorts of limitations in mind, there are some rather clear patterns in the data we do have. In the first eighteen months of Metro, Metro students did well in reading achievement and poorly in math achievement, both in comparison to national norms. We are not certain whether such growth was maintained. Reading growth may have been merely a Hawthorne effect. Further, it is clear that even though such growth occurred, it was not of the magnitude to overcome the enormous disparities between racial groups and between subgroups within the Metro student body. During the first eighteen months, Metro staff became acutely aware of this problem and intensified their efforts to work on basic skills in reading and math as we concluded our intensive research. We have no direct evidence on the results of this effort.

Comparisons from the follow-up study reveal no statistically significant differences between Metro and control on rates of high school graduation and postsecondary education attendance, nor of differences in these areas between black and Anglo students. However, in both areas, black students from Metro fare worse than black students from the control group.

One should note this trend in the data despite the lack of statistically significant differences.

Favoring Metro in the comparisons were the statistically significant tendency of Metro students who did attend postsecondary programs to attend more competitive schools and the continued high opinion that Metro students had of the school climate and student-teacher relationships at Metro, significantly more positive than control students.

Overall, given the low quality of the conventional Chicago schools perceived by the reformers who started Metro, these results of the study showing an overall lack of difference in graduation rates and college attendance between Metro and control students is extremely disappointing. Hopes for change were much higher. It appears that rather than to raise in general the levels of ability and the options available to students, Metro may have had a spreading out effect, increasing the options considerably for some students but limiting them (or at least not expanding them) for others.

Consistent with this viewpoint is the data on Metro graduation by student subgroup. The high rate of graduation for the White Youth Culture students combined with questionnaire and achievement test data showing that they consistently achieve the highest scores of any subgroup indicates on a variety of measures that they probably benefited much more from Metro than they would have from a conventional school experience. On the other hand, the extremely low rates of graduation for the Black School-Alienated and White School-Alienated/Ethnic students indicates that these students, who lose out in the conventional school, also lost out at Metro.

Overall, what are some key issues raised by the research with implications for the development of alternative high school learning environments?

Throughout this report, we have raised and discussed substantive issues raised by our findings. Below, we present a limited discussion of a few of these issues.

1. Our research program has documented a number of areas in which Metro has achieved important successes in accomplishing its original goals, and these can definitely be built on by other schools. Overall, Metro achieved student-teacher relationships that were characterized by non-compartmentalization, dialogue, warmth, and lack of authoritarianism. We have presented extensive evidence that such relationships were positively-valued by students, and we can imagine high school programs with a variety of goals and methods of organization that could develop these types of student-teacher relations.

A second area of achievement was in several aspects of the school's climate and organization that contributed significantly to satisfaction among students and to the achievement of other objectives. These include the abolition of rules governing personal behavior, high interest and involvement on the part of students and staff, encouragement of individual expression and independent thinking, positive student-student relationships, flexibility in the use of time (including open time that facilitated interaction), a limitation on school size, and an open space design in which neither staff nor students laid exclusive claim to particular physical spaces. The complex pathways by which these innovations were achived and the way they interrelated have been described extensively in other parts of the report.

A third major area of achievement was the development and implementation of formats for using the city as a resource, described in Chapter 6.

A fourth major area of achievement was the expansion of student academic choice and the involvement of students in decision-making at several levels within the institution. These last two areas of achievement were ones in which the organization also encountered numerous problems and failed to achieve some of its aims. The complex social dynamics of both success and failure in these areas can be capitalized on by other school programs.

2. Metro encountered a number of areas of difficuity in which its problems raise important questions for the development of other learning environments. Below we discuss several underlying characteristics of these problems. First, our research indicates the difficulties encountered in changing abstract objectives into functioning programs, even when there

is strong staff and student commitment to realize these objectives. Our findings emphasize the extent to which the implementation of successful programs depends on intricate patterns of social functioning and process that are not readily apparent, such as the ways in which students process written information about course options.

Second, many participants began to work on Metro with a faith in an organic process of development, the belief that if one was only freed up from the restrictions of the conventional school, then every objective that people hoped for would emerge naturally in the resulting situation. Participants discovered, however, that successful change involved much more than being freed up from old limitations. It depended on the careful planned development of new skills, roles, norms, and group structures that often involved careful action quite different from the approach that seemed most natural at the time.

Third, and closely related to the weaknesses of the organic approach, teachers often saw themselves as providing students with an opportunity to do something, such as participate in institutional decision-making. Our research suggests, however, that merely offering an opportunity is insufficient. If students are actually to participate in institutional decision making, for example, staff must see this as a skill to be developed rather than an opportunity to be provided.

Fourth, although Metro staff was generally very good at understanding student perspectives, there were some major areas of disparity between staff and student perception that raised difficulties in program implementation. For example, the reasons students came to the school, the initial degree of student interest in political issues and political activism, and the way students understood what it meant to participate in institutional decision-making more in reality quite different from the perceptions staff had of student belief in these areas. Another major area of disparity in perception was the inability of staff to understand the perceptions of Black School-Alienated and White Ethnic as well as they understood the perceptions of the White Youth Culture students, a topic discussed again below.

All of these types of difficulties (the dependence of innovation on the details of social process, the inadequacy of the organic philosophy, the need to develop students skills rather than to merely offer opportunities, and disparities between staff and student perceptions) can be seen in several major areas in which Metro attempted to carry out changes: institutional decision making, course choice, decision making in the classroom, counseling group, and development of positive race relations.

3. Another problem area that requires special emphasis was the difficulties of Metro in dealing with students with low skill levels and with Black School-Alienated and White Ethnic students. As in other areas of the program, it became apparent in this area that success

depends on a concerted effort to develop program patterns that deal with skill development and speak to the perceptions and needs of alienated student subgroups. Successful practices will not merely emerge in an open environment.

4. Although the focus of much of the research was on students, several important issues emerged with respect to staff. These included the value of assembling a staff that is predisposed toward the changes being attempted, the difficulties of staff role overload in an innovative school, the need for new staff skills in a school setting that necessitates considerable staff interdependence, the need for staff skill training in such areas as group counseling, and the role conflict that develops in a humanistic school between friendship with students and the setting of educational standards and limits.

5. A final area of difficulty that has implications for alternative schools is the relationship of Metro with the Board of Education. The school received neither the autonomy in program development not the support it needed from the rest of the school system. As a result considerable energy that might have gone into coping with internal development problems was expended in dealing with the rest of the school system. Alternative schools should give serious consideration to developing means for avoiding these problems, particularly in crucial early negotiations with the school system.

Above, we have touched briefly on some issues that raise implications for other alternative schools. We have purposely kept this section brief so as not to give the illusion that it captures the essence of what is important in the rest of the report. As we wish to emphasize again, the importance of our findings lies in the complex details of social functioning they reveal, not in broad generalizations.

CHAPTER 9. IMPLICATIONS FOR RESEARCH AND EVALUATION METHODOLOGY

The research employed six methods: group-administered attitude and achievement questionnaires, in-depth structured interviews, case studies of individual students, mini-interviews, participant observation, and document analysis. The first part of this chapter discusses issues raised by the use of each of these methods, pin-pointing strengths and weaknesses of each. The second part discusses a computer-based data retrieval system used in the research. The third pa[illegible] general observations about the strengths and weaknesses of the o[illegible]search program not dealt with in the discussion of specific methods. The fourth part describes a model for future research and evaluation that builds on the Metro research experience.

Analyes Of Specific Research Methods

Each of the six research methods used entailed certain strengths and weaknesses. These items, together with other issues which arose, are enumerated below.

Group-administered attitude and achievement questionnaires

1. The random assignment of subjects to Experimental I and Control I treatments. It is unusual that one can study groups of students assigned randomly to high school programs differing fundamentally in their mode of operation. This opportunity is a decided strength of the research, especially with respect to the group-administered instruments, since it

enables us to attribute differences between groups to the effect of the Metro or control experience with a high degree of confidence. It should be noted that the desire of the research team to assign students randomly to groups for research purposes coincided with the desire of the program initiators to find a fair way to choose program participants from the pool of applicants. Thus, there was no conflict between a strong research design and the priorities of program operation.

2. The wide-ranging nature of the variables we attempted to measure. Since the research opportunity presented itself on short notice and was of uncertain duration (both in terms of funding and in terms of the approval of the research by the Chicago Public Schools), the research team sought to measure a number of program outcomes using instruments either obtained or developed on site in a short period of time. In general, this was a weakness of the program. It would have been much more desirable to carry out an extensive period of program observation, identification of instruments from other sources, instrument development, and trial-testing before launching into a full-fledged research program. We discuss the possible structure of such a research program later in this chapter. The rapid start-up process had a number of ramifications that are discussed in other parts of this section. In addition to pointing out weaknesses of this start-up procedure, we also point out some things that we believe were done well in this process.

3. The weakness of existing measures. When we began a search in the literature for valid measures of dimensions in which we were interested, the results were extremely disappointing. We found almost no instruments that even purported to measure some dimensions in which we were interested. We found others lacking face validity to measure what they claimed to measure. We found measures tested primarily on college psychology classes with no evidence presented that the concepts embodied in the instrument or in specific questions had any reality in terms of the thought categories of our intended population for study. We found instruments so tainted with an ideological bias that they were unusable (*e.g.*, an attitude survey that penalized a student if he didn't strongly agree with the statement that "Everyone has an equal chance to get ahead in this country"). In reviewing these instruments, we were also confronted with the classical problems of using paper-and-pencil questionnaires to measure attitudes, such as the tendency of subjects to give socially desirable answers or answers that they feel the researcher wants. This last point is discussed more fully later.

Finding no suitable instruments in some areas that we wished to measure, we developed our own. Our success in instrument development was mixed, as will be discussed below. Nevertheless, we feel in retrospect that the attempt to develop valid and appropriate instruments rather than to administer a grab-bag of well-known but inappropriate instruments was a definite strength of the research program.

4. Trial testing of instruments. As mentioned above, the trial testing of instruments was hurried. However, we did one thing that is seldom done by researchers and which we believe benefitted us substantially.

We administered a group of instruments we were thinking about using to a set of students reflecting the diversity of our target population in a one-to-one relationship with an interviewer of their own race and sex. Interviewer and student then went over the questions and responses one by one, with the student noting items or scales that were unclear or were perceived differently than we had intended them to be perceived. This trial work resulted in substantial benefits for our refinement of the final questionnaire.

5. Administration of the questionnaire. Our experience in administering the questionnaire underlines two major types of difficulties. First, students in general, and especially students in an alternative school emphasizing independent thinking, resist filling out long questionnaires. The questionnaire had the disadvantage of being the most obtrusive and least intrinsically rewarding for students of all our research methods.

Second, we were studying a diverse sample of highly mobile urban students. The control sample was especially difficult to locate and test since the control students attended over fifty different high schools. The expenditure of time in locating students, setting up testing sessions not attended, following up again, etc. was enormous. Further by the time of the second testing and of the follow-up study described in Appendix D, similar problems were encountered in locating Metro students. We obtained both complete information on the student's address and telephone number and the address of a friend who was not likely to move. We could have profited from even more such information, and perhaps from paying students to report regularly on their address and phone number.

5. Attrition. Despite problems of locating and testing students, we were able (as described in Chapter 2) to achieve satisfactory levels of response, and the characteristics of the students who could not be located for posttesting were not substantially different on some basic background measures from students who were successfully posttested.

The sample size we were able to maintain allowed us to test some hypotheses concerning subgroupings within the sample that could not have been done with a smaller sample. As Chapter 3 indicates, the problem of attrition was even more severe in connection with the smaller samples who were interviewed in-depth. Thus, we would recommend to any researcher contemplating research on urban students that she select large enough samples to allow for attrition and for the desire to tests hypotheses related to student subgroupings, and that she institute systematic methods for keeping track of the whereabouts of students from the beginning.

6. Usefulness of background measures. Turning to the utility of some of our results, we see great potential in the usefulness of collecting background information on students involved in alternative school programs. Clear information about such variables as race, socio-economic status, sex, mobility, previous success in school, and previous

track in school can provide a basis for the sensitive analysis of many aspects of research data collected using multiple methods. Further, the rapid feedback of such data to the participants in alternative programs can sensitize them to the nature of their student population and thus help them plan strategies for effective educational programs. For example, our research information concerning the large black-Anglo differences in reading and math achievement at Metro were not fully apparent to us until we analyzed our data in 1974. Had this information been fed back to teachers soon after it was collected when Metro opened, it could have been of substantial benefit to them.

7. Usefulness of achievement tests. Achievement tests have been misused in a number of ways in educational research and evaluation. Often they have been used as the exclusive method for evaluating the success or failure of educational programs, and researchers have blindly ignored both the measurement of other outcomes and the aspects of the treatment that might account for certain outcomes. A second misuse of achievement tests has been to attribute racial differences in measured achievement to "defects" in the student, rather than the structural racism of the educational and other social system. Some would argue that even collecting such achievement information raises so may dangers for misinterpretation that it is better left uncollected. Closely related to this argument is an analysis holding that the content of most reading tests is so biased

toward the white middle class that achievement tests should not be used as indicators of the skills of low income and non-white students.

On balance, we feel strongly that these tests have had a definite value in our overall research program and that improved versions appropriate to urban students should be administered in a properly designed research program. We have guarded against over-emphasis on achievement tests by using multiple measures and methods. There does appear to be a white middle-class bias in the manifest content of the STEP tests, and we wish in retrospect that we had administered tests whose content was more relevant to urban students. Nevertheless, the tests point out some important facts about wide variations in achievement within the program and differential benefits derived from the program that must be dealt with if effective alternative educational programs are to be offered to urban students, as the substantive results summarized in Chapter 8 strongly emphasized.

8. Self-developed measures. Our decision to employ self-developed measures where we could not find appropriate ones in existence had mixed results. Two instruments that required students to complete paragraph responses could not be analyzed because students varied so much in their responses, probably because of differences in motivation and writing ability. This type of instrument is probably inappropriate for an urban student population. Further, even if the students had responded adequately we would

have faced the problem discussed in Chapter 3 - how to analyze quantitatively extensive texts generated by subjects without a coding scheme worked out in advance.

Preference for First-Hand Learning suffered from ceiling effects. Students in all groups and subgroups on both pretest and posttest found the alternatives involving first-hand learning so attractive that there was little room for change on these scales.

Experience in the City was more useful. It showed strong treatment differences between Metro and control and showed that by far the smallest gain within Metro was made by Black School Alienated Students. Both of these patterns are consistent with participant observation data presented in Chapter 6. The major strength reflected in the development of the instrument appears to be that the items were based on people, institutions, and activities that students might realistically encounter if the school without walls was in fact bringing students into extensive contact with the city. It was developed with the objectives and realities of this particular program in mind.

The most successful instrument developed directly by the research staff was the Perception of School Climate Scale. As indicated in Chapter 2, the research staff found the general form of the Stern (1960) scale useful, but in examining specific items and subscales within it we could not find clear ways in which its content related to the differences in educational practice that the initiators of Metro hoped to bring about. The decision to develop a scale related to the specific goals of the Metro program was a good one. Further, the instrument developers had sufficient experience in working in urban schools to develop items that were pertinent to the students's experience. The result was a scale that showed strong differences between Metro and control and also racial and subgroup differences within the Metro program. These results were consistent with participant observation results indicated in Chapter 6 and with results of in-depth and mini-interviews. The validity of the scale is also attested to by the factor analysis of posttests, which produced strong and easily interpretable factors. (The use of the factor analysis was itself a strength of the research program that provided extremely useful information.)

9. Use of standard attitude scales. We used several popular instruments purporting to tap attitudes or values, including the Self Image, Sense of Control, Nature of Hoped-For Life Accomplishments, Characteristics of Ideal Job, Identification with Parents, and Level of Educational Aspiration. We found few significant results on these scales in any of the treatment, subgroup, or Anglo-black comparisons in the study. One can either conclude from these results that such differences did not exist or that the scales were not either valid enough or sensitive enough measures. Based on data collected by other methods, we would tend toward the latter conclusion. For example, participant observation indicated that the social structure of Metro was profoundly different from the traditional school,

subjecting the student to a high level of supportive interpersonal communication with teachers and fellow students. One might expect that such an input would result in some attitude or value changes. However, the instruments we chose do not appear to be closely enough tied to the specific types of influences of the Metro experience. As indicated later in this chapter, we feel that similar research should attempt to develop new scales or modify existing ones in an extensive initial period of participant observation and instrument development to achieve the needed validity and sensitivity.

10. Combining multiple methods. By and large, each of the methods employed in the research program was allowed to proceed without influencing the others (e.g.,we did not modify our posttest in-depth interview because of interesting results in the pretest questionnaire). We consider this lack of interaction between methods to be a weakness of the research program. One marked exception to this pattern was the use of participant observation data to identify subgroups and then the use of these subgroups as the basis for one portion of the analysis of questionnaire and achievement test data. The questionnaire results both supported the validity of some observations made by the participant observers and failed to support others. For example, White Youth Culture students, consistent with the participant observation, were shown to rank highest on most pretest and posttest measures compared to other subgroups. This finding supports the validity of some portions of the participant observation. Yet the analysis of

questionnaires and achievement tests failed to reveal statistically significant program effects for any subgroup, contradicting another hypothesis derived from the participant observation. This inconsistency could, in an on-going research program, spark further focused observation or the development of more sensitive questionnaires to explore the inconsistency. As we discuss later, not only the use of multiple methods, but their dynamic influence on each other during the course of a research program, is one of the characteristics of useful applied research.

Structured in-depth interviews

1. Amount of time consumed in administration, transcription, and coding. As has been generally observed about the interview method (Bell, 1973) our interviews required enormous amounts of time to administer, transcribe, and code. As with the questionnaires, administration was further complicated by the fact that the sample was a mobile urban group spread out over the entire City of Chicago. In attempting to interview some of our more reluctant subjects, we set up numerous special appointments, for which an interviewer was hired, at which the subject failed to appear. As noted in Chapter 3, each hour of conversation required about five hours of a transcriber's time, and we had difficulty finding skilled transcribers. Finally, the task of rigorously content-analyzing even the small portion of the interviews we ultimately chose to study took the equivalent of eight working months.

2. Small sample size and attrition. Because we started with small samples, the attrition we experienced (particularly in the control group) limited our ability to carry out meaningful quantitative analysis. Further, even with the sample size we originally intended, it was impossible to carry out a quantitative analysis of subgroupings within the data, such as was done for student subgroups with the questionnaire data. Thus, a larger sample size would have been highly desirable.

3. The attempt to study a large number of topics. Since the research opportunity presented itself suddenly and was of uncertain duration, the research team's orientation was to get as much information as possible from the beginning. This attempt had a number of negative results. First, the large amount of information gathered on each subject necessitated a small sample size. Second, the interview resulted in fascinating data, but only a small percentage of the total generated could be rigorously content-analyzed, so that the rich potential of the interview content was largely untapped. Third, the large number of topics studied introduced an element of variability into the interview, so that for the few specific topics we ultimately decided to study, we had some subjects for whom the critical questions had not been asked correctly or who had given indetermininate answers.

We wish to emphasize strongly, however, that at the time we developed the interview schedule, we could not have remedied this problem merely by asking fewer questions. At present, we believe that it is only through an extensive period of participant observation and trial-testing that one can focus in on those aspects of a situation that deserve the kind of intensive study entailed in structured interviewing. We present a model for such an approach later in this chapter.

4. The use of a large number of open-ended questions. Related to the previous point, the data resulting from a large number of open-ended questions to which the students generally gave responses of three or four sentences were difficult to analyze. Content analysis is most appropriate for analyzing rather long and uninterrupted discourse by the subject, since this type of response reveals more about the subject's own thought categories and personal priorities. Thus, in the future, we would opt for one of two types of questions for structured interviews. One type would be a limited set of questions each of which encourages the student to construct an extended response that can be content analyzed. A second type would be the short question for which the student can choose one of several prestructured responses and then elaborate on his reason for choosing the indicated responses.

5. Coding from audio or video type. In retrospect, the gains of the extensive transcription procedure were minimal. An alternative would have been to have coding done directly from audio tape. This procedure would have both saved time and allowed the coder to benefit from such paralinguistic clues as pauses and voice intonation. Going

one step further, the interview could have been placed on video tape, allowing the coder to take into account not only tone of voice and emphasis, but also facial expressions, gestures, and body movements.

6. Explication of the students' thought categories. One major strength of the in-depth interviews were their usefulness in revealing the students' own thought-categories in a way that questionnaires cannot. The derivation of coding categories from the students' own words allowed us to operate within the frame of reference the students themselves used for ordering their perceptions of school, teacher, self, and environment. Particularly in the light of results summarized in Chapter 8 concerning the failure of the school to mesh with the styles and perceptions of School Alienated students, continuing to carry out this analysis of actor-relevant categories appears to be of the utmost importance.

7. Understanding Students' priorities. A second important insight gained from the interview content analysis was an understanding of the priorities of students. A pre-structured scale of school climate assigns equal importance to each item. It will be recalled from Chapter 3, however, that there was a high degree of variability in the number of times students mentioned particular categories. Understanding the relative importance of particular constructs within the students' reality appears to us to be vital in designing effective improvements in urban education. This task can be approached in other ways (e.g., by asking students to rank order a series of concepts in terms of importance), but our experience

indicates that this approach involves a cognitive task that is open to much misunderstanding and distortion.

8. Cross-checking results from other methods. Despite the considerable methodological problems we encountered in carrying out these interviews, they did provide us with valuable information about differences in perception of school climate and students-teacher relationships between Experimental I and Control I students that were highly congruent with results obtained through questionnaire analysis, participant observation, and mini-interviews, as indicated in Chapter 8. These results again suggest the value of using multiple methods in a research program.

Case studies

1. Bringing general concepts down to the individual level. The major strength of the case study method, both in general and as we employed it in this study, is to bring general concepts down to the level of concrete reality. Thus, such abstractions as "low self-image" are seen played out in the perceptions and activities of particular students, and the interrelationship of various concepts is seen in the life of particular students. This concrete focus has great advantages in assisting program participants, as is discussed in Chapter 10.

2. Question of representativeness. One critical question about the case studies of individuals is how representative they are of a larger

population. We have dealt with this problem in two ways. First, we have chosen the individuals for study systematically, so that the diversity of individuals for whom we did case studies has a better chance of reflecting the diversiry of the total population. One must be careful, however, about making too broad claims for the representativeness of each characteristic of the case study student. Indeed, in terms of potential usefulness for training purposes, case studies are helpful because they can draw the person away from abstractions that are open to misinterpretation (e.g., the disadvantaged student) and allow people to recognize the complexity of any individual.

Second, the use of multiple methods decreases the need to use the case study to "prove" general points. Generalizations established through other methods can be illustrated rather than proved through the case study.

3.. Nature of data available for the case study. One of the weaknesses of our case study work was the nature of data available. While it was extensive (including two in-depth interviews, credit records, and some participant observation data for each), it was still sometimes hard to answer a standard set of questions for each student. Further, the information about the student before the period under study and outside of the school setting came exclusively from the student himself, subjecting this information to all the problems of retrospective distortion and general subjectivity. Also, the data was collected over a relatively short time period, and it was difficult to determine what the long-term effects of Metro attendance would be, given the limited time period.

Remedying these difficulties would require substantial additional investments in terms of observing the individual students, both in school and out of school, and interviewing people who know them, including family, former teachers and friends. The dangers inherent in such a process of collecting enormous amounts of information that are never analyzed should be clear from our previous discussion of in-depth interviews. Thus, it seems critical that before in-depth case studies of students are undertaken, considerable exploratory work is completed to decide what should be studied and how.

4. Problems in interview preparation. Given the data available, there were a few important short-comings in interview preparation. Each case study was prepared by a person familiar with the student involved. Those preparing the case studies were given a set of specific areas of focus and then asked to complete the study. There was insufficient monitoring of the case study preparation from that point. Ideally, the case studies should have gone through a more complicated process of revision to insure comparability of emphasis across students and to eliminate bias or overgeneralization. There was some problem of the authors overidentifying with certain students, especially the Youth Culture

students, or with the values of the Metro program.

5. Lack of control group case studies. Since we did not have participant observation information on control students, it was difficult to make realistic assessments of how much growth was made by the Metro students studied. Comparable studies of control students would have made it possible to speculate more intelligently on whether the personal growth evident in several Metro case study students can be attributed to the effects of Metro or to general maturation. Again, this ideal comparative data could be obtained only at great additional expense, and it would be difficult to gain permission to carry out such a widespread study in many urban school systems.

Mini-interviews

1. Strengths of the mini-interview technique. The mini-interview was designed as a way for quickly gathering information from a scientific sample of program participants and so that this information could be fed back to participants quickly enough to be of use in program development. In general, we found that the technique was very useful in fulfilling these aims. It was also a useful cross-check for the participant observer, either providing confirmation or generating conflicts that required clarification through the collection of additional data.

Mini-interviews allowed us to explore issues with considerable subtlety (such as students' perceptions of the power they had to influence decisions), especially in the large sample mini-interviews. As with the in-depth interviews, our experience suggests the value of using large samples so that responses can be broken down by subcategories of students or response type.

The comparability of information obtained from mini-interviews and in-depth interviews suggests that the simple analytical procedures we employed with them are adequate for isolating important trends in a developing school program. In this connection, we note that mini-interviews allowed us to isolate some important patterns not obvious to staff that had critical programmatic implications (such as the diffuse reasons students had for attending Metro). Also of great potential value in assisting program development was information gained from mini-interviews concerning the diversity of student opinion on various matters. Consistently large samples would have enabled us to relate such variations more systematically to subcategories of students.

Another strength of the mini-interview is in pinpointing changes or continuities over time (such as changes in opinion about counseling groups). Since change is a fundamental aspect of any developing educational innovation, the possibility of using the mini-interview for studying change over time is very attractive. This would have been more feasible if we had consistently used a large sample of the same students and interviewed them at regular intervals.

2. Nature of information tapped by the mini-interview. The mini-interview appears to elicit responses reflecting general beliefs and norms within the school and individual or subgroup beliefs that are not directly at odds with these general beliefs and norms. Students were resistant in mini-interviews to express individual or subgroup beliefs and norms (*e.g.*, the subgroup belief that it is all right to cut classes). Thus, the mini-interview must be combined with participant observation, which seems to be the only method for capturing deviant norms and beliefs.

3. Additional insights about method. Below we have listed briefly some additional insights about research method that we have obtained from our mini-interview work:

a. Mini-interviewers noticed marked differences in openness between students they had gotten to know as part of their participant observation and those they did not know well personally.

b. Because of such questions of rapport, fellow students trained by researchers would appear to be ideal mini-interviewers. Involvement of students and other program participants in data collection is also a way for increasing the likelihood that they will make use of research results.

c. It is also desirable to involve program participants in the development of coding categories as a means for increasing their investment in the use of research results. The time-consuming process of actually coding the results once categories have been developed is better left to paid non-participants.

d. It is our strong impression that category development and coding can be done with a high degree of reliability by someone familiar with a school program. This impression needs more rigorous testing. One of the major values of the mini-interview, rapid data analysis and feedback, would be lost if elaborate content analysis procedures were adopted in data analysis.

e. The exploration of what simple statistical tests could be used with the mini-interview is one important area that requires future exploration.

f. Neither writing up the results of mini-interviews and distributing them nor one-shot workshops in which results are fed back to program participants have much effect on people's subsequent behavior. It is only when mini-interview feedback is incorporated into long-term training and assistance strategies that it becomes a useful contributor to change.

Participant observation

1. General strength of participant observation. As the introduction to Chapter 6 points out the rationale for participant observation is based on the notions that one can gain valid understanding of people's behavior only by studying it in its natural settings and only by first understanding the meaning structures through which they themselves interpret such settings. In general, we have found that these premises are strongly supported by research. No other research method that we employed was nearly as useful in uncovering the way people were actually functioning within the program as was participant observation. Also, the evidence presented

in Chapter 6 indicates that uncovering the subtle patterns of day to day behavior is vital to understanding the dynamics of the Metro program. Indeed, it si the fine details of social process -- such as the way people actually used course registration materials or theinterpretation that students placed on what it meant to have a voice in the program -- that decisively affected its larger social processes and its effects on students. It is this sort of detailed information that will be of most use to people seeking to carry out and to improve similar programs. It is for this reason that the research model described later in this chapter proposes that participant observation be the initial basis for the study of an alternative program, with the use of other methods built around feedback from participant observation.

2. Data collection methods. It was the observation of other members of the research team that the major participant observer Steve Wilson rigorously followed methodological rules for participant observation described in Chapter 6, such as the attempt to establish rapport with all subgroups in the setting, identification of all important behavior settings and the systematic sampling of them,systematic recording of a descriptive narrative and comments on that narrative, the development of hypothese from data, and the seeking out of negative evidence concerning those hypotheses. The execution of these procedures was one of the major strengths of the research program and a key to the fruitful results from the participant observation.

3. Data analysis methods. Once field notes were collected in raw form, the observer used a series of index cards to code behavior episodes related to issues that developed in the field work. It was through constantly resorting these cards that hypotheses emerged and were tested through subsequent observation. One short-coming of this approach was that the hand-written notes of the observer required personal interpretation by him and that the summarizing of themes on cards, the sorting of cards, and periodic rereading of raw field notes was extremely time-consuming. Later in this chapter, we describe the pilot-testing of a computer-based system for facilitating this process.

4. The problem of focus. Participant observation has sometimes been based on the proposition that one could enter a social organization without particular hypotheses and allow patterns to emerge through the process of observation. Our research does reinforce the value of this sort of period of initial wide-ranging observation, but it also suggests that if one is to study social process with the care that is reflected, for example, in our study of course choice, one must develop some rationale for focusing on some things and not others. In deciding which issures to analyze from participant observation information, for example, we decided ultimately to focus on those major changes in social process that Metro was in fact carrying out, primarily as they influenced the student. In making these choices, we set aside the analysis of many other

important aspects of Metro's functioning (such as teacher cooperation, which is analyzed briefly in Appendix C). Our experience suggests the need for developing a conscious model for selecting one's emphasis. For example, one might focus on understanding "critical activities" necessary for carrying out a given innovation, as this concept is described in Chapter 10. Or one might choose to emphasize the functioning of program staff. Our experience suggests that even in a small organization such as this alternative high school, one must focus.

5. The problem of bias. We encountered two major influences that tended to bias our results. The first was that since both participant observers were white males, their access to the private behavior settings of certain student subgroups was limited. The observers were constantly aware of this problem and sought to overcome it, but it remained a problem. The second source of bias was that most members of the research team, including the participant observers shared a value commitment to the type of education that was being attempted at Metro. Thus, we were sometimes blinded to ways of interpreting a situation that called these basic assumptions into question. For example, a number of analyses of the dynamics of decision making at Metro are based on an implicit premise that maximum choice and consent are ideal for a school, while someone else might argue that intelligent structure and limits are the basis for sound education.

In pointing out this problem, we are not arguing for the notion that an "objective outsider" was needed. We have presented arguments in Chapter 6 that suggest that no such person exists. However, we feel that the participant observation would have been strengthened by the presence of a team of observers with a diversity of social backgrounds and values. Members of such a team could focus primarily on understanding the school from the perspective of a certain subgroup (e.g., black students) or could provide alternative interpretations of situations based on differing values.

6. The problem of "degree." In collecting and analyzing participant observation data, the observer is always making judgments about the degree to which certain conditions exist. For example, in stating that "most students were dissatisfied with the core course," the observer is informally assessing how many students constitute "most students" and what degree of intensity of feeling constitutes their being "dissatisfied." In analyzing the course choice process at Metro, the observer wonders whether he should place more emphasis on the differences between course choice at Metro and course choice procedure. Thus, most of these statements about degree involve some standard of judgment. When one says that attendance was a problem at Metro, for example, is one using some ideal as a standard or the attendance rates of students at traditional schools?

Of course, one cannot hope to subject all of these judgments about degree to precise empirical test. One of the premises of participant observation, which is born out in our experience, is that the observer can often make such judgments with an acceptable degree of accuracy. Nevertheless, two steps appear desirable with reference to the judgments of degree made by participant observers. First, the observer should as often as possible make the standard of reference clear when making important judgments about degree. Second, participant observation must be supplemented by other methods to obtain quantified data to either support or disprove the observation. Often, the participant observation has provided the basis for making a very powerful judgment with a simple statistical count. The data on degree of graduation from Metro by subgroup in Appendix D is one example.

Documents

1. Uses of documents. We found three main ways to use documents as part of the research program: as a means for developing a chronology of program history, as an integral part of participant observation, and as a primary means for analyzing issues and events that are reflected particularly well by documents, such as the relationship between the consultants to Metro and the school system staff.

We found that the most desirable way to collect and classify documents is to keep them in chronological order, developing a coding scheme for them that grows out of experience. These documents are then used to develop a chronology of important events in the school's history. The identification of events based on document analysis should be done every few months, so that events that are not well-documented can be explored while they are still fresh in people's minds. Such periodic review should also be used to develop and refine a coding system for the documents.

2. Shortcomings of document analysis. Several shortcomings of such document analysis were apparent in our work. First, within an urban school, it is those people who write frequently because of their roles or skills who produce most documents. Thus, a document file cannot be taken as a representative sampling of opinion within the school. This inevitable bias makes it all the more important to seek documents from as wide a variety of sources as possible, including examples of student work, posters put up by students, teachers' handouts, etc. that are not widely circulated. Second, documents most often reflect products and conclusions rather than processes. Both of these shortcomings suggest the need for combining document analysis with other methods.

Computer-Based Data Retrieval System

Structured in-depth interviews, mini-interviews, and participant observation all generate large amounts of textual information that are difficult to organize and retrieve for purposes of analysis. We have explored and pilot-tested a computer-based system for handling such textual material. In this subsection, we discuss the structure and use of such a system and describe our pilot-test application.

For either the analysis of structured interviews or participant observation field notes, one wants to retrieve from a vast amount of discussive data particular segments that are related to specific themes or that are uttered by or refer to particular individuals or groups of individuals. For example, in participant observation, one may want to develop propositions about the topic of decision-making. To examine relevant material, one must reread all field notes and take an additional set of notes on these notes, or if one's original notes are organized on cards, one must review all cards to extract the relevant ones. This process of analysis is often carried out in a highly idiosyncratic fashion, so that other researchers are unclear about how analysis has proceeded.

We decided to develop a computer-based retrieval system to facilitate this process. It is based on the classification of thousands of individual data records, each with three parts:

1. A set of Identification Codes, indicating information about persons involved in an observed action or interaction, the setting, and the observer.

2. A set of content codes, which pinpoint salient topics reflected in the observed action or interaction, such as decision-making, role conflict, etc. New content codes can subsequently be added.

3. The discussive text of the field note segment.

To put his date in this format, the participant observer divides his field notes into individual records that relate to an individual action or interaction based on a salient study topic. He then provides pertinent Identification and Content Coding for each record. These records are then entered onto computer tape in chronological order in terms of the date on which they were recorded. The computer is then programmed to print out records either by a single Identification or Content Code and by Combinations of Identification and/or Content Codes. Thus, one can, for example, call out all records dealing with Mr. Brown the principal, with decision-making, with basic skills in which black teachers were involved. It is important to emphasize that these subjects can be used for retrieving information only if the data record has been previously coded with them. However, new codes can always be associated with records as the analysis proceeds.

The use of a computer retrieval system as an aid to the analysis of structured interviews can be developed along the same lines. For example, segments of structured interviews dealing with student-teacher relations can be entered into the computer as data records, along with associated Identification Codes concerning the person interviewed and her characteristics and associated Content Codes, such as the fifteen categories of comments concerning student-teacher relations that were described in Chapter 3. It is with this type of computer application that we pilot-tested our approach. Material relevant to the topic of student-teacher relations, not previously processed in the interview analysis, has been entered into the computer system. Each piece of information, which usually consists of from one to five sentences of text from the interview protocols, is identified by student identification number, Experimental Group (I, II, or Control), race, sex, and interview type (Pre- or Post-), and two Content Codes: ego (the fifteen categories apiece of the School Climate and Student-Teacher Relations scales, and the thirty categories used for Self-Image) and valence or evaluation (positive or negative statement).

Textual material is retrievable from this system through asking the storage system for a print-out according to combinations of code elements. For example, one may be interested in a comparison of statements about authoritarianism of teachers to explore the hypothesis that black students complain less about authoritarianism in traditional formats than do white students. The system can be asked for separate printouts of all positive statements in Pre-interviews with black students in

Experimental Groups I and II which are classified under code VII of the student-teacher relations, classification system, all such positive statements from white students, all negative statements from black students, etc. An example of a printout for a negative evaluation concerning authority behavior of teachers would be as follows:

---- (Student ID number)
N (New student, i.e., first item of data on file)
1 (Race: Black student)
2 (Sex: female student)
1 (Interview type: pre-interview)
T1C 7N (classification: T1= student-teacher relations scale,
C7 = authoritarianism N= negative statement)

Whenever there is trouble the teacher always blames it on me because the teacher doesn't like me or maybe I'm always there when it happens, maybe I don't want to tell who did it, or I might get beat up outside or something. She don't like my style, the way I walk, talk.

The complete response to an inquiry directed to the retrieval system consists of a series of printouts in the above format. According to the way materials are requested from the system, different contrast sets can be produced with different identification and content code elements (pre-versus post-interviews, black versus white, male versus female, etc.).

Once material has been retrieved, it can be inspected and analyzed either qualitatively or quantitatively. If it is desirable, these additional codes can then be added to the records.

The computer retrieval system has great potential in aiding the analysis of data across method. For example, the system could potentially print out information on a student from interviews, participant observation, and questionnaires on a given topic. Of course, data preparation for such a procedure requires extensive work and the use to which such elaborate systems will be put should be considered carefully before resources are devoted to data preparation.

Currently, Center for New Schools is working on a larger-scale data retrieval system based on these same methods with consultants from the University of Chicago. This system will be operational by October, 1975, and further information about it can subsequently be obtained from Center for New Schools.

Analysis Of Overall Research Program

The preceding discussion of the characteristics of individual research methods suggests several overall strengths and weaknesses of the research program, which will be discussed briefly.

1. Strength of using multiple methods. The ways in which specific research methods complement each other by providing information on different types of issues and by providing either confirming or conflicting information on the same issue has been illustrated abundantly in Chapters 2 to 8. We will not repeat specific examples of this obvious strength, but only emphasize that our belief in the vital importance of using multiple methods has been confirmed by this research program.

2. Strength of random assignment to treatments. Again, the obvious values of random assignment to treatment in terms of our analysis of questionnaires and interviews and in terms of our follow-up studies is apparent. Random assignment raises the potential for future long-term studies of the two groups from which clear inferences can be made. We could have more fully exploited the virtues of random assignment had it been possible to carry out the full range of studies with the control group that we did with the Metro group.

3. Lack of adequate design and trial testing period. We have described the ways in which the possibility of taking advantage of a rare research opportunity pressured us to move qickly into data collection. This pressure caused us to choose a wide variety of research instruments without thinking through exactly how our data would be analyzed. In the process, we did choose some very valuable and appropriate instruments, but also many that were inappropriate. Some of these problems could have been avoided merely by taking more time in doing essentially the same type of development work we carried out in the project, e.g., spending more time searching the research literature to uncover appropriate instruments, pilot-tesing individual instruments, etc. However, we are convinced that in addition we should have ideally developed our research instruments in a phased process based on participant observation, which is described later in this chapter.

4. Interplay between research methods. In general, each research method was carried out independently, so that, for example, results from the first questionnaire were not used to raise questions for the participant observer, and the participant observer's findings did not influence the structure of our posttest structured interview. Given demands on our time, it was all we could do to collect the data. It was then piled up for later analysis. In some instances, there was interaction between methods (*e.g.*, in the study of student subgroups), and the benefits are apparent. Thus, the research approach would have been greatly strengthened by the regular analysis of data and the presentation of results to all research team members as a guide for considering subsequent steps in the research.

5. Duration of the study. An obvious short-coming of the research program was the duration of the study. The intensive period of study was only eighteen months. Our follow-up study reveals a set of results that would be made much more valuable had we continued to study social process in the school and test students at regular intervals. Further, our limited contact with the school after the initial study period indicates that Metro, like other innovations, continued to go through significant evolution. Understanding these processes of evolution after the initial novelty of the school has worn off is an important research question that is seldom dealt with.

A Proposed Model For Future Research

Based on our assessment of the strengths and weaknesses of our research approach, we propose a multi-method approach that might be used in subsequent studies of innovative school projects. In discussing this model, we assume that we had available the same research situation we had at Metro, i.e., an innovative school starting with random assignment to the school based on a lottery among volunteers. We also assume that we had approximately five years to study the situation. Below, we explain the steps we would take in an ideal research process.

1. The basis for our research would be continuing participant observation in the school by a diverse research team, consisting of persons from racial groups reflecting the school's diversity and with differing value perspectives on some key issues related to the school's objectives. We would in the first year carry out a participant observation analysis of the school's functioning, focusing on the perceptions and behaviors of all key actors in the school. Included in the foci of the participant observation would be the following:

    1. Major changes in the educational process actually being attempted in the school.
    2. Staff, student, and parent perceptions of these changes.
    3. Specific behaviors in the setting that might be used as the basis for assessing the impact of these changes.

At the same time, we would collect basic background data (e.g., race, socioeconomic status) on all program participants. We would also begin a series of periodic mini-interviews with a substantial sample of the students (probably 50 to 100) and with all staff members. These interviews would be analyzed quickly and the results used to focus subsequent interviews and participant observation. The same persons would be interviewed repeatedly to understand change over time. Also, an event chronology based on document collection would be maintained, and it would be supplemented every other month by filling in events not satisfactorily reflected in documents.

2. In about the middle of the first year, steps in the development of research instruments for the next year would be initiated. These would be closely tied to the participant observation, so that (1) both interview and questionnaire development would be based on those topics shown to be important through the participant observation, and (2) the development of individual items for new instruments or the adoption or adaptation of existing instruments would be related to specific indicators of change judged relevant through the participant observation.

Promising instruments and items would then be trial-tested with participants. Their development and validation would involve both statistical analyses of results and direct questioning of students to determine how they interpret the meanings of items. One useful procedure in instrument development would be the use of questions asked of students to generate extended verbal responses on critical topics. The analysis of this material would result in the development of questions and categories for response.

An integral part of the development of instruments would be complete planning for data coding and analysis, so that when data was gathered it could be analyzed as quickly as possible, and so that the collection of data that might never be effectively analyzed would be minimized.

3. Beginning with the second cohort to enter the school a year later, we would administer the questionnaires and interviews we had developed. Both would be focused on topics shown clearly relevant in the school, so the collection of inappropriate information would be minimal. Interviews would be short focused, and administered to a large sample. Interview questions would either call for forced-choice responses or for long, open-ended responses that could be subjected to content analysis.

At the same time, we would pick a large sample for case study analysis, having developed a focused program for generating case data that was consistent with our objectives and our budget.

5. We would continue carrying out the participant observation, document collection and chronology-building, and mini-interviewing throughout the entire study period. We do not regard these merely as methods for exploratory study, but rather as integral long-term tools in our research that generate information that cannot be collected using other methods.

6. Subsequent years of the research would involve the periodic testing of this cohort and succeeding cohorts using mini-interviews, questionnaires, and in-depth interviews refined through experience, along with continued participant observation and chronology development.

Conclusion

We have attempted in this chapter to summarize honestly the strengths and weaknesses of the individual research methods we have employed and of our research program as a whole. We find that this sort of discussion is not presented often enough among researchers. We hope that both this reflection on our experience and the research model we propose for the future will allow others to build on some of our strengths and avoid some of our problems.

CHAPTER 10. IMPLICATIONS FOR MATERIALS DEVELOPMENT AND ASSISTANCE TO SCHOOLS

From the beginning, the research team had seen a major part of its mission as being helpful to persons seeking to develop and strengthen new approaches to education, both within the Metro program that we were studying and in general among people who were attempting new approaches to urban education. Thus, the team's concerns were in the areas that have been dubbed "formative evaluation" and "applied research."

This chapter summarizes attempts made by the research team to use the Metro data and data from other alternative urban high schools in providing assistance to such schools. It describes a model developed, based on Center for New Schools experience, for providing assistance to schools. It describes how information developed using the various research methods employed in studying Metro can be employed in such a process of assistance.

Early Attempts At Feedback And Assistance

During the period when we were collecting data at Metro (January 1970 to June 1971), we made several types of efforts to feed back information to program participants in ways that would be useful to them. First, Steve Wilson, who directed the participant observation, and other research team members wrote short memos to the staff based on patterns they were observing, and a portion of a staff meeting was sometimes devoted to discussing these memos. Second, since three key members of the research team (Don Moore, Tom Wilson, and Dick Johnson) were also members of the consultant group advising the school, they used research results in their planning and shared them with others in the course of their work. Such feedback was also limited mainly to the results of participant observation since other data was, by and large, not analyzed until after the study period was over. Third, the research team carried out a few more extensive workshops based on its results in which data feedback was tied to staff planning. For example, before one workshop interviews were carried out with all staff concerning their perceptions of the most important problems in the functioning of the school at that time. These results were then used as the basis for constructing case study problem situations and asking subgroups of teachers how they would deal with the problem situations. This simulation of problem-solving then led to a process of making some decisions about specific changes in the program and laying specific plans for carrying out these decisions.

After the involvement of the research team with Metro High School ended, the research team members employed knowledge gained from Metro and techniques tried there in specific assistance efforts with other schools. One such effort was the convening of a national conference of representatives from fifteen alternative high schools which Center for New Schools co-sponsored with UNESCO. The purpose of the conference was to consider issues of decision-making in alternative high schools, with an early version of the findings from Metro High School concerning student involvement in institutional decision-making (see Chapter 6, Section F) as a focus of the discussions. The results of the conference, presented in Center for New Schools, 1972, indicated that strikingly similar patterns were being experienced in almost all the schools and that people had many more commonly shared problems than solutions to problems.

The mimeographed report of the conference was distributed widely by CNS, and we found that it had an enthusiastic but limited clientele. As with other CNS research reports, we felt that useful information was not "getting through" to people who could benefit from it because few busy participants in alternative schools would take the time to read long written research reports and because people who read descriptions of complex problems in their schools were usually unsure about how to act on such information.

Using participant observation and mini-interview techniques, CNS carried out formative evaluation with a number of alternative schools, including St. Paul, Minnesota, Career Study Center; Chicago, Illinois, St. Mary's Center for Learning; and Cleveland Heights, Ohio, New School. Through these efforts, the researchers sharpened research skills for gathering useful information through mini-interviews and participant observation (Center for New Schools,1971, 1972, 1974, 1972). Characteristically these efforts in individual schools were culminated with one or two data feedback sessions with staff and students

Several issues have emerged as particularly prominent from these efforts to collect and feedback useful information to participants in alternative schools. Especially important are issues of media, relationship to participants, and timing, which are discussed below.

The form of communication was crucial. It became quickly apparent that written reports would be ineffective in the innovative setting. Teachers had too many pressures on them to deal with even well-written materials. We tried the format of short summary sheets of observations related to "hot" issues. They were read and occasional references were made to them by teachers. Our overwhelming feeling, however, was that they didn't have the impact they might have. Often, the information in them was neglected.

Our experiences suggest that the customary view of how formative evaluations can be communicated is naive. The person trying to communicate information to participants in an innovative setting must pay attention to the system into which he is trying to enter information, specifically, to the demands and to the conditions of stimulus overload. Written reports are likely not to be read and not to have much impact. More research is needed in the areas of graphics, audio-visual and dramatic modes of presenting formative information.

Relationship To Participants

The relationship of the formative evaluctor to participants is another issue typically neglected. The impact of the materials may ultimately depend on the nature of the evaluator's involvement. The same information presented by persons with different kinds of relationships might have totally different effects.

Organizational psychologists have been debating the relative ability of various kinds of organizational structures to facilitate the flow of information through and into an organization. (Formative evaluation is one important form of this information.) For example, some think that a hierarchical structure is superior because authorities can compel the organization to deal with the information. Others feel, however, that a more democratic structure is better because there are multiple sources for information and people are more likely to feel commited to trying to use the information which is not handed down from on high. While many of these debates are not yet resolved, they do highlight issues that formative evaluators must consider.

Generally, the structure at Metro could be characterized as dispersed power without clear hierarchy. The principal chose to encourage the teachers to take an administrative responsibilities, and the consultant team who helped establish the school purposely designed a constantly diminishing "turn over" role for themselves so the staff could become self-sufficient.

The consultant team took on teaching responsibilities and were perceived by teachers primarily as a special class of peers rather than as administrators or outside consultant-evaluators. The consequences of this special role were mixed.

Staff at the school did not reject suggestions and analysis by the consultants in the same way they might have rejected comments by "outsiders" although they were sometime suspicious of the team's perspective as consultants. They knew that these people's experiences were firmly grounded in the daily reality of the school and furthermore, they knew they could work out the meaning and implications of the suggestions, because the people were always around and accessible.

On the other hand, the democratic structure and colleaguial status of the consultant team kept them from assuming certain kinds of orientation toward formative information. The team could not compel the staff to deal with information; in fact, the staff often considered suggestions made by the consultants as only equal in status to the suggestions made by any on the staff.

The participant observer was even more circumscribed by this status of equality. Typically, participant observers try to play down their advocacy of any particular point of view to maintain access to people with all perspectives in a community. They try to cultivate [illegible]w-key relationship of equality with participants.

This low-keyness meant that the participant observers at Metro had to be careful of the way they communicated analyses of organizational functioning and suggestions for improvement. The most successful formats we developed were informal advocacy (the observer in informal conversation could share his ideas if he were careful of his phrasing) and channeling through the consultant team. Within these formats, however, there were no guarantees that the staff would deal with the suggestions.

We do not claim to have discovered the most successful form of relationship, but the Metro experiences have aided this analysis. In part, the question of formative evaluator's relationships is part of the larger question of any helper's relationships (See Schmuck and Runkel, 1972 and Havelock, 1969). Ideally, the formative evaluator would find some way to mix the statuses of equal and expert. In order to be willing to use formative evaluation information, the people in the setting must feel that the evaluator is "on their side" and that he has an adequate insider's understanding of the school. At the same time, however, the people in the setting must come to accord the evaluator some special status. Special niches must be created in the social system which facilitate the use of information. CNS has continued to work on the evaluation approach which incorporates these features.

There are, of course, other imporatnt audiences for formative evaluation. Administration officials, school boards, and the community might want to make changes in programs based on formative evaluation research. Here, too, it is naive to assume that information will necessarily be translated into action. The relationships of the evaluator to these audiences is again, crucial. He must survey the political context in which his information will be processed in order to understand the way it is used or not used.

The consultant team initially had a strong formal relationship with the Board of Education. The Board had hired the consultants to help establish the school and to evaluate it. Evidently, some wanted a strong program and wanted the information that would help them to support it. Unfortunately, there was not unanimity and the administrative line personnel had varying ideas about the school and how it ought to develop. The consultant team identified problems in areas such as the way the school had to tie into Board of Education resources, particular kinds of rules that the school was pressured to adhere to but which limited its effectiveness, and the arrangements for the school to tie into the standard Board administrative structure. All of these policies were keeping the program from reaching its full potential. The consultant team presented these suggestions to the Board, but because of internal political dissention of the administrators, few of the suggestions were acted on.

Several years later, some of the people hostile to the consultant team commissioned an "independant" evaluation for the school. Even these outsiders, however, identified several of the same problems.

It is not known yet what the Board will do with these new suggestions. The accuracy of formative information is not sufficient in itself to guarantee action.

Those who seek to provide formative assistance to school must confront a difficult time problem. Often participants want information before it is ready. The frame of research with its lengthy periods of collection, analysis, and gestation does not articulate well with the pressing needs and quick changing context of an innovating school.

Obviously the change scores and comparisons with controls in the questionnaire and interview analysis could not be ready until the specified amount of time had passed. While this arrangement is typical in research and summative evaluation design, it does not assist the formative function. Participants want information before that time has passed.

Even the incomplete "pre" data does have a potential formative value. Although we did not recognize it at the time, the distribution of responses to the questionnaire and nature of student response to the interview would have been valuable information. The staff could have benefited from this data which Prouus (1971) and Stuffebeam, et. al. (1972) call "input" data. It would have been formative in the sense that it might have shaped the way the staff performed their duties by giving them more information about the students.

The use of this kind of data for formative purposes requires some adjustments inthe way it is handled. Typically, "pre" data is filed away until there is "post" data with which to analyze it. If it is going to be used for formative purposes, it must be analyzed much quicker. Furthermore, the kind of analysis may be different than what will be ultimately done. For example, the sophisticated analysis of interview data requiring transcription of the interview and quantitative coding is unlikely to be much more useful than a simple qualitative analysis. The latter has the advantage of being quickly and inexpensively completed.

Also, researchers ideally would add a new element to their design planning. In addition to the pre-post major data collections. there should be several minor collections focused on specific topics of interest to the community. Our mini-interviews (see Chapter 5) were an attempt to perform this service.

Although participant observation is a very different form of data collection than questionnaire or interview research, it too was subject to some of the same time pressures as the other methods. People in the school wanted to know what was being discovered very early. Ideally participant observers have a long time to analyze their mountains of data and to let ideas percolate. (Wolcott, 1974) suggests that as a rule of thumb, ethnographers should spend as much time in analysis as they spend in the field. This lengthy cogitation is obviously unacceptable for formative purposes.

Again the standard research methods had to be modified. Rather than waiting for full-blown ethnographic analysis, barely processed raw data should be presented where it seems it might be helpful.

To summarize some of our key convictions about gathering and feeding back useful information to participants in alternative schools:

1. There are highly similar patterns of development and problems among alternative schools, raising the possibility that schools can learn from each other's experience.

2. Research and evaluation efforts often provide detailed analyses of problems. Useful feedback or applied research should also pinpoint potential solutions to problems.

3. Written formats for feeding back research and evaluation results to teachers, parents, and students in alternative schools are ignored by most.

4. Persons who feed back information should combine both the statuses of equal and expert to achieve effective results.

5. The need to feed back information while it is still relevant produces time pressures that require research methods that allow for rapid data analysis.

6. Short-term data feedback sessions have very limited effects on the functioning of alternative programs.

7. Useful applied research or formative evaluation must involved substantial face-to-face assistance to program participants in the process of applying results in the program.

8. Materials to support such a process should make use of the full range of audio-visual and graphic media, rather than being limited to typed research reports.

Out of these convictions, Center for New Schools planned a cooperative study and materials development project with five alternative high schools without walls. This project was funded by the Carnegie Corporation. At about the same time that this project was begun, NIE and NIMH funding for the completion of the Metro research was obtained. From that point, the completion of the two projects in the same time frame allowed us to develop a conceptual framework for participants in alternative programs and a series of ideas about how specific types of research information might be useful within this framework for assistance. The balance of this chapter describes those ideas.

To present these ideas, it is first necessary to describe briefly the cooperative project with five schools without walls that we have been carrying out with Carnegie Corporation support. We began this project by identifying five urban alternative high schools who make use of the community as a resource for their learning program and who were willing to spend some time on a project that involved: (1) Studying their programs with respect to their use of the community and closely related issues. (2) Helping to develop materials based on this study that would assist themselves and other schools in initiating or strengthening a community-based learning (CBL) program, and (3) Finally training people at their schools to use these materials in a process of assistance to others.

Through completing a three-day site visit to each school, we collected a large amount of information concerning the nature of each school's program and the problems and successes they were encountering. If we had just wanted to write a research report on the dynamics of scuh organizations, we probably could have written this information up and produced an insightful report.

However, we struggled to find a framework in which we could present information that would provide a basis for providing useful assistance. Since Metro High School in Chicago was one of the participating schools, we looked especially at our research information and past experience from Metro in developing such a format. Finally, we developed the notion of critical activities and critical activities structure as being a useful bridge between social analysis and assistance that can strengthen a program.

In the community-based learning project, we developed many empirical generalizations from the five sites, such as the following:

1. Sites that made all teaching staff responsible for setting up community learning experiences had problems with staff overload and administrative confusion. Sites that centralized the function of setting up community experiences with one or two coordinators developed severe splits between the "outside" classes that the coordinators set up and the "inside" classes taught by the rest of the staff.

2. There was a striking difference in perception between most students, who came to the alternative program to escape another school situation or with a vague interest in trying something new, and the teachers, who tended to assume that students who chose the school were aware of and had brought into the highly developed ideas about the school's purpose that the teachers shared.

3. The first year, staffs made highly conscious efforts to orient students to the program, a function that was not carried out as thoroughly (or at all) in subsequent years. This resulted, in later years, in students attending the program who had little idea what its overall philosophy was.

4. Considering the broad range of possible learning goals that are possible under the heading "community-based learning" (e.g., enriching conventional school subjects, involving students in social change activities, preparing students for a specific vocation), there was generally little shared sense among the staff about school learning goals. This resulted in much staff conflict whose underlying cause was not always clear to the participants.

Using such information, we developed a set of approximately 70 "critical activities" that seemed to us to be crucial to establishing and maintaining a community-based learning program. The specific CBL activities are included as an attachment to this appendix and should help to give the reader a more concrete sense of what critical activities entailed in the CBL project. Here are some of their general characteristics:

1. The activities are (as much as possible) described in the terms used by program participants (they are "emic" in anthropological terms). For example, "developing/maintaining a headquarters for CBL program"; "helping students who have trouble getting into/staying involved in CBL experiences."

2. The activities are chosen intuitively to reflect a "do-able" chunk of work that the program carries out. People in the program can recognize clearly that each is an activity that they could potentially bring under conscious planned control. The critical activity was something they actually do or could do, as opposed to an issue that they are discussing. One of the things that we are most strongly convinced about is the utility of turning complex issues and social patterns into a set of things people actually do.

3. The activities can be identified with one or perhaps several broader content headings; in this specific case, exploring, goals, organizations, curriculum, staff, and students.

4. The activities can be divided up a different way as part of a cyclical pattern of activity over time that we described as exploring, thinking (planning), setting up (development), and doing (operation). We saw the schools as going through these stages in roughly one year cycles. Originally, we had seen a rather clear division between the early planning stages of the program and the later stages of operation. However, we then began to see that a cyclical pattern rather than a linear one seemed more consistent with our data and more useful in helping people think about the program. Thus, many of the activities in the list in the attachment are described as follows "training/retraining resource people"; establishing/maintaining a governance system." The slash that links initial start-up activities and maintainance activities highlights the close interrelationship that we observed in many respects between start-up and

maintenance.

5. The activities are "critical" in two senses: *First*, if they are all done well, the probability of establishing and maintaining an effective program is very high. On the other hand, if they are done poorly or ignored, it is predictable that certain problems will occur in subsequent activities. For example, if there is not a conscious effort through staff orientation to develop a shared sense of the program's goals and priority activities, there are certain predictable conflicts that will occur when teachers later talk about the need for specific types of rules and limits in the school.

Second, these activities are critical in the sense that they are *critical choice points* for the program. At the point when these activities are being carried out, people can choose one of a number of approaches dealing with the activity. *There was almost never a single approach to* any activity that we judged as the only correct one. In our observations we found that one or two approaches might be best for a group with a given value orientation, while be appropriate for other value orientations. We found that each approach involved trade-offs of various kinds--you avoided one problem and were forced to deal with another. We did find some approaches to a specific activity that had so many problems associated with them that we recommended that they be avoided altogether. To provide some examples, in carrying out the activity of "establishing/

maintaining a governance system,"thereare many possible approaches based on the value orientation of the school. The school and community should answer questions about how they feel about parents' rights to be involved, about whether they regard student participation as an option available to students or an obligation they must exercise to prepare for future citizenship, about how much they value efficiency in decision-making versus wide participation, about how much inefficiency the alternative school can stand in its decision-making process if it exists in a hostile environment. After helping people to clarify such questions, we could,based on our research, outline the strengths and weaknesses of various approaches to governance and their relationship to an analysis of the school's goals, the nature of the environment in which it exists, etc. We could also recommend against certain structures. For example, we have found that except in small intentional communities who can devote almost full time to decision-making, the town meeting concept of decision-making does not work.

Associated with any specific approach to the critical activity, we can collect and present a wealth of specific material helpful in carrying it out, most of it drawn from specific schools. For example, information on decision-making could include detailed accounts of how different formats had worked in specific schools, communications formats useful in bringing people out for meetings and informing them of decisions, orientation materials useful in preparing people to work within a certain type of decision-making format.

To cite a quite different example, "setting up/maintaining a system for traveling thrughout the city" could include an analysis of the various reasons for having students travel, people's notions about planned and incidental learning that can result from such travel, a description of various travel systems that people have used in different situations and their costs, methods for orienting students to a travel system, an analysis of psychological barriers to travel that various student experience (e.g., hesitation about going into turfs of unknown gangs, Latino parent hesitations about having their daughters travel unescorted).

6. The emphasis in the above discussion in on those aspects of each critical activity that are unique to it. However, it should be apparent that there will be commonalities and interrelationships among critical activities. It is this set of interrelationships that we have called the critical activities structure. A useful way of looking at these commonalities is through the concepts developed by Schmuck and Runkel (1972) concerning social system changes that need to take place to introduce systematic innovation in a school. Their formulation emphasizes changes that need to take place to introduce systematic innovation in a school. Their formulation emphasizes changes in skills, norms, and group structures as the key to successful innovation. An important aspect of the critical

activities structure then for an innovation such as community-based learning is the set of recurring skills, norms, and group structures that are needed to carry out critical activities.

A second important aspect of the critical activities structure is the dependency of the successful completion of Activity B on the successful completion of Activity A. For example, in the CBL project, successfully "developing and carrying out a registration process for CBL experiences" is one precondition of minimizing problems in "helping students who have trouble getting into/staying involved in CBL experiences." After limited experience with using the critical activities approach we see it as extremely helpful in allowing program participants to see complex interdependencies of events that may be widely separated in time.

Summarizing the discussion above, it appears that for any critical activity, we can envision assembling the following types of information that are potentially helpful in assisting people who would want to adapt it to their own situation:

1. Information about the preconditions that should exist for carrying out the activity specified in terms of prior critical activities that may set the stage for this one.

2. Various options for carrying out the activity, their relationship to value orientations, and the trade-offs one must make in employing various options.

3. The underlying skills, norms, and group structures that must be developed to successfully carry the activity out in different ways.

4. Detailed information about implementing certain options including specific forms, procedures, etc. used at various schools.

5. Specification of those activities that follow this one in time on which this activity will have an important effect.

6. Specification of criteria by which one can judge whether one has successfully completed the activity.

There are several additional points that should be emphasized concerning the concepts of critical activities and critical activities structure:

1. They suggest a middle ground between specifying exactly what one needs to do to make a program successful and casting aside all past experience as useless. They create an open system full of choice points responsive to the structure and value orientation of the specific program. They can truly allow one program to adapt the strengths of another to its own situation.

2. Critical activities are often carried out whether conscious planning takes place or not. For example, new students entering a program will always receive extensive orientation from the old-hands, even if no orientation is planned. Drifting through a critical choice point often has bad results.

3. The critical activities and critical activities structure suggest a way to build up from specific grounded generalization to specifying the skills, norms, group structures, and other information most crucial overall to strengthening a program. This can be done by seeking the commonalities that run through many critical activities and focusing technical assistance on those to a large extent. However, our experience also suggests that general training of this nature must constantly be tied to its application in specific critical activities. Further, it is the down-to-earth information about how to do a specific activity that "grabs" the program participant and convinces him/her that the technical assistant can offer help that is useful.

One can conceive of specifying a set of critical activities for a single school that has attempted a particular innovation or a set of critical activities for implementing a particular innovation (e.g., community-based learning) that is derived from the analysis of a set of schools. If one is attempting to marshall knowledge that will be useful to someone else attempting the innovation, then using several schools seems more helpful. First, they generate a range of options for carrying out an activity that may be appropriate to differing value orientations and social system characteristics. Second, since some difficult activities have not been carried out successfully in most schools, expanding the pool of schools you study in building a set of critical activities increases the possibility that you will have positive suggestions to offer people rather than solely an analysis of porblems.

In CBL, for example, the variety of credit systems in the schools allowed us to develop some good analyses of options available in "defining/redefining a system of credits and requirements." Or for example, we could focus on the specific success of one of the schools in "defining/redefining limits for students," an area where all had had trouble.

Further, with a specific critical activity in mind, it is possible to do a very efficient search for schools outside the original sample who carry out this activity particularly well. In the case of CBL, we can ask through a network of acquaintances: "Do you know of a program that is good in student orientation ?" And get leads that can be checked out very efficiently.

In the CBL project, we have used critical activities as a major organizing concept in the development of materials designed to be used in a process of assistance. The key product which employs the critical activities concept is a resource box for community-based learning. It contains a folder for each critical activity, color-indexed by topical area (organization, students, etc.) and by phase (setting up, doing, etc.). Within each folder there is presently a variety of material, including in most cases an analysis by us of what some of the key considerations are in carrying out the activity, and a variety of articles, forms, formats, examples, etc. that come from the participating schools,

Potentially, the folder (or its analogue in a more sophisticated information retrieval system) could contain information on all of the topics listed earlier as being desirable information to have available about critical activities, and this information could be stored in many appropriate formats for use with particular audiences.

We have used the resource box on a limited basis in working with schools and have some additional ideas about how it could be employed. First, we have circulated the list of critical activities to participating schools and invited them to ask us for information and advice on specific activities. Second, we have carried out two three-day workshops organized around the activities. We asked the school who requested the workshop to look over the list and specify a few activities that they would most like to improve. The completion of this needs assessment by their staff and students helped us in the workshop, since it generated a tangible commitment to strengthen the program in these areas. We then conducted a workshop in which we helped them analyze their past experience in dealing with each activity, generate options for improvement, and then appoint task forces to work on these options.

We can envision such a resource box or a more sophisticated information system being used in an extended and individualized process of technical assistance.

One major addition to our materials that we project for the future is the development of workshop formats for strengthening skills, norms, and group structures that run through a number of critical activities and thus constitute particularly important ingredients for change.

Thus, in organizing CBL materials development around critical activities, we are attempting to provide specific information useful for carrying out each activity, an understanding of the relationships between activities, and information concerning the underlying skills, norms, and groups structures that are central to the adequate performance of many activities. All of this information is seen as emerging in a planned rigorus way from the participant observation carried out at the five participating schools.

We believe that the approach developed through the implementation of the community-based learning project and the analysis of the data from Metro High School has general applicability in linking applied research programs with processes of assistance to program participants. We focus below on the types of useful materials that might be developed for such a process of assistance based on the research methods that we have employed in the Metro research program. These could be thought of as materials to be incorporated into the type of critical activities resource box that we have described earlier.

1. Analytical summaries presenting the major problems encountered in carrying out a critical activity and possible solutions to these problems. Such analytical material can be developed very effectively using participant observation, supplemented by other research methods. For example, the analysis of course choice in Chapter 6, Section D provides the basis for a useful analysis of such critical activities as "counseling students concerning options available in the program" and "setting up an effective registration process."

2. Analytical summaries linking social process within program to its effects on students. A common complaint about traditional educational evaluation and research is that it presents results or outcomes of a program without determining what types of processes led to these outcomes. Thus, persons wishing to modify or improve the program receive no help from the researcher. However, using multiple methods, it is possible to make such connections. For example, this research report presents results

concerning large differences in the rate of graduation of students in various Metro subgroups. Information from the participant observation provides detailed explication of the types of social processes that may have led to these outcomes. The outcomes and the process information together suggest some steps that might be taken to avoid such results in the future. Without detailed process information, the results by themselves might have led to a rejection of the entire school without walls approach. Such a rejection would ignore many of the strengths of Metro that other parts of the research established or left open the possibility for a variety of inaccurate suppositions about what the social process in the program was like. By linking process and outcome in an analysis for program practitioners, one raises the possibility that specific critical activities (e.g., the orientation of students, the development of programs for improving basic skills) can be carried out more effectively.

3. Case studies of situations. Participant observation, supplemented by other research techniques, can be used to develop detailed case studies of situations that raise in a concrete and particular way the issues involved in carrying out a particular critical activity. For example, Chapter 6, Section E presents an analysis of the dilemmas faced by teachers planning specific science courses that can be used to raise critical issues about curriculum and course planning. Materials from Chapter 7 concerning the negotiations between Urban Research Corporation and the Board of Education establishing Metro High School can be used as the basis for discussing the activity of "negotiating a

relationship with a board of education." Presenting such situations in their complexity and particularity is a useful antidote for facile solutions based on preset biases or ideological stances. Such case studies have the added advantage of showing the interrelationships of a number of issues or activities.

4. Case studies of students. Case studies of students (such as presented in Chapter 4) have many of the same advantages as case studies of situations. Effective case studies present the complexity of students' participation in a program, attitudes about a program and the interrelationship of the educational program to the other aspects of his life. With respect to critical activities (such as counseling students having difficulty in the program), they bring problems and issues down to a concrete level.

5. Chronologies. Chronologies reflect graphically important aspects of the critical activities structure, and thus the place of specific activities within a larger framework. Again, the particularity of the history of a given school is a useful way to raise issues and problems. Also, the chronology of any given school is a useful tool for orienting new members to on-going issues growing out of its past experience.

6. Documents describing particular methods or techniques. Some of the most useful information for other schools generated by the Metro research and the community-based learning project were highly

specific documents describing such things as registration methods, orientation sessions, methods for staff selection, etc. that had been generated by program participants. These documents included such materials as forms, check-lists, and lists of interviewer questions. In providing technical assistance, we have found it consistently useful to provide help in carrying out critical activities not just at the conceptual level, but at the "nitty-gritty" level.

Formats for skill training. Participant observation, supplemented by other techniques, can suggest areas in which program participants are lacking needed skills and also provide some ideas about how such skill training can zero in on realistic problems within a school program. One can develop, for example, ideas about teaching skills that the Metro staff needed for increasing their effectiveness--such as group counseling skills, decision-making skills within their staff meetings, and skills for teaching reading.

Staff members often resist generalized formats for skill training (such as formats for developing communication skills in groups) on the grounds that they are too removed from their immediate problems. Multi-method research can provide information that will allow such generalized programs to be tailored to realistic problems involved in carrying out specific critical activities.

Summary

The inclusion of this final section in the report stems from our conviction that researchers cannot merely write their reports up and hope that some undefined social process will cause people to make use of their results, but rather that a closely integrated research and assistance process must be developed. This chapter is an attempt to build on experience growing out of the Metro research program to begin this integration.

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APPENDIX A. STUDENT INFORMATION AND OPINION QUESTIONNAIRE*

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*This instrument was modified slightly to make it appropriate for administration to each group (Metro and Control, pre-post). For instance, the interviewer filled in the name of the appropriate school for each subject and some of the questions on the questionnaire were dropped during the last administration. The STEP tests in English and Math were also administered to students at the same time as the questionnaires.

STUDENT INFORMATION AND OPINION QUESTIONNAIRE

These questions below are part of a study about students in the Chicago schools. We are interested in learning about students' past experiences and their interests and opinions.

Answer honestly. None of your answers will ever be seen by your teachers or anyone else except a few people who will analyze the results. The research staff will put your answers together with answers from other students in Chicago. All answers will be added together in these reports. Your name will never be connected with your answers.

We have asked for your name and address only so we can contact you later to see how your ideas change over time.

Work fast. You may find some questions hard to answer. Just give the best answer you can. Don't spend much time on any one question. The first answer that comes to your head is the best one.

The questionnaire has different parts. Each part has different directions. READ THE DIRECTIONS FOR EACH PART CAREFULLY. ASK THE TESTER IF YOU HAVE ANY QUESTIONS.

DO YOU HAVE ANY QUESTIONS NOW?

Full Name ____
First Middle Last

Address ____
Number Street Apartment Number

List the name and address of another person not in your family who will always know your address even if you move.

Name ____
First Last

Address ____
Number Street Apartment Number

Phone ____________________

PART I There are ten numbered blanks on the page below. Please write ten different answers to the simple question "Who Am I"? Put your answers in the blanks. Answer as if you were answering yourself, not somebody else.

Write the first answers that occur to you. Don't worry about logic or importance. Please don't take more than six or seven minutes on this part.

Who Am I? (A)

1. I am
2. I am
3. I am
4. I am
5. I am
6. I am
7. I am
8. I am
9. I am
10. I am

Now, in column (A) at the right, please number your answers from 1 to 10. Start with the one that is most important to you. Work toward the one that is least important. That is, put a "1" beside the most important, a "2" beside the next most important, and so on down to 10.

PART II. Please complete the following short sentences with the first thought that comes into your mind.

1. My real strong point is ______________________.

2. My greatest weakness or fault is ______________________.

3. In the past I have generally been ______________________.

4. I am dependent on ______________________.

5. My greatest success has been ______________________.

6. In the future I will be ______________________.

7. The thing about me of which I am most proud ______________________.

8. I belong ______________________.

9. I should be ______________________.

10. I could be ______________________.

11. I wish I were free from ______________________.

12. I worry most about ______________________.

13. I get most enjoyment from ______________________.

Part III Please circle the one answer that fits you best. Circle your first impression. Don't spend a lot of time thinking about any one question.

1. I am dependent upon the judgments of others to give me confidence.

almost never	seldom	sometimes	almost always

2. I feel that I'm a person of worth, at least on an equal plane with others.

strong disagree	slight disagree	uncertain	slight agree	strong agree

3. I form opinions on things pretty much on my own.

almost never	seldom	sometimes	often	almost always

4. I feel that I have a number of good qualities.

strong disagree	slight disagree	uncertain	slight agree	strong agree

5. I do things to avoid being criticized.

almost never	seldom	sometimes	often	almost always

6. All in all, I am inclined to think that I am a failure.

strong disagree	slight disagree	uncertain	slight agree	strong agree

7. I am not dependent upon the presence of my friends to give me confidence.

almost never	seldom	sometimes	often	almost always

8. I am able to do things as well as most other people.

strong disagree	slight disagree	uncertain	slight agree	strong agree

9. I can do what I want without asking someone else's permission.

almost never	seldom	sometimes	often	almost always

10. I feel I do not have much to be proud of.

strong disagree	slight disagree	uncertain	slight agree	strong agree

11. I am apt to rely upon the judgment of those in charge.

almost never	seldom	sometimes	often	almost always

12. I do things so as to avoid being different.

almost never	seldom	sometimes	often	almost always

13. I take a positive attitude toward myself.

strong disagree	slight disagree	uncertain	slight agree	strong agree

14. I am afraid to express unconventional opinions to people who might disapprove of them.

almost never	seldom	sometimes	often	almost always

15. I am free from being told what to do by others.
almost seldom some- often almost
never times always

16. On the whole I am satisfied with myself.
strong slight un- slight strong
dis- dis- cer- agree agree
agree agree tain

17. I feel very uneasy.
almost seldom some- often almost
never times always

18. I think I am no good at all.
almost seldom some- often almost
never times always

19. If at all possible, I take my friends with me anywhere I go.
almost seldom some- often almost
never times always

20. If the gang does something, I go along because I'm a loyal member.
almost seldom some- often almost
never times always

21. To get by, I sometimes have to do things that I think are wrong.
strong slight un- slight strong
dis- dis- cer- agree agree
agree agree tain

22. When my ideas are criticized, I have the confidence to stick by them.
almost seldom some- often almost
never times always

23. I feel what might be called hatred for myself.
almost seldom some- often almost
never times always

24. I feel uneasy when I have to be by myself for any length of time.
strong slight un- slight strong
dis- dis- cer- agree agree
agree agree tain

25. I have or can get for myself what I need to do the things I want.
almost seldom some- often almost
never times always

26. When I get away from home, I am a completely different person.
strong slight un- slight strong
dis- dis- cer- agree agree
agree agree tain

27. I am very happy with most aspects of my personality.
almost seldom some- often almost
never times always

28. Circumstances force me to be what I don't want to be.
strong slight un- slight strong
dis- dis- cer- agree agree
agree agree tain

29. Choose A. or B.
A. In making decisions, clear thinking and logic should come first.
or
B. In making decisions, one's feelings should come first.

PART IV. Below are some problems that people in a city might face. Suppose that you had to solve the problems below and you couldn't just ask the advice of your parents or a friend. Below each one describe briefly what you might do. Short phrases will be fine.

1) Your family's apartment has been without heat for two days. What do you do?

2) You want to go on a date and do something different outside of the neighborhood. How do you find out what kind of things there are to do?

3) You want to meet some people you don't know who live in a different part of the city.

4) You want to learn a skill that isn't offered in your school or can't fit your schedule (for example, swimming, photography, judo, foreign cooking...). How do you find out where it's offered and how to get it?

5) You don't believe a story you read in the newspaper about something that happened. How do you check it out?

6) You're bothered about pollution. How do you find out what you can do about it?

7) You want to find a job downtown. How would you go about finding a place where you might like to work?

8) After you found a place where you wanted to get a job, how would you get a job there?

PART V. Read the directions for each question carefully. Give the best answer you can.

1. Age__________ 2. Date of Birth____________________________
Month Day Year

3. What schools have you attended?

Name of School	City or town	Grades you attended

4. Check the full title of your Freshman English course.

__________Basic English

__________Essential English

__________Regular English

__________Honors English

5. Check all the persons who live in your home. (Check as many as apply).

__________Mother

__________Father

__________Stepmother

__________Stepfather

__________Brother(s)

__________Sister(s)

________________Grandmother

________________Grandfather

________________I do not live with any of my relatives

________________I live alone

________________Other (Who?)______________________________________

6. Does anyone in your home speak a language other than English most of the time? (Spanish, Italian, Polish, German, etc.)

_____________Yes

What language?________________________________

_____________No

7. Do you speak a foreign language other than English outside of school?

_____________Yes, frequently

_____________Yes, occasionally

What language?________________________

_____________Yes, rarely

_____________No

8. How many younger brothers do you have? (Circle the number)

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 or more

9. How many older brothers do you have? (Circle the number)

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 or more

10. What is the name of your oldest brother (even if younger than you)?

__________________________ Age ___________ I don't have one ____________

If you don't have a brother, skip to question 15.

11. How much formal education has your oldest brother completed up to now?

___Some grade school

___Finished grade school

___Some high school

___Finished high school

___Some college

___Finished college

___Attended graduate school or professional school after college

___Don't know

12. How much formal education do you think your oldest brother will complete?

___Some grade school

___Finish grade school

___Some high school

___Finish high school

___Some college

___Finish college

___Attend graduate school or professional school after college

___Don't know

13. Does your oldest brother work?

___yes, full-time
___yes, part-time
___no

14. If he works, what does he do?

Name of his job ____
What does he do on his job? ________________________________

15. How many younger sisters do you have?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 or more

16. How many older sisters do you have?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 or more

17. What is the name of your oldest sister (even if younger than you)?

______________________________ Age ______ I don't have one ______

If you don't have a sister, skip to question 22.

18. How much formal education has your oldest sister completed up to now?

___some grade school
___finished grade school
___some high school
___finished high school
___some college
___finished college
___attended graduate school or professional school after college
___don't know

19. How much formal education do you think your oldest sister will complete?

___some grade school
___finish grade school
___some high school
___finish high school
___some college
___finish college
___attend graduate school or professional school after college
___don't know

20. Does your oldest sister have a job?

___yes, full-time
___yes, part-time
___no

21. If she has a job, what does she do?
Name of job ______________________________

What does she do on her job? ______________________________

22. Are your real parents living?
- ___both living
- ___only mother living
- ___only father living
- ___neither living

23. In what type of communities have you lived? Check each type of community you have lived in and write the number of years you have lived there.

	Check if you have lived in this type of community.	How many years?
1. In the open country or in a farming community	___	___
2. In a small town that was not a suburb	___	___
3. Inside a medium-size city	___	___
4. In a suburb of a medium-size city	___	___
5. Inside a large city (Chicago, New York, Los Angeles, etc.)	___	___
6. In a suburb of a large city	___	___

24. Who is now acting as your father?
- ___My father, who is living at home.
- ___My father, who is not living at home.
- ___My stepfather
- ___My foster father
- ___My grandfather
- ___Another relative (uncle, etc.)
- ___Another adult
- ___No one

In answering the following questions about your father, talk about the person you checked for question 24 above--the person who is now acting as your father.

25. Where was your father born? ______________________________
City State or country

26. About how many years has your father's family been in the United States? Circle the correct answer.
10 or less 20 40 60 80 100 or more

27. What is your father's occupation?

Name of his job ______________________________

What does he do on his job ______________________________

28. How much formal education has your father had? (Check one)

___some grade school
___finished grade school
___some high school
___finished high school
___some college
___finished college
___attended graduate school or professional school after college
___don't know

29. How much education does your father want you to have? (Check one)

___Doesn't care if I finish high school or not
___Finish high school only
___Technical, nursing, or business school after high school
___Some college, but less than 4 years
___Graduate from a 4 year college
___Professional or graduate school
___Father is not at home
___Don't know

30. When you don't know why your father makes a particular decision or has certain rules for you to follow, will he explain the reason? (Check one)

___never
___once in awhile
___sometimes
___usually
___yes, always

31. Do you feel that you can talk over your personal problems with your father? (Check one)

___none of them
___very few of them
___some of them
___most of them
___all of them

32. Would you like to be the kind of person your father is? (Check one)

___yes, completely
___in most ways
___in many ways
___in just a few ways
___not at all

33. Who is now acting as your mother?

___My mother, who is living at home
___My mother, who is not living at home
___My stepmother
___My foster mother
___Another relative (aunt, etc.)
___Another adult
___No one

In answering the following questions about your mother, talk about the person you checked for question 33 above--the person who is now acting as your mother.

34. Where was your mother born? ______________ ______________________
City State or country

35. About how many years has your mother's family been in the United States?
10 or less 20 40 60 80 100 or more

36. Does your mother work for pay?

___yes, full-time outside the home
___yes, full-time in the home
___yes, part-time outside the home
___yes, part-time in the home
___no

37. If she works, what is her occupation?

Name of her job ______________________________

What does she do on her job? ______________________________

38. How much formal education has your mother had? (Check one)
___some grade school
___finished grade school
___some high school
___finished high school
___some college
___finished college
___attended graduate school or professional school after college
___don't know

39. How much education does your mother want you to have? (Check one)
___Doesn't care if I finish high school or not
___Finish high school only
___Technical, nursing, or business school after high school
___Some college, but less than 4 years
___Graduate from a 4 year college
___Professional or graduate school
___Mother is not at home
___Don't know

40. When you don't know why your mother makes a particular decision or has certain rules for you to follow, will she explain the reason?
___never
___once in a while
___sometimes
___usually
___yes, always

41. Do you feel that you can talk over your personal problems with your mother? (Check one)
___none of them
___very few of them
___some of them
___most of them
___all of them

42. Would you like to be the kind of person your mother is? (Check one)
___yes, completely
___in most ways
___in many ways
___in just a few ways
___not at all

43. If your parents were to object strongly to some of the fiends you had, would you...? (Check one)
___stop going with them
___see them less
___see them secretly
___keep going with them openly

44. Of the people your own age with whom you spend most of your free time, how many plan to go to college or are already going to college?

___none
___few
___some
___most
___all

45. Would you say, you are part of the leading crowd in this school?
___yes
___no

46. What do you do when you disagree with your group of friends about a decision they have made?

___I always go along with the group
___I usually go along with the group
___I usually decide for myself
___I always decide for myself

47. When your parents disagree about something that should be done, which one usually gets his (or her) way about it? (Check one)

___mother, usually
___mother, more often
___about the same
___father, more often
___father, usually

48. Which parent disciplines, punishes, or corrects you more often? (Check one)

___father, much more
___father, a little more
___about the same
___mother, a little more
___mother, much more

49. Some young people think their parents are somewhat old-fashioned or out of step in their ways of looking at things. Are your parents like this? (Check one)

___almost always
___quite often
___once in awhile
___never

50. Are your opinions about most things similar to the opinions of your parents or are they different? (Check one)
___very similar
___somewhat similar
___somewhat different
___very different

51. Do your parents give you as much freedom as you think you should have? (Check one)

___yes, both do
___mother does
___father does
___neither does

52. Whose company do you enjoy more, your best friends' or your parents'? (Check one)

___parents', much one
___parents', a little more
___about equal
___best friends', a little more
___best friends, much more

53. Where were you born? ______________________________
City State or country

54. List the places where you have lived and how long you lived in each place.

City	State or country	No. of years.

55. Check the highest amount of education you would ideally like to complete. (Check only one)

___some high school
___finish high school
___some vocational school beyond high school
___some college
___finish college
___attend graduate or professional school

56. Check the highest amount of education you think you will really complete. Be realistic. (Check only one)

___some high school
___finish high school
___some vocational school beyond high school
___some college
___finish college
___attend graduate or professional school

PART VI. 1. If you could have any job you wanted, what job would you most like to have 15 years from now?

Write below the job you would like most (for example, high school teacher, saleslady, chemical engineer, owner of a restaurant--or any other job that would be your first choice).

Your first choice ______________________________

2. What kinds of things will you have to do in the future to be able to get the job you named above?
What education, what other training, what work experiences will help you get ready for it? What else can you do to help you get this job? Use as many of the spaces below as you need to answer the question. Short answers will be OK.

1. ______________________________

2. ______________________________

3. ______________________________

4. ______________________________

5. ______________________________

6. ______________________________

7. ______________________________

8. ______________________________

9. ______________________________

10. ______________________________

3. A person working a job does many things. What kinds of things would a person who had your first choice job be doing? List them below. Use as many spaces as you need.

1. ______________________________

2. ______________________________

3. ______________________________

4. ______________________________

5. ______________________________

6. ______________________________

7. ____________________

8. ____________________

9. ____________________

10. ____________________

4. If you could not get your first choice job, then what other job would you most like to have 15 years from now?

Write below the job you would like second most (for example, high school teacher, saleslady, chemical engineer, owner of a restaurant--or any other job that would be your second choice).

Your second choice ____________________

5. What kinds of things will you have to do in the future to be able to get your second choice job?
What education, what other training, what work experiences will help you get ready for it? What else can you do to help you get your second choice job? Use as many of the spaces below as you need to answer the question. Short answers will be OK.

1. ____________________

2. ____________________

3. ____________________

4. ____________________

5. ____________________

6. ____________________

7. ____________________

8. ____________________

9. ____________________

10. ____________________

6. A person working a job does many things. What kinds of things would a person who had your second choice job be doing? List them below. Use as many spaces as you need.

1. ____________________

2. ____________________

3. ____________________

4. ____________________

5. ____

6. ____

7. ____

8. ____

9. ____

10. ____

6. A person working on a job does many things. What kinds of things would a person who had your second choice job be doing? List them below. Use as many spaces as you need.

1. ____

2. ____

3. ____

4. ____

5. ____

6. ____

7. ____

8. ____

9. ____

10. ____

7. How could you as a high school student find out what your first choice and second choice jobs are like--and what you have to do to get these jobs? Use as many spaces as you need.

1. ____

2. ____

3. ____

4. ____

5. ____

6. ____

7. ____

8. ______________________________

9. ______________________________

10. ______________________________

8. Look over your answers for question #7. Place a check in the margin by the things you have actually done to find out what these jobs are like and what you have to do to get these jobs.

9. What job do you think you will really have in 15 years. Name a specific job.

Job you really expect to have ______________________________

PART VII. Some of the following questions may be difficult to answer. Give the best answers you can. We are collecting this information because it is important for a study of Chicago high school students to understand the many different backgrounds from which students come.

1. Place a check mark beside the ethnic group you consider yourself to be a part of. You may check more than one. Circle the one that best describes you.

___Afro American

___West Indian

___Irish

___English (including Canada, Scotland, Wales, England)

___Jewish

___German (including Austrian, Swiss)

___Polish

___Italian

___Lithuanian

___French (including Belgian)

___Spanish (including Mexican, South American)

___Puerto Rican

___Scandinavian (including Norwegian, Danish, Swedish, Finnish)

___Other Eastern European (including Czech, Slovak, Ukranian)

___ Oriental

___Other (please specify)______________________________

In answering the following questions about your ethnic group, please talk about the ethnic group you circled above.

2. If someone is trying to learn about you, how important is it that he knows what ethnic group you are a part of?

___extremely important
___fairly important
___fairly unimportant
___not important at all

3. How many of the students in the high school you attend are in the same ethnic group as you are?

___none of them
___a few of them
___less than half of them
___about half of them
___most of them
___more than half of them
___all of them

4. How many of the students in your English class are in the same ethnic group as you are?

___none of them
___a few of them
___less than half of them
___about half of them
___more than half of them
___most of them
___all of them

5. How many of the people with whom you have had contact are in the same ethnic group you are?

___none of them
___a few of them
___less than half of them
___about half of them
___more than half of them
___most of them
___all of them

6. How many of your close friends are in the same ethnic group you are?
___none of them
___a few of them
___less than half of them
___about half of them
___more than half of them
___most of them
___all of them

7. Think about the amount of contact that you have had with people from a different ethnic group than yours. Do you wish that your past experience had provided more, less, or about the same amount of contact?
___much more
___a little more
___about the same
___a little less
___much less

8. Sometimes, people classify themselves according to the categories listed below. If you had to choose one of the racial groups listed below, which one would you consider yourself a part of? Check one.
___White
___Black
___Spanish-speaking
___Oriental
___American Indian

In answering the following questions about your racial group, please talk about the racial group you checked above.

9. How many of the students in the high school you attend are in the same racial group you are.
___none of them
___a few of them
___less than half of them
___about half of them
___more than half of them
___most of them
___all of them

10. How many of the students in your English class are in the same racial group you are?
___none of them
___a few of them
___less than half of them
___about half of them
___more than half of them
___most of them
___all of them

11. How many of the people in your neighborhood are in the same racial group you are?
___none of them
___a few of them
___less than half of them
___about half of them
___most of them
___all of them

12. How many of the people with whom you have had contact are in the same racial group you are?

_____ none of them
_____ a few of them
_____ less than half of them
_____ about half of them
_____ more than half of them
_____ most of them
_____ all of them

13. How many of your close friends are the same racial group you are?

_____ none of them
_____ a few of them
_____ less than half of them
_____ about half of them
_____ more than half of them
_____ most of them
_____ all of them

14. Think about the amount of contact that you have had with people from a different racial group than yours. Do you wish that your past experience had provided more, less, or about the same amount of contact?

_____ much more
_____ a little more
_____ about the same
_____ a little less
_____ much less

15. If someone is trying to learn about you, how important is it that he knows what racial group you are a part of?

_____ extremely important
_____ fairly important
_____ fairly unimportant
_____ not important at all

16. What is your family's religious preference?

_____ Jewish What branch? __________________
_____ Protestant What church? (Example: Baptist, Methodist...) __________________
_____ Roman Catholic
_____ Other religion Name __________________
_____ No religious affiliation

17. If someone is trying to learn about you, how important is it that he knows your religious preference?

___extremely important
___fairly important
___fairly unimportant
___not important at all

PART VIII. Below are some statements about high schools. Some may describe your school perfectly. Others may not be like your school at all. Still others may be in between. Circle the answer that best describes your school. Think about the school in general, and circle the best answer. Work quickly. Don't spend a lot of time on any one question.

1. Student discussions about the news are common in classes.

Exactly like my school	A little like my school	Not much like my school	Not at all like my school

2. Most teachers think that being creative is something you are born with. The average student just wastes his time when he tries to be creative.

Exactly like my school	A little like my school	Not much like my school	Not at all like my school

3. Students often copy homework from each other just to get it done.

Exactly like my school	A little like my school	Not much like my school	Not at all like my school

4. If a student doesn't know where a class meets or how to get there, most students will help him out.

Exactly like my school	A little like my school	Not much like my school	Not at all like my school

5. Teachers enjoy watching students squirm if they catch them doing something wrong.

Exactly like my school	A little like my school	Not much like my school	Not at all like my school

6. In grading students, teachers measure how well a person has done compared to what he could do if he used all his ability.

Exactly like my school	A little like my school	Not much like my school	Not at all like my school

7. Students tend to associate only with members of their own ethnic and religious groups.

Exactly like my school	A little like my school	Not much like my school	Not at all like my school

8. When a student makes a mistake in class, the others often laugh at him.

Exactly like my school	A little like my school	Not much like my school	Not at all like my school

9. Students tend to hide their real feelings from each other.

Exactly like my school	A little like my school	Not much like my school	Not at all like my school

10. Teachers encourage students to think about exciting and unusual careers.

Exactly like my school	A little like my school	Not much like my school	Not at all like my school

11. There are many students here who teachers think can never learn anything.

Exactly like my school	A little like my school	Not much like my school	Not at all like my school

12. The teachers are usually understanding if a student does something wrong. The first time, at least, they will give him the benefit of the doubt.

Exactly like my school	A little like my school	Not much like my school	Not at all like my school

13. Students are not told what to think about a problem, but encouraged to make up their own minds.

Exactly like my school	A little like my school	Not much like my school	Not at all like my school

14. Often kids from different racial groups yell things at each other on the way home from school.

Exactly like my school	A little like my school	Not much like my school	Not at all like my school

15. Teachers and students often laugh at things together.

Exactly like my school	A little like my school	Not much like my school	Not at all like my school

16. Teachers here are genuinely concerned about students' feelings.

Exactly like my school	A little like my school	Not much like my school	Not at all like my school

17. In science classes, we spend a lot of time finding our own solutions to problems, rather than being told what to do.

Exactly like my school	A little like my school	Not much like my school	Not at all like my school

18. Teachers welcome students' own ideas in class, even when they don't agree with the textbook.

Exactly like my school	A little like my school	Not much like my school	Not at all like my school

19. Most tests are based on memorizing the textbook, not thinking things out.

Exactly like my school	A little like my school	Not much like my school	Not at all like my school

20. Teachers don't have time to explain a problem to students who don't understand.

Exactly like my school	A little like my school	Not much like my school	Not at all like my school

21. Outside of class, most teachers are friendly and find time to chat with students.

Exactly like my school	A little like my school	Not much like my school	Not at all like my school

22. Students are looked up to here if they do what they believe is right.

Exactly like my school	A little like my school	Not much like my school	Not at all like my school

23. There are a few groups that sort of run the school. If you aren't in one of them, it can be pretty tough.

Exactly like my school	A little like my school	Not much like my school	Not at all like my school

24. If a student knows what's good for him, he will keep his mouth shut when he disagrees with the teacher.

Exactly like my school	A little like my school	Not much like my school	Not at all like my school

25. People here are interested in a lot of different things, and everyone just accepts it.

Exactly like my school	A little like my school	Not much like my school	Not at all like my school

26. If you don't dress and act much like everyone else, you are in a lot of trouble.

Exactly like my school	A little like my school	Not much like my school	Not at all like my school

27. A lot of students say they want a certain kind of job when they get older, but they don't really know much about that job.

Exactly like my school	A little like my school	Not much like my school	Not at all like my school

28. Students put a lot of energy into everything they do, in class and out.

Exactly like my school	A little like my school	Not much like my school	Not at all like my school

29. Students feel it is valuable to know what makes some religions different from others.

Exactly like my school	A little like my school	Not much like my school	Not at all like my school

30. At this school, kids from various backgrounds seem to respect and get along with one another.

Exactly like my school	A little like my school	Not much like my school	Not at all like my school

31. Students read very few books that deal with today's political and social issues.

Exactly like my school	A little like my school	Not much like my school	Not at all like my school

32. If a student really believes something, but most other students don't, he'd better not talk about it.

Exactly like my school	A little like my school	Not much like my school	Not at all like my school

33. People don't have to be afraid of expressing a point of view that is unusual or not popular in this school.

Exactly like my school	A little like my school	Not much like my school	Not at all like my school

34. Most teachers believe there is only one right answer to a question.

Exactly like my school	A little like my school	Not much like my school	Not at all like my school

35. Students don't hesitate to speak up to teachers when they think something is wrong in school, and the teachers do something about it.

Exactly like my school	A little like my school	Not much like my school	Not at all like my school

36. When kids are with their own group, they use a lot of bad terms to describe kids from other ethnic groups.

Exactly like my school	A little like my school	Not much like my school	Not at all like my school

37. Teachers often have each student in their class working on a different project.

Exactly like my school	A little like my school	Not much like my school	Not at all like my school

38. There is a lot of interest in learning for its own sake, rather than for grades or credits.

Exactly like my school	A little like my school	Not much like my school	Not at all like my school

39. If a teacher saw a student downtown on the street, he would probably pretend he didn't know him.

Exactly like my school	A little like my school	Not much like my school	Not at all like my school

40. Around this school, there are as many students interested in the problems' facing our society, as there are students interested in basketball or parties.

Exactly like my school	A little like my school	Not much like my school	Not at all like my school

41. Teachers encourage students to defend their ideas in class discussions and debates.

Exactly like my school	A little like my school	Not much like my school	Not at all like my school

42. Most teachers feel students are too young to make decisions about the way the school is run.

Exactly like my school	A little like my school	Not much like my school	Not at all like my school

43. Teachers like students to use a lot of imagination when they write compositions.

Exactly like my school	A little like my school	Not much like my school	Not at all like my school

44. Classroom discussions are often very exciting with a lot of active student participation.

Exactly like my school	A little like my school	Not much like my school	Not at all like my school

45. Sometimes students are so interested in a class that they start to discuss the work before the teacher arrives.

Exactly like my school	A little like my school	Not much like my school	Not at all like my school

46. Students are often punished without knowing the reason for it.

Exactly like my school — A little like my school — Not much like my school — Not at all like my school

47. A student who understands a particular lesson more quickly just has to wait until the rest of the class catches up.

Exactly like my school — A little like my school — Not much like my school — Not at all like my school

48. School is so dull that kids goof around and get into trouble because they are bored.

Exactly like my school — A little like my school — Not much like my school — Not at all like my school

49. Teachers always seem to think students are planning to cause trouble.

Exactly like my school — A little like my school — Not much like my school — Not at all like my school

50. There are so many things going on in this school that anyone can find something he likes to participate in.

Exactly like my school — A little like my school — Not much like my school — Not at all like my school

51. Teachers talk about jobs and the education you need for them outside of class.

Exactly like my school — A little like my school — Not much like my school — Not at all like my school

52. Most students here are just waiting around until they can get a diploma.

Exactly like my school — A little like my school — Not much like my school — Not at all like my school.

53. Most students and teachers don't really care much about the problems of our society when you get right down to it.

Exactly like my school — A little like my school — Not much like my school — Not at all like my school

54. Most of the teachers are not interested in students' personal problems.

Exactly like my school — A little like my school — Not much like my school — Not at all like my school

55. Students do their work mostly to get better grades than other people.

Exactly like my school — A little like my school — Not much like my school — Not at all like my school

56. Teachers put a lot of enthusiasm into their teaching.

Exactly like my school — A little like my school — Not much like my school — Not at all like my school

57. If a student wondered about a certain type of occupation, he wouldn't really have anyone to talk with about it.

Exactly like my school
A little like my school
Not much like my school
Not at all like my school

58. Teachers here often ditto up their own materials.

Exactly like my school
A little like my school
Not much like my school
Not at all like my school

59. If a student suggested that the class study something different, he could really get into trouble.

Exactly like my school
A little like my school
Not much like my school
Not at all like my school

60. Even if a student had some good luck and was very happy, he wouldn't tell his teachers about it.

Exactly like my school
A little like my school
Not much like my school
Not at all like my school

61. The principal is willing to hear students' complaints.

Exactly like my school
A little like my school
Not much like my school
Not at all like my school

62. There is a rush for the door at the end of school because people are so glad to get out.

Exactly like my school
A little like my school
Not much like my school
Not at all like my school

63. Teachers' cars are often damaged by students.

Exactly like my school
A little like my school
Not much like my school
Not at all like my school

64. Students try in all sorts of ways to be friendly and to help each other.

Exactly like my school
A little like my school
Not much like my school
Not at all like my school

65. The average student here would like to act in a play if he had a chance.

Exactly like my school
A little like my school
Not much like my school
Not at all like my school

66. Most students here don't have any idea what they might do for a job when they are older.

Exactly like my school
A little like my school
Not much like my school
Not at all like my school

67. If a student is feeling sad about something, most teachers will notice it and try to talk to him about it.

Exactly like my school	A little like my school	Not much like my school	Not at all like my school

68. Teachers just seem to teach the same books year after year.

Exactly like my school	A little like my school	Not much like my school	Not at all like my school

69. There is little chance to be creative in most classes here.

Exactly like my school	A little like my school	Not much like my school	Not at all like my school

70. It is almost impossible to arrange a field trip here.

Exactly like my school	A little like my school	Not much like my school	Not at all like my school

71. Students often get together in their own time and talk about things they've learned in class.

Exactly like my school	A little like my school	Not much like my school	Not at all like my school

72. What a person wants to do or be later in life is a favorite topic around here.

Exactly like my school	A little like my school	Not much like my school	Not at all like my school

73. Most teachers are not very interested in what goes on in the local government.

Exactly like my school	A little like my school	Not much like my school	Not at all like my school

74. The student council here has a lot of power to decide things that are important.

Exactly like my school	A little like my school	Not much like my school	Not at all like my school

75. Many teachers seem moody and hardto figure out.

Exactly like my school	A little like my school	Not much like my school	Not at all like my school

76. If students are having trouble with a certain type of school work, teachers will usually try a different approach to it.

Exactly like my school	A little like my school	Not much like my school	Not at all like my school

77. Teachers encourage students from different backgrounds to talk about experiences distinct to their groups.

Exactly like my school	A little like my school	Not much like my school	Not at all like my school

78. There are a lot of fights in the school.

Exactly like my school	A little like my school	Not much like my school	Not at all like my school

79. A teacher who tried a lot of new ideas about teaching here would be considered odd by the other teachers.

Exactly like my school	A little like my school	Not much like my school	Not at all like my school

80. Outside of class, students spend a lot of time discussing things like hunger and pollution.

Exactly like my school	A little like my school	Not much like my school	Not at all like my school

81. Most students don't pay much attention in class unless they are called on.

Exactly like my school	A little like my school	Not much like my school	Not at all like my school

82. New ideas are always being tried out here.

Exactly like my school	A little like my school	Not much like my school	Not at all like my school

83. If a male student was to have a poem published in the school paper, most of his friends would think he was a sissy.

Exactly like my school	A little like my school	Not much like my school	Not at all like my school

84. Students have a reputation for being very friendly to each other.

Exactly like my school	A little like my school	Not much like my school	Not at all like my school

PART IX. IDEAL JOB. Listed below are several answers to the sentence "The ideal job for me would have to..." As you read the list of answers, tell how important each one would be for your ideal job. Circle one choice.

THE IDEAL JOB FOR ME WOULD HAVE TO...

1. provide an opportunity to use my special abilities or aptitudes.

Highly Important   Somewhat Important   Somewhat Unimportant   Not Important at all

2. provide me with a chance to earn a good deal of money.

Highly Important   Somewhat Important   Somewhat Unimportant   Not Important at all

3. permit me to be creative and original.

Highly important   Somewhat Important   Somewhat Unimportant   Not Important at all

4. give me social status and prestige.

Highly Important   Somewhat Important   Somewhat Unimportant   Not Important at all

5. give me an opportunity to work with people rather than things.

Highly Important   Somewhat Important   Somewhat Unimportant   Not Important at all

6. enable me to look forward to a stable secure future.

Highly Important   Somewhat Important   Somewhat Unimportant   Not Important at all

7. leave me relatively free of supervision by others.

Highly Important   Somewhat Important   Somewhat Unimportant   Not Important at all

8. give me a chance to exercise leadership.

Highly Important   Somewhat Important   Somewhat Unimportant   Not Important at all

9. provide me with adventure.

Highly Important	Somewhat Important	Somewhat Unimportant	Not Important at all

10. give me an opportunity to be helpful to others.

Highly Important	Somewhat Important	Somewhat Unimportant	Not Important at all

11. leave me a large amount of leisure time.

Highly Important	Somewhat Important	Somewhat Unimportant	Not Important at all

PART X. No two people have exactly the same ideas about what they want to do in their lives. In the following list, check the best description of how important each goal is to you. Just give the best answer you can. Don't spend much time on any one. Check only one answer.

1. To achieve in a performing art

___Essential
___Very important
___Fairly important
___Fairly unimportant
___Very unimportant
___Don't care at all

2. To be an authority in my field

___Essential
___Very important
___Fairly important
___Fairly unimportant
___Very unimportant
___Don't care at all

3. To be looked up to by my friends and others my age.

___Essential
___Very important
___Fairly important
___Fairly unimportant
___Very unimportant
___Don't care at all

4. To influence the political structure

___Essential
___Very important
___Fairly important
___Fairly unimportant
___Very unimportant
___Don't care at all

5. To influence social values.

___Essential
___Very important
___Fairly important
___Fairly unimportant
___Very unimportant
___Don't care at all

6. To raise a family

___Essential
___Very important
___Fairly important
___Fairly unimportant
___Very unimportant
___Don't care at all

7. To have an active social life

___Essential
___Very important
___Fairly important
___Fairly unimportant
___Very unimportant
___Don't care at all

8. To have friends with different backgrounds.

___Essential
___Very important
___Fairly important
___Fairly unimportant
___Very unimportant
___Don't care at all

9. To develop a strong religious faith.

___Essential
___Very important
___Fairly important
___Fairly unimportant
___Very unimportant
___Don't care at all

10. To have administrative responsibility.

___Essential
___Very important
___Fairly important
___Fairly unimportant
___Very unimportant
___Don't care at all

11. To be well-off financially

___Essential
___Very important
___Fairly important
___Fairly unimportant
___Very unimportant
___Don't care at all

12. To help others in difficulty

___Essential
___Very important
___Fairly important
___Fairly unimportant
___Very unimportant
___Don't care at all

13. To become a community leader

___Essential
___Very important
___Fairly important
___Fairly unimportant
___Very unimportant
___Don't care at all

14. To contribute to a scientific theory

___Essential
___Very important
___Fairly important
___Fairly unimportant
___Very unimportant
___Don't care at all

15. To write original works

___Essential
___Very important
___Fairly important
___Fairly unimportant
___Very unimportant
___Don't care at all

16. To not be obligated to people

___Essential
___Very important
___Fairly important
___Fairly unimportant
___Very unimportant
___Don't care at all

17. To create works of art

___Essential
___Very important
___Fairly important
___Fairly unimportant
___Very unimportant
___Don't care at all

18. To keep up with political affairs

___Essential
___Very important
___Fairly important
___Fairly unimportant
___Very unimportant
___Don't care at all

19. To succeed in my own business

___Essential
___Very important
___Fairly important
___Fairly unimportant
___Very unimportant
___Don't care at all

20. To develop a philosophy of life

___Essential
___Very important
___Fairly important
___Fairly unimportant
___Very unimportant
___Don't care at all

PART XI. Below are listed some pairs of things that different people have said they enjoy doing. In each pair, pick out the one you would enjoy doing most and circle the letter in front of it.

1. a. To read about the causes of water pollution and some ways we might solve this problem.
   b. To analyze some water from Lake Michigan.

2. a. To hear a debate about the welfare system.
   b. To interview members of a welfare rights organization.

3. a. To visit a courtroom and watch a trial.
   b. To conduct a mock trial that brings up an important social problem.

4. a. To make a copy of a sculpture that was made by a great artist.
   b. To make something out of clay entirely on my own, even if it wasn't that good.

5. a. To see an interesting film about Chicago twenty years ago.
   b. To interview the man who was mayor of Chicago twenty years ago.

6. a. To read about the problem of hunger and hear a debate about it.
   b. To work in a breakfast program at a church for hungry children.

7. a. To read about the men who explored the Chicago area when it was a wilderness.
   b. To go on a camping expedition and try to live off the land using as few modern tools as possible.

8. a. To stay for 4 hours in a barren room with nothing to do and to record your experiences.
   b. To take a tour of the county jail.

9. a. Play the part of a character in a play.
   b. Attend a play and listen to the actors discuss their characters at the end.

10. a. To work in a political campaign.
    b. To follow a political campaign closely in the newspaper.

11. a. To attend concerts and lectures by talented musicians.
    b. To play a musical instrument and compose songs.

12. a. To perform famous scientific experiments just the way famous scientists did.
    b. To try to discover something in a science laboratory yourself.

13. a. To keep caterpillars and watch them develop into moths and butterflies.
    b. To see a "time-lapse" film that shows the development of caterpillars into moths.

14. a. To perform a physics experiment the way it is set up in the book.
    b. To mess around in the physics lab and try to build something of your own.

15. a. To learn how to wire electrical circuits correctly.
    b. To try to invent a new type of electronic amplifier.

PART XII. *The questions in this section are about some things that you believe.* Choose the best answer you can. Do it quickly. Don't spend much time on any one question.

For questions 1-3 below, check the answer that comes closest to what you believe.

1. Good luck is more important than hard work for success.

_____agree
_____not sure
_____disagree

2. Every time I try to get ahead, something or somebody stops me.

_____agree
_____not sure
_____disagree

3. People like me don't have much of a chance to be successful in life.

_____agree
_____not sure
_____disagree

For questions 1-7 below, circle the answer that comes closest to what you believe in each pair of statements. In other words, circle (a) or (b) for each question.

1. a. Without the right breaks one cannot be an effective leader.
   b. Capable people who fail to become leaders have not taken advantage of their opportunities.

2. a. Becoming a success is a matter of hard work; luck has little or nothing to do with it.
   b. Getting a good job depends mainly on being in the right place at the right time.

3. a. The average citizen can have an influence in government decisions.
   b. This world is run by the few people in power, and there is not much the little guy can do about it.

4. a. In my case getting what I want has little or nothing to do with luck.
   b. Many times we might just as well decide what to do by flipping a coin.

5. a. As far as world affairs are concerned, most of us are the victims of forces we can neither understand nor control.

b. By taking an active part in political and social affairs the people can control world events.

6. a. Many times I feel that I have little influence over the things that happen to me.
   b. It is impossible for me to believe that chance or luck plays an important role in my life.

7. a. Sometimes I don't understand how teachers arrive at the grades they give.
   b. There is a direct connection between how hard I study and the grades I get.

PART XIII. Below is a list of different kinds of things people do in a city. Circle often if you've done it a lot, some if you've done it once or a few times, and never if you've never done it.

1. Often Some Never Taken a book out of a public library.
2. Often Some Never Been in the upper story of an office building.
3. Often Some Never Been in a courtroom.
4. Often Some Never Been in a bank.
5. Often Some Never Ridden the El.
6. Often Some Never Traveled on a boat.
7. Often Some Never Been in a hospital as a patient or visitor.
8. Often Some Never Gone to a museum to study something.
9. Often Some Never Been in a TV station.
10. Often Some Never Bought something in a downtown department store.
11. Often Some Never Seen a mechanic at work close-up.
12. Often Some Never Seen an artist at work close-up.
13. Often Some Never Talked to a construction worker.
14. Often Some Never Talked to a person in politics.
15. Often Some Never Talked to a college professor.
16. Often Some Never Talked to someone who has been in jail.
17. Often Some Never Been in a scientific laboratory.
18. Often Some Never Been on a college campus.
19. Often Some Never Talked to a firemen.
20. Often Some Never Talked to a hippie.

21. Often Some Never Been in a large factory.

22. Often Some Never Been to a musical concert other than school.

23. Often Some Never Been to a play other than school.

24. Often Some Never Swum in Lake Michigan.

25. Often Some Never Talked to a famous athlete.

APPENDIX B. IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

REGULAR INTERVIEW - CONTROLS

FINAL INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

SENTENCES THAT APPEAR IN CAPITALS ARE FOR THE INSTRUCTION OF THE INTERVIEWER. SENTENCES THAT APPEAR IN SMALL LETTERS ARE QUESTIONS TO BE ASKED TO THE SUBJECT.

THE FIRST THING TO DO IS TO EXPLAIN THE PURPOSE OF TAPING THE INTERVIEW. IN CONNECTION WITH THE TAPING, TELL THE SUBJECT THE FOLLOWING:

-- TAPING IS NECESSARY TO SHORTEN THE TIME OF THE INTERVIEW, BECAUSE THE INTERVIEWER WON'T HAVE TO TAKE NOTES.

-- TAPING PUTS ON RECORD WHAT THE PERSON REALLY SAYS, AND SO IT KEEPS THE RECORD ACCURATE.

-- THE TAPE WILL NEVER BE HEARD BY THE STUDENT'S TEACHERS OR ANYONE ELSE EXCEPT THE RESEARCH STAFF. HIS (HER) NAME WILL NEVER BE CONNECTED WITH ANYTHING SAID.

-- THE MAJOR PURPOSE OF THE INTERVIEW IS TO GET A BETTER PICTURE OF A GROUP OF STUDENTS IN THE PROGRAM AND TO SEE HOW THEY CHANGE OVER A PERIOD OF TIME.

EACH OF THE SECTIONS IS ON SEPARATE PAGES IN THE FOLLOWING SCHEDULE.

NOTE THAT IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING THE INTERVIEW YOU ARE ASKED TO TAPE SOME IMPRESSIONS OF IT. DETAILED INSTRUCTIONS APPEAR AT THE END.

AT SOME POINT DURING THE INTERVIEW, HAVE THE STUDENT DO THE "NEWSPAPER" QUESTIONNAIRE FROM THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN.

INTRODUCTORY SECTION

THE PURPOSE OF THE INTRODUCTORY SECTION IS TO PROVIDE INFORMATION SO THAT THE STUDENT AND THE INTERVIEWER CAN BE IDENTIFIED ON THE TAPE AND ALSO TO PUT THE STUDENT AT EASE AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE.

SAY INTO TAPE AT BEGINNING: This is a post interview.

1. What is your name?
2. What is your address?
3. Do you go to school now? IF YES: Where? IF NO: Where did you go? GET COMPLETE HISTORY OF SCHOOL ATTENDANCE SINCE FEBRUARY, 1970.
4. Have you moved in the last year? IF NO, GO TO 7.
5. Where did you live before you moved?
6. Why did you move?
7. Have you ever been away from home for a few days? When was that? Did you enjoy it?

CONTROL OF ENVIRONMENT

THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS RAISE HYPOTHETICAL SITUATIONS TO WHICH THE SUBJECT IS ASKED TO RESPOND CONCERNING WHAT HE WOULD DO OR WHY THE SITUATION CAME ABOUT. POSE THE QUESTION AND GET AN INITIAL ANSWER FROM THE SUBJECT. PROBE EACH ANSWER ONCE BY SAYING "Tell me more about that," UNLESS IT IS CLEAR THAT THE SUBJECT IS TALKED OUT ON THAT QUESTION. IF THE ANSWER IS EXCEPTIONALLY INTERESTING, FURTHER PROBES MAY BE USED. IN GENERAL, HOWEVER, ONE PROBE SHOULD BE USED FOR EACH SITUATION.

I am going to describe a situation and then ask you a question about that situation. It doesn't matter if this situation has ever happened to you. Just pretend it has and then answer the question I ask you about it.

1. If you were trying to fix something and you just couldn't seem to get the parts together, what would you do?

2. If an assistant principal was bawling you out for something you didn't do, what would you do?

3. If your parents tell you something you want to do would be too hard for you, why is that?

4. If you don't get a job you apply for, why is that?

5. If a teacher pays more attention to you than to most kids, why is that?

6. If, whenever there is trouble, the teacher always blames it on you, why would that be?

7. If you were feeling very frustrated about something, what would you do?

8. If your parents get really angry at you, what do you do?

9. If your father is always offering to help you fix things, why is that?

10. If you were bored in class and you didn't like the teacher, what would you do?

11. If a policeman said you looked suspicious and began to ask you questions, what would you do?

12. If your friends tried to get you to do something you didn't feel like doing, what would you do?

13. If you were worried about a quiz you had to take, what would you do?

14. If a TV reporter stopped you to ask your opinion for a news program, why would that be?

PEER GROUP

1. Do you have any new friends that you've met in the last year? IF YES, ASK QUESTIONS 2 & 3. IF NO, GO ON TO QUESTION 4.

2. Who are they? Where do you know them from? How old is each one? How is each one doing in school? How far do you think each one will go in school? How do they like school? Has any of them talked about dropping out? GET INFORMATION ON EACH INDIVIDUAL.

3. What kinds of things do you do when you get together? GET SPECIFIC EXAMPLES OF PARTICULAR OCCURRENCES.

4. What about the people you're still good friends with who you knew a year ago when we talked with you? Who are they? What are they doing now? What kinds of things have you done together in the last year? GET SPECIFIC EXAMPLES OF PARTICULAR OCCURRENCES.

5. List your five best friends at school (or work, if not in school). Are they white or black or what racial group? DO NOT ASK RACE UNTIL ALL FIVE ARE LISTED.

SELF-CONCEPT

1. How would you describe yourself as a person? GET GENERAL ANSWER, THEN ASK: Let's get some specific things that describe you as a person. Write on this paper five words that tell what you are like. WORK WITH STUDENT TO GET FIVE INTRINSIC CHARACTERISTICS (E.G. FEELINGS, PERSONALITY TRAITS, ETC.) THEN FOR EACH ONE ASK: Tell me why you think you are ( ). Tell me about something specific that happened to you that shows why you are ( ).

2. What things would you say you are good at compared with other people your age? FIRST GET SPONTANEOUS LIST. THEN PROBE SPECIFIC AREAS INCLUDING SCHOOL, SPORTS, GETTING ALONG WITH FRIENDS OF SAME SEX, GETTING ALONG WITH THE OPPOSITE SEX, HOBBIES, UNDERSTANDING YOURSELF.

3. What sorts of things are you not so good at, compared with other people your age? REPEAT THE PROBES FOR QUESTION 2.

4. Of the things you told me you weren't good at, there are probably some you really don't care about very much. But pick out a few things you're not very good at that you would really like to improve. What are they? Why do you want to improve in them? How would you go about it?

5. What would you say is the most special thing about you, the thing that makes you different from other kids? PROBE FOR DETAILS.

6. If your mother could change you in any ways she wanted, how would she change you? Would you want to change that way? WATCH OUT FOR PAT ANSWERS.

7. If your father could change you in any way he wanted, how would he change you? Would you want to change that way? WATCH OUT FOR PAT ANSWERS.

8. Think of your best friends. If they could change you in any ways they wanted, how would they change that way? WATCH OUT FOR PAT ANSWERS.

9. Let's pretend you wanted to disappear from the scene for awhile, but you had to get someone to take your place so that no one would know you were gone. You have to teach him (her), like Mission Impossible, how to act like you so that no one would know the difference. How would you tell him to act? Go through a day from the time you get up until the time you go to bed.

   AFTER THE STUDENT TALKS ABOUT AN AVERAGE DAY, ASK HIM (HER) HOW HE (SHE) WOULD ACT IN THE FOLLOWING THREE SITUATIONS:

(a) You are eating dinner with your parents and you disagree about what time you should come home that night.

(b) You are in a boring class at school.

(c) You are in the cafeteria at school with your friends.

10. If you could trade places with some person your own age, who would that be? It should be someone you really know personally. Why?

11. If you could change places with anyone in the world--a real person you know, or a famous person, or even a character in a book or movie--who would that be? Why?

12. Imagine that twenty years from now you have sons (daughters).

(a) What kinds of things will you want them to do when they are your age?

(b) What kinds of things do you hope they will not do?

(c) What advice will you give them when they are your age?

13. How have you changed since the last time we interviewed you a year ago?

(a) In school

(b) At home

(c) With your friends

(d) In your ideas about things.

GET SPECIFICS FOR EACH AREA, give me an example of something you did that shows why you've changed that way.

14. What's the most important thing that's happened to you in the last year? Why?

NEIGHBORHOOD AND CITY

1. When you think of the neighborhood you live in now, what first comes to your mind? What else stands out about your neighborhood?

2. Have you moved in the last year? IF NO, GO TO QUESTION #4. IF YES, DO QUESTION #3.

3. Where did you move to? Why did you move? Do you like it better or worse?
   (a) What does your new neighborhood look like?
   (b) What kinds of buildings are there?
   (c) What kinds of people live in your new neighborhood?
   (d) What goes on in your neighborhood?
   (e) Do you have any favorite places for hanging out? IF YES, what are they? What do you do there? Why do you like them?
   (f) What kind of reputation does your neighborhood have? Do you think that's right?

4. Do you like the neighborhood you live in now?

5. Do you want to live in your neighborhood when you are older? Why? IF NO, where would you rather live?

6. What streets are included in the downtown area?

7. Why do you go downtown? What do you do when you are there? How often would you say you go downtown?

8. Have you had an unusual experience (good or bad) downtown in the last year? Describe it. Do you feel confident downtown or a little scared usually?

SCHOOL EXPERIENCE

1. Are you in school now? IF NO, ASK THESE QUESTIONS IN THE PAST TENSE ABOUT THE SCHOOL LAST ATTENDED.

2. We want to find out something about what ______________ is like from your point of view. Let's look at some of the questions you answered about ______________ on the written questionnaire. We've copied them over from your questionnaire onto this sheet. We want to find out a little more about why you answered the questions the way you did. ASK IN THE SPECIFIC FORM: For the question that said ( ), why did you say, "Not at all like my school?" IF THE STUDENT HAS NOT YET DONE THE QUESTIONNAIRE, ALLOW HIM TO DO THE PARTICULAR ITEMS ON THE SPECIAL SHEET, EXPLAINING THE DIRECTIONS TO HIM AND THEN HELPING HIM WITH QUESTIONS IF NECESSARY. THEN GO BACK AND ASK HIS REASONS FOR EACH ANSWER AS INDICATED ABOVE.

3. Think ot the specific teacher you like most at ______________________.
   (a) Who is it?
   (b) Tell me something about him (her).
   (c) Give me an example of something he (she) did that you really liked.
   (d) Does he (she) like you?
   (e) Are there other teachers like him (her) here? Who?
   (f) What is it about a teacher that makes you really respect him (her)?

4. Think of the specific teacher you like least at ______________. If STUDENT SAYS HE LIKES THEM ALL PRESS FOR THE ONE LIKED A LITTLE LESS THAN OTHERS. REMIND OF CONFIDENTIAL NATURE OF INTERVIEW.
   (a) Who is it?
   (b) What is it exactly you don't like about him (her)?
   (c) Give me an example of something he did that you really didn't like.
   (d) Does he (she) like you?

5. What do you like doing most here at ______________? Why?
   Are you especially good at that? PROBE COURSES, OUTSIDE OF CLASS.

6. What do you like doing best at ______________? Why?
   Were you good or bad at that? PROBE COURSES, OUTSIDE OF CLASS.

7. What do your Metro teachers think you're best at? Are they right?

8. What do your Metro teachers think you're worst at? Are they right?

9. Do you think high school students should have any say about what happens in school? PROBE: IF YES, how much? About what kinds of things. IF NO, why not?

10. What kinds of things do you think shouldn't be talked about in school classes? IF THEY ARE NOT BROUGHT OUT,SUGGEST SEX, RACIAL TENSIONS, POLITICAL ISSUES LIKE THE WAR, DRUGS, PROBLEMS IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD.

SCHOOL EXPERIENCE (Continued)

11. We're interested in finding out how you would do an assignment. Suppose a ____________________ teacher without giving any suggestions asked your class to do a report on the CTA.

    (a) What are all the possible different ways you could think to get information about it?
    (b) Which do you think you would probably use?
    (c) Which do you think your teacher would probably like the best?

12. Suppose you wanted to find out the reasons given for and against lowering the voting age. REPEAT THE SPECIFIC QUESTIONS LISTED FOR #13.

13. What would you think of a teacher who gave the class a problem and admitted that she didn't know the answer yet? Do you think a teacher should only ask questions to which he or she knows the answer? Why?

14. When you think about a teacher at ____________________, what kinds of things do you see this person doing?

15. At ____________________, do students work together very often on projects? Give me some specific examples and tell me how it worked out.

16. REFER TO PICTURE 1. Here is a school class. Tell me a story about what is going on in the picture. How do you think the student feels about what is happening? Tell me some more about what you think usually goes on in this class. Could this be a class at ____________________? PROBE FOR DETAILS.

17. REFER TO PICTURE 2. Here are a student and a teacher talking. Tell me a story about what you think they are talking about. What do you think the student is thinking? Could this be a class at ____________________? PROBE FOR DETAILS.

18. What's the best thing about going to ____________________?

19. What's the worst thing about going to ____________________? If you were the principal, how would you change that? PROBE FOR SOMETHING THEY DON'T LIKE EVEN IF FIRST RESPONSE IS THAT NOTHING IS WRONG HERE.

20. Say you were making a film about ____________________. What kinds of things would you put in to show what it's really like?

21. Have you gotten involved in any extracurricular activities at ______________________?
   (a) What?
   (b) When?
   (c) How did you get interested in that?
   (d) How much time do you spend doing that?

22. Do you ever cut classes?
   (a) What do you do when you cut?
   (b) Why do you cut?

23. How much homework do you get?
   (a) In what subjects?
   (b) How often do you do it?

24. How often are you late to class?

25. How often do you come to class unprepared?

26. Have you ever been so excited about something you were doing in a class that you worked and worked on it on your own? Sort of got all wrapped-up in doing it? GET DETAILS OF A SPECIFIC INCIDENT.

27. What courses are you taking at ______________________ that will help you after you leave? How?

28. How much reading do you do now?
   (a) What kinds of things? Titles, authors?
   (b) Is it easy or hard for you to read?

ETHNIC BACKGROUND AND CROSS-GROUP CONTACT

1. What ethnic origin group are you a part of? PROBE FOR SPECIFICS. E.G., IF STUDENT SAYS "WHITE," SAY, "YES, BUT ARE YOU IRISH OR POLISH OR GERMAN OR WHAT?"

2. What are the advantages of being (   )?

3. What are the disadvantages of being (   )?

4. What do your parents think about your having contact with people from other groups? GIVE SOME EXAMPLES. Do your parents think you should avoid any groups?

5. What advice would you give your younger brother (sister) if he (she) was going to a school with kids from a different group than yours?

6. If you were a principal of a high school that was about half white and half black, what kinds of problems do you think you would have to face? FOR EACH PROBLEM ASK: What would you do about that?

7. Do you have any close friends that are from a different racial or ethnic group? Who? Has that caused you any problems?

8. Think of one particular person who you have had the most contact with who is from a different group than yours.
   (a) How did you know him (her)?
   (b) Would you say your contact with him (her) was good or bad? Why?

9. Think about when you get older.
   (a) Do you think you will have close friends from a different group than yours? Why?
   (b) Would you rather live in a neighborhood with different groups or one with pretty much your own group? Why?

10. How do you feel about ____________________ having kids from so many different groups? How are they getting along? Do you have good friends here who are from other groups? What do you do together? PROBE FOR SPECIFIC EXAMPLES ON THESE QUESTIONS.

WORK

1. Are you working now, either full or part-time? IF NO, GO TO #2.
   (a) Where?
   (b) What are your main duties on the job?
   (c) Do you like it?
   (d) How many hours per week do you work?
   (e) How long have you had this job?
   (f) How did you find out about it and get it?
   (g) Do you expect to keep this job for awhile? Why?
   (h) Would you like this to be a permanent job? Why?
   (i) Will having this job make it easier for you to do any other job you want? IF YES, How?
   (j) What do you dislike most about your job? GO TO #3

2. IF NOT WORKING
   (a) Would you like to get a job now?
   (b) What kind?
   (c) Why?

3. What do you want to do for a living if everything works out right for you?
   (a) Why would you want to do that?
   (b) What does a person in this job do? PROBE FOR DETAILS.
   (c) What kind of training and other experience do you need for a job like that?
   (d) Tell me about some things you are doing to get ready to do that job.
   (e) Is there anything you're doing at ____________________ that's helping you get ready for that job? PROBE FOR SPECIFICS--COURSES, ETC. Is there any person at ____________________ who has helped you find out about it?
   (f) Tell me some things you have done to find out about the job.
   (g) What might stop you from getting that job?

4. Be realistic. What kind of job do you think you will probably end up with? Why?
   (a) What kind of things does a person do on that job?
   (b) What kind of training and experience do you need to get a job like that?
   (c) Is there anything you're doing at ____________ that's helping you get ready for that job? PROBE FOR SPECIFICS--COURSES, ETC.

5. What does your father want you to be? Why?

6. What does your mother want you to be? Why?

7. List two jobs you would not like to have. What wouldn't you like about them?

EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS AND FUTURE PLANS

1. IF IN SCHOOL Have you ever thought about dropping out of school?
   (a) Why?
   (b) When?
   (c) What would your friends think about you dropping out?
   (d) Do you think your teachers and principal would mind if you quit?
   (e) Would your folks mind?
   (f) What keeps you from dropping out?

2. IF NOT When did you start to think about dropping out?
   (a) Why did you drop out?
   (b) What did your friends think about it?
   (c) Did your teachers or principal care if you quit?
   (d) What about your folks?
   (e) Tell me about the specific time when you really decided to do it.

3. Do you think you'll finish high school (at some point)?

4. While you have been in school, has anyone talked with you about technical schools or college?
   (a) Who?
   (b) What did they tell you?

5. IF IN SCHOOL Have you ever thought seriously about going to technical school or college?
   (a) What kind or what specific school?
   (b) What have you done to find out about it or apply?
   (c) Do you think you will probably go?

6. If everything fell right, how much education would you like to complete?

7. Realistically, how much education do you think you can complete?

8. How much education does your mother think you can complete?

9. How much does your father think you can complete?

10. How much do most of your teachers think you can complete?

11. When you are older and on your own, what kind of life do you want to have? GET A GENERAL RESPONSE. PROBE SOME SPECIFICS OF JOB, FAMILY, NEIGHBORHOOD IF NOT COVERED EARLIER.

12. What things do you want to be able to do really well when you are older?
13. What do you want your friends to look up to you for when you are older?
14. Do you want to live in the neighborhood you live in now? If not, what type of neighborhood do you want to live in?

TAPED COMMENTS BY INTERVIEWER AFTER STUDENT LEAVES

ANSWER THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS ON TAPE BY READING IN THE QUESTIONS AND YOUR ANSWERS.

1. Describe the student's general appearance (physical characteristics, style of moving, clothes, etc.).

2. Sketch the student's personality and style of relation to others (of particular interest are how positive he seems to feel about himself, how much he seems able to influence what happens to him).

3. Describe any information aspects of your relationship with him in the interview. Did you feel that you established rapport with him?

4. What was his general emotional tone? How did he seem to feel about his life?

APPENDIX C. BRIEF ANALYSES OF SELECTED TOPICS*

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*As indicated in Chapter 1, we have completed brief examinations (based primarily on participant observation) of topics for which we did not have enough time to carry out a full-scale analysis,

TEACHER ROLE

Within the typical bureaucratically-organized school, there is an extensive division of labor and a low degree of interdependence among staff. The teacher teaches specific courses by him/herself at specified times. If another teacher is absent or incompetent, this situation doesn't affect him/her. Other specialized personnel are responsible for decision-making, counseling students, and functions that extend beyond or integrate the individual teacher's activities.

At Metro, teachers were given a major role in many organizational functions that are traditionally reserved for others (e.g., institutional decision-making and counseling). Further, the nature of the Metro experiment thrust additional responsibilities on teachers that do not need to be performed in the conventional school (e.g., finding outside resource teachers to offer learning experiences).

A partial list of major teacher responsibilities at Metro during its first one and a half years included the following:

planning and teaching individual courses

planning and teaching team-taught courses

making institutional decisions and involving students in this process

implementing institutional decisions that often involved developing totally new systems (e.g., for obtaining and recording evaluations of students from outside resource teachers)

conducting group counseling

spending considerable time counseling and talking with students informally

formally counseling students who had problems in the program

counseling and registering students for 150 course offerings

making contacts for outside resourse teachers and for outside classroom space

monitoring the quality of courses taught by outside resource teachers

responding to crises in the school's development (e.g., eviction from the school's headquarters because it failed to meet fire codes)

ordering and otherwise obtaining supplies and equipment

communicating with parents

keeping student and school records

dealing with Board of Education administrative personnel to obtain needed resources and approvals

Most of these functions are not carried out by the traditional high school teacher.

Over the 18 months of study, several definite trends can be identified with respect to staff role. In the first semester of operation from February to June 1970, the staff attempted to deal with their new role by the application of the energy, enthusiasm, and hope they brought to the program. A norm was established that the good Metro teacher worked at school until 5 or 6 p.m. and worked at home on school-related tasks most nights and weekends. Total participation in all decisions and activities was emphasized, resulting in daily staff meetings lasting several hours.

Teachers and program consultants were not yet fully aware of the numerous functions that had to be carried out and tended to believe that those problems they uncovered through trial and error could be dealt with by hard work and dedication. Great emphasis was placed on decision-making, but less on decision-implementation. It was often assumed that once a decision was made, people would abide by it and carry it out since they had participated in its formulation.

After the first semester, the staff held a summer workshop to plan for the next year. A major concern in this workshop was the lack of integration between the variety of learning experiences offered. This concern resulted in the development of a "core course" program that was to be interdisciplinary and team taught. The attempt to implement this idea in the fall semester placed further strains on the teacher's role.

At the same time, staff members were becoming increasingly concerned about their "role overload" and sought various ways to deal with it. This issue was often posed in terms of three dichotomies: institutional responsibility vs. individual teaching responsibility; working directly with students vs. planning and paperwork; and commitment to Metro vs. teachers' other commitments to self and family. The heightened sense of being overworked and the growing realization of the complex task they had undertaken caused a number of changes in Metro during the fall of 1971:

1. Some administrative procedures had been clarified through experience and were carried out by the teachers with relative efficiency (e.g., registration and evaluation of students).

2. In group decision-making, a great deal more emphasis was placed on the process of implementing decisions and monitoring implementation.

3. Major work on some issues was delegated to staff or student-staff committees.

4. Some teachers began to retreat from the demands of the original teacher role. These shifts took several forms:

   a) De-emphasizing involvement in institutional decision-making to focus on individual courses and work with students.

   b) De-emphasizing team teaching to focus on individual courses and work with students.

   c) De-emphasizing involvement in the school-without-walls concept and the maintenance of outside resource classes to focus on individual courses and work with students.

   d) De-emphasizing the importance of group counseling.

5. Formally or informally, some staff took on specific functions, such as counseling students who had serious problems in dealing with the program.

6. Some teachers set definite limits on the time they would spend on Metro, citing personal or family obligations they felt they could no longer ignore.

About half of the teachers continued to place strong emphasis on the need for teachers to remain deeply involved in institutional decision-making and implementation although they began to place much more emphasis on clarity, competence, and delegation of responsibility to committees. They maintained a strong sense that if people didn't have this wholistic orientation, the school could not approach its objectives. Most teachers (including those who ceased to perform many of the activities entailed in the original teacher role definition) continued to believe in that role as an ideal. Thus, teachers' expectations of themselves remained extremely high, and they often felt very discouraged and failed to recognize their positive accomplishments.

The demanding staff role led to "teacher burn-out," teacher exhaustion that caused them to leave Metro and in most cases to also leave the teaching profession. The original teachers were slowly replaced by others (over a period of five years) who had not experienced Metro's hectic beginnings. In addition, staff orientation was not as thorough for these new teachers. Therefore, new teachers joined the staff after the second and third year who had a limited sense of the wholistic conception of teacher role, even as an ideal.

Another change that occurred in the course of Metro's development was a realization of the wide range of skills required for performing the teacher role at Metro, skills that few teachers have. In the beginning, the staff had a distrust of expertise, associated with what staff saw as the irrelevant administrative expertise of the traditional school. The staff began with the assumption that any dedicated person who could relate to people could perform all the tasks entailed in the Metro staff role. Soon, however, the staff learned that such activities as group counseling required specialized skills that most of them lacked. Attempts were made to deal with some of these skill needs in workshops, but this in-service training was not usually commensurate with the need and had to compete with many other immediate demands on teachers' time. Thus, this gap in skills resulted in three tendencies within the staff: to increase needed skills through training, to cope as well as possible and increase skills somewhat through experience, or to redefine the teacher role to exclude areas where skills were seriously deficient.

From the difficulties with defining staff role (which are shared by many alternative schools), we have derived a number of ideas that should be dealt with in founding any alternative school:

1. A school should begin with a thorough understanding of the tasks that need to be carried out to keep the organization functioning and decide in what way various staff members should be involved in carrying them out.
2. Ideally, some balance should be established between shared responsibility and specialization, since neither extreme will allow a school like Metro to achieve its objectives.
3. Teachers have limited amounts of energy. Staff burn-out and disillusion are inevitable unless ways are found to conserve staff energy.
4. The Metro staff role entailed a wide variety of skills that teachers were not initially equipped with. A school should attempt to define those skills they need most and enlist assistance in acquiring them.

A number of issues are entailed in these observations that should be explored further either through additional analysis of the Metro data or analysis of other schools:

1. What is the full list of activities entailed in the alternative school's staff role?
2. How have these activities been carried out effectively in other schools?
3. What kinds of approaches were effective in achieving a balance between role specialization and co-operative effort?
4. What skills are needed to be an effective alternative school teacher and

how can they best be acquired?

5. What approaches have been successful in avoiding teacher burn-out?

COUNSELING

Metro helped to create counseling opportunities for students that differed qualitatively from those available in traditional schools. This goal was to be accomplished in several ways. Each student was assigned (with 15-20 others and a teacher) to a "counseling group." These groups were to function as the integrative "home bases" for the students. The school worked to create an informal atmosphere in which students would feel comfortable discussing personally important issues with teachers and fellow students. A portion of the curriculum was oriented around issues typically considered as counseling -- *e.g.*, vocational development, family problems, life goals, sex, drugs, etc. Community resources were to be involved in counseling functions where appropriate. Finally, a certified high school counselor was included on the staff.

The success of the school in implementing these various elements of a counseling program was mixed. Since the counselor functioned much as she would in a regular Chicago school -- focusing on the bureaucratic details of testing and college application -- and since community resources were not significantly involved, we concentrate on the other elements of the program. The counseling group represented perhaps the most unique element. (This kind of group is a popular idea -- having been tried in various forms in many alternative schools.)

Originally four hours a week were alloted to the counseling groups. This large amount of unstructured time was designed to allow the groups maximum flexibility. Groups were intended to serve as a format both for group counseling (students drawing on each other and the teacher in a group setting) and individual counseling. The groups ideally were to deal with both the issues raised by the special nature of the school (e.g., anxieties created by the reliance placed on student self-direction) and the more traditional adolescent concerns (e.g., family problems, vocational direction).

The counseling group did not work as intended. Dissatisfaction with the groups steadily grew among both teachers and students. The time alloted was reduced from 4 to 2 to 1 hour a week. Almost all teachers had attempted group counseling exercises (e.g., sensitivity training, gestalt) in which most of them had little previous training. Most felt generally unsuccessful and most abandoned these group techniques.

There are several observations to be made about this unsuccessful aspect of the groups:

1. The groups may have been forced to serve too many functions: administration, communication, transportation token distribution, course registration, academic issues, personal counseling, etc. This combination of functions detracted from a clear counseling orientation and confused students.

2. Teachers generally felt unprepared to assume a counseling function. They believed that training and counsultant help was needed. Also many lacked experience with the realities of the backgrounds from which some students came.

3. Assignment to groups was involuntary. Every student was assigned to a counseling group. They did not have the option of deciding whether or not they wanted to be part of a counseling encounter.

4. Subgroups varied in their response to group counseling. School-alienated students from lower class backgrounds especially had negative reactions.

The counseling groups also had successful aspects:

1. They legitimized the discussion of personal concerns as valid topics within the schools.
2. They created an expectation that all teachers might serve as counselors and adult friends for individual students. (See "You Can Talk to the Teachers" and "Why It Worked" in chapter 6.)
3. They changed peoples' expectations about "home room" time. Tasks that were customarily treated impersonally in regular schools (e.g., course registration) became springboards for counseling interactions between teachers and students. (See "Course Choice" in chapter 6.)
4. They generated ideas and interests for courses that focused on student concerns -- e.g., Men, Women, and Wonder (sex) and Parent Management (family problems).

The opening up of counseling relationships between all teachers and students was significant for both groups. Students saw these new possibilities as one of the most positive accomplishments of the school. Similarly, teachers valued the chance to interact closely with students in ways that had been severely curtailed in traditional schools. This change was perhaps the most important for the large group of students who had no special troubles -- a group that would have been typically neglected by the counseling process in the regular schools. In fact, some parents felt that their children entered the group of "no special problems" only because they were at Metro.

The school had mixed success with those students who would have typically been targets for counseling -- i.e., those who were having academic and discipline problems. Individual teachers who had special friend/counselor relationships were able to attend to some of these students' problems, but there was a group of students no one was able to serve very effectively. Although the Metro atmosphere was less violent and noxious than that of most Chicago high schools, there were still some of the same problems -- e.g., stealing, smoking, drinking, class cutting, drop-outs, etc. The school tried techniques such as student self-policing and the creation of a special staff committee for student support, but generally the staff felt that they did not find entirely satisfactory solutions. Several issues are raised by Metro's experiences in this area:

1. Alternative school ideology. Part of Metro's difficulty in addressing student needs in this area was a lack of consensus among the staff about what constitutes a problem. Cutting classes was an especially troublesome issue in this regard. Most of the staff subscribed to the idea that compelling attendance at all classes was not good educational philosophy or psychology. At the same time they felt that a student who did not participate at all in the educational program was not being served by the school. This concern was especially emphasized by students who hadn't achieved competency in basic skills -- particularly for minority students who would be put at a special disadvantage in the job market without a firm background of high school accomplishments. The staff disagreed on what degree of cutting constituted a problem and on how long a period of adjustment to the free atmosphere students should be allowed. For about a year, this discord paralyzed the staff in their reponse to the cutting problem.

2. Adult rights and responsibilities. Alternative school ideology

assumes that adolescents have a high level of maturity that should be reflected in the rule making and enforcement structure. The Metro staff originally hoped that students would take a major role in running the school -- joining with teachers. For a variety of reasons this student participation never materialized (See "Student Participation in Decision Making" in chapter 6.) Many of the staff felt that unilateral rule making and enforcement ran against their personal philosophies, and hence, they were reluctant to assume these roles. Furthermore, since staff were in disagreement about the definition of problems, they did not fully accept the rationale for rules against smoking, drinking, minor drugs, etc. and hence were reluctant to enforce these rules or to consider them as student problems requiring counseling. Staff self-clarification on these issues would seem to be a prerequisite to an effective counseling program.

3. What to do with troubled students? The staff disagreed about whether or not Metro was an appropriate school for every student and hence about what its responsibility was to the student who hadn't adjusted to the program. Some felt that students who were having trouble should be warned, counseled to some degree, and if they didn't adjust, be sent back to the regular schools. Others felt that such an escape clause was a "cop-out." They felt Metro should assume the responsibility for all its students and work out counseling procedures even for very difficult students. The availability of the option of "sending students back" may have retarded the development of counseling procedures for students with severe problems. Again, alternative school staffs must clarify their positions on this issue.

4. Record keeping. Many of the staff at Metro at first rejected the bureaucratic demands of record keeping -- they saw these mechanisms as throwbacks to the police functions of the traditional schools. In addition, the flexible schedules of the school and the fact that students met their classes all over the city complicated the tasks. The other demands of getting the program going had higher priority than record keeping. For the first semester there was little reliable information about class attendance or the credit records of individual students. This lack of information made it difficult to identify students who were having problems. During the next semesters, the staff realized

the need for information to help identify students in need of special help or attention.

The Metro staff had high hopes for counseling. They had the flexibility and freedom from institutional barriers between teachers and students that seemed essential in achieving their goals. They expected to help their students master the tasks of adolescence in ways that usually eluded regular schools.

For most students the school was more effective in counseling than traditional schools had been. Students sought and received advice and help from many trusted adults. Courses were developed to address special concerns. Counseling came to mean more than just discipline and college applications.

Still the school fell short of its high aspirations. It had not really developed a systematic counseling program that took advantage of the special student-teacher interactions that existed but had supplemented them with more focused programs. The decentralized, loosely structured nature of the school allowed many students to fall through the cracks -- especially those who had not established these special relationships with teachers. Furthermore, even those that did have these counseling friendships may not have received the systematic academic-vocational counseling that was necessary.

Alternative schools such as Metro have a unique potential for offering students counseling in many important areas. Careful planning is necessary, however, because such a program will not just happen.

TEACHER CO-OPERATION

As mentioned in the previous section on teacher role, Metro was characterized by a high degree of interdependence among teachers that is not typical of conventional schools. Thus, staff co-operation became a critical issue influencing the direction and effectiveness of the program. The best way to analyze the patterns of activity associated with staff co-operation is to trace staff co-operation as it evolved over the one and a half year period under study.

The consultants who planned the program and worked with it through its first year and a half of operation established the initial norms that guided the program. They placed a high value on staff co-operation, since they believed it was a way to overcome the bureaucratic fragmentation that they saw as typifying the traditional high school. At the same time, they did not introduce a systematic program for developing staff co-operation as a skill. This was partly because they had faith in the ability of the talented staff they had assembled to work co-operatively and partly because there was not enough time to carry out a systematic program of staff training in this area. The staff was not assembled until a few days before the opening of the school, and there were many other tasks competing for staff energy and attention.

In the first semester of operation, the major focus for staff co-operation was group decision-making and implementation. The section on student involvement in decision-making (Section F of Chapter 6) describes the way in which, over the first semester, the staff meeting became the focus of school decision-making when students showed limited interest in being involved in decision-making. As described earlier, a group of six teachers, the principal and five consultants met almost daily to make decisions and discuss problems. Initially, these meetings were relatively unstructured and had no formal leader. There was strong emphasis on everyone having his/her say and there was insufficient thought given to details of decision implementation. There was some conflict in the group within and between the consultant and staff groups. However, there was strong unity around the value of the experiment and the importance of both the school without walls and altering teacher-student relationships. The consultants made some attempts to hold group process sessions to deal with conflicts and to build co-operation, but these were relatively ineffective, partly because the consultants were involved as advocates for particular ideas within the school and could not then step back into the role of group facilitators.

As the first semester wore on, the need for greater emphasis on decision implementation became apparent. Through the end of the first semester of operation and through the next school year, the staff became extremely proficient in co-operative tasks that involved dealing with such procedures as registration, evaluation and staff selection. Roles and expectations were defined explicitly, necessary materials were developed, etc. A related development in the second year of operation was the beginning of a committee system for dealing with many of these issues. Subgroups of staff and some students developed highly effective teams for performing these functions.

However, the staff had continued trouble in implementing decisions that involved dealing with limits on staff or student behavior (e.g., enforcing agreed-on rules about quiet areas in the school or confronting students who weren't in class when they should have been).

Teacher co-operation could have taken a variety of forms in the first semester of operation, but it was primarily focused on the solution of school problems through decision-making among the teachers and consultants meeting as a group. There was little co-operation in teaching or counseling. Further, since the agenda of staff meetings was always focused on problems, there was little chance for mutual help and advice outside the scope of school problems, or for a focus on acknowledgement of individual and group successes. This inclination to always focus on problems heightened the tendency of the staff toward an extremely high level of criticism of themselves and each other.

At the end of the first semester of operation, the consultants and staff convinced the Superintendent of Schools to expand the Metro program. The consultants recommended that a separate new unit of the program be established with 150-200 students and a staff of ten teachers. The Superintendent opposed this plan for a separate unit on the grounds that such small units were "inefficient." A compromise was reached in which the school was to consist of two units with headquarters on the first and third floors of an office building with a common resource area on the second floor.

To prepare for this expanded school, the consultants directed a four-week summer workshop. The first week was led by an outside human relations expert, who had been chosen by a committee of the teachers. The qualities the staff saw in this person were a knowledge of urban schools and students and an ability to tune into their specific problems. The workshop had minimal long-term effect on the staff, probably because this work was not followed up systematically through a long-term relation with the outside consultant.

The dominant issue in the rest of the workshop was a decision to establish a team-taught interdisciplinary "core course" to overcome the fragmentation of the first semester curriculum, in which each teacher had worked largely alone. Interdisciplinary teams defined the core courses they wanted to teach, but again there was no systematic effort to improve teacher skills for co-operative teaching.

Another purpose of the summer workshop was to orient a group of 15 new teachers and to build two groups of teachers to operate the two units of the program semi-autonomously. From the beginning there was ambiguity about those decisions that should be made by the whole group of teachers and those to be made by the unit staff groups.

In the first semester of the second year, two patterns developed as a result of the direction set in the summer. First, the team-taught core course was generally judged unsuccessful and was dropped by all but one team after the first semester. It had been a mistake to place every teacher and student in such a group without training teachers specifically for dealing with this new area of expected co-operation. A further problem with the core course was the increased time that it required to make arrangements and to plan. Many teachers perceived this new time demand as further undercutting their ability to spend time working directly with students.

Second, it became apparent that the two units were not developing a separate identity. Because their headquarters space was not renovated on time, both units were housed together in inadequate quarters for four weeks. Coupled with the communication and friendships developed among students because of the informality of the program, this problem made it impossible to operate two semi-autonomous units with shared facilities and separate unit headquarters in the same building. The program became in effect, one large unit with 350 students and 20 teachers. This created a staff group that was generally too large to meet and to make decisions effectively.

This cumbersome decision-making group, together with the more limited definition of staff role that began to emerge in the second year (see section on Teacher Role) undercut the type of staff co-operation in decision-making that had existed in the first year. Staff co-operation in group decision-making continued to be a central focus of the school for most staff, but it was made less effective by staff splits on issues of personality, race, and perceived commitment to the program. Further, a decreased consensus on program goals made co-operation more difficult.

A major rejuvenation of staff co-operation occurred in a crisis during the second semester of the first year. The building in which the program was housed was condemned by the fire department, and the Board of Education bureaucracy was unresponsive to requests that they either find other suitable space for Metro or force the landlord to make needed repairs. In this crisis, staff, sudents, and parents worked with a high degree of effectiveness to pressure the Board into action and to find and evaluate alternative sites for a new headquarters. However, the outcome of the effort was indecisive, since the program was put back into its old headquarters and the landlord allowed to make repairs in such a way that the building was much less suitable as a headquarters space (e.g., by cutting archways between rooms to serve as fire exits). After the "space crisis," the staff was exhausted and somewhat demoralized. A remarkable co-operative effort had failed to yield a decisive victory and people again moved away from group co-operation in decision-making.

To put the events of the second year in perspective, it should be emphasized that there was still a much higher degree of co-operation among staff than is found in conventional schools. The retreat from co-operation is measured in the above discussion by the changes from the Metro ideal and the high level of co-operation during the first year.

From these events and patterns in the school's development related to teacher co-operation, several generalizations emerge that can both provide some guidance to other schools and provide a basis for analyzing this or other data on teacher co-operation in alternative programs:

1. Metro's experience confirms the initial presumption in the program -- that in alternative programs entailing a high degree of teacher interdependence, teacher co-operation is a pivotal activity with wide-ranging implications for program direction and effectiveness.

2. Staff co-operation is at least partly a skill that must be consciously acquired by individuals and by the group. The specific components of this skill within the context of such a program deserve careful study.

3. Effective means for increasing staff co-operation through specific training are difficult to identify. Metro experience suggests that such training should be long-term and should be closely tied in with the particular problems and issues of starting an urban alternative school, rather than emphasizing general skills of communication, listening, etc. that are not tied closely in the training to specific program conditions.

4. Means must be found for the sharing and reinforcement of individual and group successes, so that the focus of co-operation is not always on problems.

5. A commitment to co-operative teaching must be tied to a careful effort to develop the skills associated with such an approach. Again, research on what constitutes effective co-operative teaching in an urban alternative school would be extremely helpful as the basis for carrying out useful training programs.

6. Methods for group decision-making and implementation that allow for wider participation and yet are efficient and thorough are vital to the success of an alternative program. Metro was fairly effective in developing some of these approaches, and their documentation and analysis is extremely important.

7. A critical area for staff co-operation is the implementation of decisions that involve limits on the behavior of staff or students.

8. At least a minimal consensus on program goals is a major factor in building effective staff co-operation. This raises important implications for staff selection, orientation, and review.

9. The size of staff groups decisively affects the potential for co-operation. The supposed "efficiency" of larger schools is totally inappropriate for this type of alternative school.

APPENDIX D. FOLLOW-UP STUDIES

In the spring of 1974, we began a follow-up study of Experimental I and Control I students. The follow-up research had two parts. First, we recorded from student records the total number of credits accumulated during each ten-week learning cycle by Metro students. The Metro credit system involved 288 points for graduation, with 16 points being equal to one standard high school credit. Thus, the record of student credit was a sensitive indicator of a student's level of participation in the program. In addition to total credits, credits in reading-related, math-related, and independent study learning units were also recorded. In addition, the researcher noted whether the student graduated from Metro or not. Non-graduates had transferred to another high school, dropped out of high school altogether, or were still attending Metro. We did not have access to comparable data concerning control students.

Second, we attempted to contract all students who took the original pretest in the research program in both the Experimental I and Control I groups. Those successfully contacted were interviewed by telephone. If they could not be reached personally but a relative could be reached who knew about what they had done in the past few years, this person was asked to give some basic information about the student. In this telephone interview, we asked questions concerning whether or not the student had completed high school, whether or not the student had been involved in any education beyond high school, what type of institution, what they thought about their high school experience in retrospect, what jobs they had held in the past few years and what they thought of them, what other important things had happened to them since they left high school, and what they hoped to be doing in ten years. The full interview schedule is reproduced as an attachment to this appendix.

In this appendix, we present some key findings from these follow-up studies. A complete report of results must await a subsequent publication.

With respect to the analysis of the credits and graduation of Metro students, we limit ourselves to a comparison of the graduation rates by Anglos and blacks and by students from the six student subgroups described in Chapter 6. Table D-1 presents a comparison of the graduation rates of Anglo and black students. In this sample we have included not only Experimental I students who entered in February, 1970 (who were freshmen at that time), but also the upperclassmen who entered at the same time, to achieve the maximum sample size for comparisons. As Table D-1 indicates, overall graduation rate for this group from Metro was 54.9%. 23% of the group dropped out of high school from Metro, 10% transferred to other schools; and 10% left Metro, but it is unclear whether they transferred or dropped out. As indicated by the other part of the follow-up study, some who transferred or dropped

TABLE D-1. Number and Percentage of Black and Anglo Students Who Entered Metro in February 1970 Who Graduated from Metro High, Based on an Examination of Student Credit Records.

	Metro 1970 Cohort		
	Black	Anglo	Total
Graduated from Metro	33 50.0%	40 59.7%	73 54.9%
Dropped out of Metro	16 24.2%	14 20.9%	30 22.6%
Transferred to another high school	7 10.6%	7 10.4%	14 10.5%
Left Metro - not known whether drop-out or transfer	9 13.6%	5 7.5%	14 10.5%
Still attending Metro	1 1.5%	1 1.5%	2 1.5%
Total	66 100.0%	67 100.0%	133 100.0%

Note 1. Students who either transferred from Metro or dropped out may later have graduated from another high school.

Note 2. Chi - square comparison of Metro blacks versus Metro Anglo comparing those who graduated from Metro with those who did not is not significant at less than the .10 level.

out. As indicated by the other part of the follow-up study, some who transferred or dropped out graduated from other schools.

Comparing the rates of graduation of Anglos and blacks, a somewhat higher percentage of Anglos as compared to blacks graduated from Metro but this difference did not approach statistical significance in a chi-square test.

Table D-2 compares the graduation rates of students from the six student subgroups discussed in Chapter 6. It will be recalled that participant observation had established that the procedures and values of Metro seemed most closely tuned to the White Youth Culture and Black Youth Culture students, that the White School Oriented and Black School Oriented students were also adjusting fairly well to the program and benefiting from it, and that the Black School Alienated and White School Alienated/Ethnic students were deriving the least benefits from the program. The patterns of graduation in Table D-2 are highly significant in a chi-square analysis, with a P value less than .001. An analysis of observed versus expected values for individual groups indicates that the Black School Alienated and White School Alienated groups contribute most to this significant result. Examining the percentages of each subgroup who graduated, we find enormous differences. The highest graduation rate (75%) was observed for the White Youth Culture students who we felt were deriving most benefits from the Metro

TABLE D-2. Number and Percentage of Metro Students in Various Student Subgroups Who Entered Metro in February 1970 Who Graduated from Metro, Based on Examination of Student Credit Records.

	Black School-Oriented	Black Youth Culture	Black School-Alienated	White School-Alienated	White Youth Culture	White Ethnic	Total
Graduated from Metro	26 66.7%	4 50.0%	3 15.8%	21 61.8%	18 75.0%	1 11.1%	73 54.9%
Dropped out of Metro	3 7.7%	2 25.0%	11 57.9%	5 14.7%	5 20.8%	4 44.4%	30 22.6%
Transferred to another high school	4 10.3%	2 25.0%	1 5.3%	4 11.8%	0 0.0%	3 33.3%	14 10.5%
Left Metro - not known whether drop-out or transfer	6 15.4%	0 0.0%	3 16.8%	3 8.8%	1 4.2%	1 11.1%	14 10.5%
Still attending Metro	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	1 5.3%	1 2.9%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	2 1.5%
Total	39 100.0%	8 100.0%	19 100.0%	34 100.0%	24 100.0%	9 100.0%	133 100.0%

Note 1. Chi-squares comparison of rates of graduation and non-graduation reveal a highly significant difference between subgroups, with Black School - Alienated and White Ethnic Students contributing most heavily to the difference (p less than .001).

program. Also consistent with our prediction, the Black School Oriented and White School students had the next highest graduation rates of 67% and 62% respectively. The Black Youth Culture students had somewhat lower graduation rates than we would have expected, but the number of students involved is quite small (n=8). The Black School-Alienated and White Ethnic subgroups had by far the lowest rates of graduation, respectively 16% and 11%, strongly supporting the hypothesis derived from participant observation that they were obtaining the least benefit from the program. It is interesting to note that comparable black and white subgroups have comparable rates of graduation, so that the differential graduation rates appear to be related to a particular style of response to the school regardless of race.

Turning to the results of the telephone interviews of Experimental I and Control I students, we must first ask how representative the group of students actually contacted were of the original samples. To explore this question, Table D-3 compares race and socioeconomic status between the original Experimental I and Control I contacted in the telephone interview. The table indicates that the representation of students by race in the telephone samples mirrors that of the original samples. The representation of students by socioeconomic status group is also comparable, although there may be a slight underrepresentation of students from the lowest social status groups.

Table D-4, which presents data from the interview on rates of high school graduation by Experimental I and Control I students, presents

TABLE D-3. A Comparison of Experimental I and Control I Students Who Were Reached for the Follow-Up Telephone Survey With The Total Original Sample With Respect to Race and Socioeconomic Status.

		Experimental I	Control I	Overall
	Black	28 50.0%	22 48.9%	50 49.5%
	Anglo	28 63.6%	18 51.4%	47 58.0%
	Overall	56 56.0%	41 50.0%	97 53.3%
1.	Unskilled workers, unemployed, public aid recipients (score 10–28)	8 40.0%	9 40.9%	17 38.6%
2.	Semi-skilled manual, clerical and sales (score 29–35)	12 60.0%	6 37.5%	18 50.0%
3.	Level 1 skilled manual, clerical, and sales (score 36–43)	12 57.1%	6 42.9%	18 51.4%
4.	Level 2 skilled, manual, clerical, sales, and small proprieters (score 44–54)	8 66.7%	10 50.0%	18 56.3%
5.	Professional, technical, and managerial (above 55)	7 43.8%	5 50.0%	12 46.2%
	Undetermined	9 52.9%	5 83.3%	14 60.9%
	Overall	56 52.8%	41 46.6%	97 50.0%

TABLE D-4. Number and Percentage of Black and Anglo Students in Experimental I and Control I Responding to the Telephone Follow-Up Survey Who Graduated from High School.

	Experimental I			Control I			Overall		
	Black	Anglo	Total	Black	Anglo	Total	Exper. I	Control I	Total
Graduated from High School*	20 71.4%	25 89.3%	45 80.4%	19 86.4%	15 78.9%	34 82.9%	45 80.4%	34 82.9%	79 81.4%
Did not Graduate from High School	7 25.0%	2 7.1%	9 16.1%	3 13.6%	4 21.1%	7 17.1%	9 16.1%	7 17.1%	16 16.5%
Still Attending	1 3.6%	1 3.6%	2 3.6%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	2 3.6%	0 0.0%	2 2.1%
Total	28 100.0%	28 100.0%	56 100.0%	22 100.0%	19 100.0%	41 100.0%	56 100.0%	41 100.0%	97 100.0%

*Note 1. This includes students who graduated from Metro or their original control school, students who graduated from other schools, and students who successfully passed the high school equivalency (G.E.D.) exam.

Note 2. Chi-square comparison of Experimental I versus Control I concerning the rate of high school graduation is not significant at less than the .10 level.

further information on the possible distortions present in the telephone sample. Notice that it indicates that 80% of Metro students graduated from some high school as compared with the result in Table D-1 indicating that only 55% of Metro students graduated from high school. These figures are not strictly comparable since some students listed as graduating from some high school in Table D-4 did not graduate from Metro (about 10%). Even taking these differences into account, however, it appears that the telephone sample overrepresented student who graduated from high school as opposed to those who did not. This distortion should be kept in mind when reflecting on the results presented below.

Looking further at Table D-4, one can see that approximately the same number of students graduated from Experimental I as from Control I. However, while slightly more black students graduated in the control situation than Anglo students, slightly more Anglo students graduated from the Metro situation than blacks. These differences are not statistically significant.

Table D-5 examines the percentages of students from Experimental I and Control I who pursued education beyond high school. It compares those students who became involved in any type of post-secondary education (four year college, two-year college, fine and applied arts programs, vocational programs, and vocational training in military

TABLE D-5. Number and Percentage of Anglo and Black Students in Experimental I and Control I Responding to Telephone Follow-Up Study Who Did and Did Not Attend Some Form of Post-Secondary Education.

	Experimental I			Control I			Overall		
	Black	Anglo	Total	Black	Anglo	Total	Exper. I	Control I	Total
Pursued Education Beyond High School*	15 55.6%	18 66.6%	33 61.1%	17 77.3%	14 73.7%	31 75.6%	35 62.5%	34 75.5%	69 68.3%
No Education Beyond High School	12 44.4%	9 33.3%	21 38.9%	5 22.7%	5 26.3%	10 24.4%	21 37.5%	11 24.4%	32 31.7%
Total	27 100.0%	27 100.0%	54 100.0%	22 100.0%	19 100.0%	41 100.0%	56 100.0%	45 100.0%	101 100.0%

*Note 1. This includes attendance in four-year colleges, two-year colleges, fine and applied arts programs, and military service programs.

Note 2. Chi-square comparison of Experimental I versus Control I on pursuit of education beyond high school not significant at less than the .10 level.

service) versus those who did not. Comparing Metro and control students, 63% of Metro students attended some type of post-secondary education while 76% of control students did. A chi-square test comparing the two groups indicated that this difference was not statistically significant. In examining the differences between students within the two groups by race, we find a marked difference between Metro black students (56% of whom attended beyond high school) and Control black students (77% of whom attended beyond high school). A chi-square comparison indicates that this difference does not approach statistical significance at the .10 level.

Table D-6 breaks down the type of post-secondary education that the students attended. Inspecting the table, it indicates first that the higher percentage of control students (including control black students) taking some sort of post-secondary education is accounted for by students who attended vocational or two-year college programs. Further, a chi-square comparison of Metro and control indicates that Metro students attended more competitive educational programs (including Metro black students) than did control students. This chi-square comparison of Metro and control contrasted students attending very competitive and competitive four-year colleges with students attending other types of post-secondary programs. This comparison was significant at less than the .05 level. Thus, we conclude that somewhat more control than Metro students attended post-secondary programs (especially black control

TABLE D-6. Number and Percentage of Anglo and Black Students in Experimental I and Control I Responding to Telephone Follow-Up Study Who Attended Various Types of Post-Secondary Education.

	Experimental I			Control I			Overall		
	Black	Anglo	Total	Black	Anglo	Total	Exper. I	Control I	Total
Very Competitive Four - Year College	2 7.4%	8 29.6%	10 18.5%	0 0.0%	5 26.3%	5 12.2%	11 20.0%	6 13.3%	17 17.0%
Competitive Four - Year College	4 14.8%	4 14.8%	8 14.8%	2 9.1%	2 10.5%	4 9.8%	8 14.5%	4 8.9%	12 12.0%
Less Competitive Four - Year College	3 11.1%	0 0.0%	3 5.6%	3 13.6%	2 10.5%	5 12.2%	3 5.5%	5 11.1%	8 8.0%
Fine or Applied Arts	1 3.7%	1 3.7%	2 3.7%	2 9.1%	0 0.0%	2 4.9%	2 3.6%	2 4.4%	4 4.0%
Two - Year College	4 14.8%	1 3.7%	5 9.3%	8 36.4%	1 5.3%	9 21.9%	5 9.1%	9 20.0%	14 14.0%
Vocational Program (including program in military service)	1 3.7%	4 14.8%	5 9.3%	2 9.1%	4 21.1%	6 14.6%	5 9.1%	8 17.8%	13 13.0%
Did not attend	12 44.4%	9 33.3%	21 38.9%	5 22.7%	5 26.3%	10 24.4%	21 37.5%	11 24.4%	32 32.0%
Total	27 100.0%	27 100.0%	54 100.0%	22 100.0%	19 100.0%	41 100.0%	55 100.0%	45 100.0%	100 100.0%

Note 1. Ranking of colleges is based on Barm's Profiles of American Colleges (1973 Edition).

Note 2. Chi-square comparision of Experimental I and Control I comparing attendance at very competitive or competitive colleges versus attendance at other forms of post - secondary education is significant at the .05 level, indicating that Experimental I students who attended some form of post - secondary education attended significantly more competitive institutions.

students) although the difference was not statistically significant, but that those Metro students who did attend post-secondary programs attended significantly more competitive schools.

Students were asked three questions that sought their perceptions of their high school experience. The responses to these questions were analyzed according to the two areas in which the in-depth interviews discussed in Chapter 3 were analyzed: perceptions of school climate and student-teacher relationships. Table D-7 presents results concerning school climate. Categories for responses in this table included those developed in the interview analysis in Chapter 3 and some additional ones that appeared relevant to this particular data. Concerning Metro, the most frequent positive comments about school climate concerned its freedom from restrictive rules, the degree of academic interest in the school, the feeling of positive challenge, and the good relationships with other students. The major negative comments concerned the perception that Metro offered too much freedom, that it failed to prepare students adequately for college, that there wasn't sufficient positive challenge and that there was heightened tension among students as the school developed.

In the control group, there were significantly fewer positive comments, the main ones relating to the categories of academic interest, preparation for the future, and feelings of camaraderie with other students.

TABLE D-7. Number of Positive and Negative Comments Concerning Social Climate of High School Attended by Black and Anglo Students in Experimental I and Control I Who Responded to the Telephone Follow - Up Survey, Broken Down by Response Category.

		Experimental I						Control I					
		Black		Anglo		Total		Black		Anglo		Total	
		Pos.	Neg.	Pos.	Neg.	Pos.	Neg.	Pos.	Neg.	Pos.	Neg.	Pos.	Neg.
I	Personal freedom from school rules	10	0	12	0	22	0	1	0	1	0	2	0
	--too much freedom		4		1		5		0		1		1
VI	Interest in class and other academic content	6	0	8	0	14	0	4	3	2	0	6	3
IX	Preparation for future: In general	2	1	2	0	4	1	5	1	3	1	8	2
	College	2	3	1	6	3	9	1	2	3	2	4	4
	Work	2	0	4	0	6	0	4	1	1	0	5	1
VII	Positive Challenge	9	4	4	7	13	11	2	3	0	2	2	5
VIII	Feeling of camaraderie with other students	2	1	7	2	9	8	1	4	5	3	6	7
	--diverse student population	1	0	4	1	5	1	0	1	2	1	2	2
	Total comments	34	13	42	17	76	35	18	15	17	10	35	25
	Total comments, incl. other categories	52	14	69	29	121	43	20	17	20	18	40	35

Experimental I	Control I
121 Positive Comments = 73.78%	44 Positive Comments = 51.76%
43 Negative Comments = 26.22%	41 Negative Comments = 48.23%

Note 1. Categories are defined further in Chapter 3. Categories presented here are the five used most frequently by students.

Table D-8 presents results concerning student-teacher relationships. As in earlier in-depth interviews, Metro students emphasized the non-compartmentalization of student-teacher relationships, the possibility of dialogue with teachers, warmth in student-teacher relationships and several other topics emphasizing interpersonal as opposed to academic characteristics. No negative characteristics of Metro teachers were mentioned. In contrast the control group mentioned equal numbers of positive and negative comments, with no category of response predominating.

Table D-9 summarizes the percentages of positive and negative comments made by black and Anglo students from Metro and control groups concerning both school climate and student-teacher relationships. The difference between Metro and control in the proportion of positive and negative comments is significant at the .01 level, indicating that Metro students were significantly more satisfied with their schools than control students.

Another area tapped in the interview was the nature of the jobs students had held since they attended high school. Table D-10 indicates that the students held jobs primarily in the lowest three status categories on the five-category scale. There is no difference between Metro and control in the status of jobs held.

Finally, Table D-11 presents the socioeconomic status of jobs that students expected to be doing in ten years. There is no pattern of difference between Metro and control in this comparison.

TABLE D-8. Number of Positive and Negative Comments Concerning Student-Teacher Relations in High School Attended by Black and Anglo Students in Experimental I and Control I Who Responded to the Telephone Follow-Up Survey, Broken Down by Response Category.

	Experimental I						Control I					
	Black		Anglo		Total		Black		Anglo		Total	
	Pos.	Neg.	Pos.	Neg.	Pos.	Neg.	Pos.	Neg.	Pos.	Neg.	Pos.	Neg.
Non-compartmentalization	6	0	1	0	7	0	0	2	0	0	0	2
Dialogue	5	0	7	0	12	0	3	1	0	0	3	1
Warmth	2	0	3	0	5	0	0	1	0	0	0	2
Helpfulness/attentiveness	2	0	2	0	4	0	3	2	1	2	4	4
Non-authoritarianism	3	0	0	0	3	0	2	1	1	1	3	3
Encouragement	2	0	0	0	2	0	3	0	0	0	3	0
Total comments	20	0	13	0	33	0	11	7	2	3	13	12
Total comments, incl. other categories	22	2	15	2	37	4	12	12	5	8	17	20

37 Positive Comments = 90.24%
4 Negative Comments = 9.76%

20 Positive Comments = 50.00%
20 Negative Comments = 50.00%

Note 1. Categories are defined further in Chapter 3. Categories presented here are the six most frequently used by students.

TABLE D-9. Overall Number of Positive and Negative Comments Concerning High School Attended by Black and Anglo Students in Experimental I and Control I Who Responded to the Telephone Survey.

	Experimental I			Control I			Overall		
	Black	Anglo	Total	Black	Anglo	Total	Exper. I	Control I	Total
Total Positive Comments About High School	74 82.2%	84 73.1%	158 77.1%	32 52.5%	25 49.1%	57 50.9%	158 77.1%	57 50.9%	215 67.8%
Total Negative Comments About High School	16 17.8%	31 26.9%	47 22.9%	29 47.5%	26 50.9%	55 49.1%	47 22.9%	55 49.1%	102 32.2%
Total	90 100.0%	115 100.0%	205 100.0%	61 100.0%	51 100.0%	112 100.0%	205 100.0%	112 100.0%	317 100.0%

Note 1. Chi-square comparison of Experimental I versus Control I concerning number of positive and negative comments made is significant at less than the .01 level.

TABLE D-10. Number and Percentage of Black and Anglo Students in Experimental I and Control I Responding to the Telephone Survey Who Had Held Job Since Leaving High School of Various Socioeconomic Statuses.

	Metro			Control			Overall		
	Black	Anglo	Total	Black	Anglo	Total	Exper. I	Control I	Total
Socioeconomic Status of Job Held Longest Time Since High School									
1. Unskilled workers (score 10-28)	6 30.0%	13 48.1%	19 40.4%	4 22.2%	6 37.5%	10 29.4%	19 40.4%	10 26.3%	29 34.1%
2. Semi-skilled manual, clerical, and sales (score 29-35)	5 25.0%	5 18.5%	10 21.3%	5 27.8%	5 31.3%	10 29.4%	10 21.3%	10 26.3%	20 23.5%
3. Level 1 skilled manual, clerical, and sales (score 36-43)	9 45.0%	5 18.5%	14 29.8%	6 33.3%	4 25.0%	10 29.4%	14 29.8%	12 31.6%	26 30.6%
4. Level 2 skilled manual, clerical, sales, and small proprieters (score 44-54)	0 0.0%	3 11.1%	3 6.4%	1 5.6%	1 6.2%	2 5.9%	3 6.4%	4 10.5%	7 8.2%
5. Professional, technical, and managerial (above 55)	0 0.0%	1 3.7%	1 2.1%	2 11.1%	0 0.0%	2 5.9%	1 2.1%	2 5.3%	3 3.5%
Total	20 100.0%	27 100.0%	47 100.0%	18 100.0%	16 100.0%	34 100.0%	47 100.0%	38 100.0%	85 100.0%

TABLE D-11. Number and Percentage of Black and Anglo Students in Experimental I and Control I Responding to the Telephone Follow - Up Survey Who Expected to Hold Jobs with Various Social Status Ratings.

	Experimental I			Control I			Overall		
Socioeconomic Status of Job Expected in Ten Years	Black	Anglo	Total	Black	Anglo	Total	Exper. I	Control I	Total
1. Unskilled workers, unemployed, public aid recipients (score 10-2[illegible])	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%
2. Semi-skilled manual, clerical, and sales (score 29-35)	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%
3. Level 1 skilled manual, clerical, and sales (score 36-43)	2 16.7%	2 22.2%	4 19.0%	3 30.0%	2 33.3%	5 31.3%	4 19.0%	5 27.8%	9 23.1%
4. Level 2 skilled manual, clerical, sales, and small proprieters (score 44-54)	6 50.0%	3 33.3%	9 42.9%	2 20.0%	3 50.0%	5 31.3%	9 42.9%	6 33.3%	15 38.5%
5. Professional, technical, and managerial (above 55)	4 33.3%	4 44.4%	8 38.1%	5 50.0%	1 16.7%	6 37.4%	8 38.1%	7 38.9%	15 38.5%
Total	12 100.0%	9 100.0%	21 100.0%	10 100.0%	6 100.0%	16 100.0%	21 100.0%	18 100.0%	39 100.0%

Summarizing the results presented in this appendix:

1. There was a great disparity in Metro between the graduation rates of School Alienated students and other student subgroups, with only 15% of these students successfully completing Metro.

2. Our telephone survey somewhat overrepresents graduates in Experimental I and Control I.

3. About the same number of Metro and control students completed high school and more control blacks than Metro blacks finished. These results were not statistically significant.

4. Slightly more control students than Metro students attended some form of postsecondary education and more control blacks than Metro blacks. These results were not statistically significant.

5. Of students attending some form of post-secondary education, Metro students (both black and Anglo) attended more competitive programs and more four-year colleges, a significant difference compared to the control group. Higher overall rates of postsecondary attendance by controls reflect attendance in vocational programs and junior colleges.

6. Metro students continued to rate the characteristics of their school climate and teachers significantly more positively than control students.

7. There were no significant differences between the socioeconomic status ratings of Metro and control for jobs held since high school and job expected in ten years.